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ROTTERDAM PUBLIC LIBRARY 1859

PART I.—HISTORICAL.

CHAPTER I.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT—THE QUEEN.

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THE present year opened, as the last had closed, amid the violent agitation excited by the prosecution and issue of proceedings against an illustrious member of the Royal House. The national ferment, instead of abating, might be said to have augmented; yet its symptoms had undergone a pretty decisive change. At the first opening, and during the continuance, of these unfortunate proceedings, the Queen, as a personal object, absorbed all the feelings and enthusiasm of the nation. The regular train and objects of political pursuit, both among whigs and reformers, were all forgotten, and merged in her single cause. This intense personal interest, in itself somewhat foreign to the habitual feelings of the age and nation, had now very sensibly abated. The leaders of faction resumed their usual train of objects, and sought only to avail themselves of the unpopularity contracted by those in power, to forward against them their own favourite designs. Throughout the whole country, meetings were called, of the same persons who had formerly covered reams of paper with signatures of addresses to the Queen. They were now invited to follow up that measure, by petitions for restoring her to all her rights and dignities, but more especially to pass votes of censure on ministers, with earnest petitions for their immediate dismissal. The impulse still continued so far as to make these meetings be attended by the majority of the people, and to give to that party, in all open and promiscuous assemblies, a great numerical superiority. They could no longer, however, carry their measures with the same sweeping and unresisted success, as when the Queen's cause first appeared to

carry before it all the vows and feelings of the nation The friends of government, and the aristocracy in general, who had looked on with disdainful indifference, or had considered it vain to attempt to stem so impetuous a tide, now took the alarm. The Queen's party, emboldened by the current of popular favour, had not merely given vent to indiscriminate abuse of all in power, without excepting those whom the constitution shielded most entirely from personal responsibility They had moreover taken the opportunity of introducing all the most violent and revolutionary topics, which derived new importance from the unqualified assent with which they were echoed by the misjudging object of this adulation. This class, therefore, now met in all quarters, for the purpose of preparing loyal addresses, and stamping with their reprobation, the doctrines of an opposite description, which had become so general. Every city, every town, and almost every village in the empire, was agitated by these eddying tides of political conflict The movers of the loyal addresses endeavoured to disarm opposition, by avoiding all allusion to the Queen, and even all introduction of the names of the ministers They proposed addresses, containing merely general expressions of loyalty, of attachment to our glorious constitution, and abhorrence of the attempts so industriously made to propagate the principles of sedition and irreligion. In proof of their assertions, they referred particularly to the licentiousness of the press—to the abuse heaped on the most respectable characters—and to the blasphemous publications so zealously circulated among the lower orders If any of the more zealous speakers could not be restrained from thrusting into their harangues an expression of their conviction of the Queen's guilt, this was not at least allowed to find a place in the address or resolutions. On these occasions, the whigs declared, that they were in no degree conscious of yielding in loyalty to the movers of the resolutions; but they were wholly at a loss to conceive what reason there could be at the present moment for coming forth with so ostentatious a display of these sentiments. They were not aware of any general prevalence, either of disaffection or irreligion. They considered the allegation as a libel against the people of England. Considering all circumstances, they could no longer doubt, that however studiously the name of ministers was kept back, the real object was to attempt to shelter them from the public odium under which they laboured, and to defeat the universal cry of the nation for their removal They must, therefore, object to the address or resolution, unless there were appended to it an expression of entire conviction of the Queen's innocence, a solicitation for her full restoration to rank and dignity, and, above all, a prayer for the immediate dismissal of those ministers, who, by their defiance of public opinion, had shewn themselves unworthy of their situations. The results continued to be such as were observed in the assemblies at the close of the former year In all privileged and aristocratic corporations—in almost all the Scotch, and in many of the English counties, the motions, though vehemently opposed, were carried by large majorities. But wherever general meetings of inhabitants were called, the movers were dismayed by the entrance of an unbidden and unwished for crowd, against whom, if they attempted to make head, they were quickly outvoted. In general, therefore, a secession took place, and, in most places two several petitions lay for signature in the same town; in the issue

of which the loyalists boasted that their deficiency of number was compensated by superior respectability of character and property. In several of the English counties, the amendment was carried.

The most tumultuary proceeding took place in Ireland, at the meeting of the county of Dublin. The address being proposed, a member on the other side began to oppose it; when the Sheriff, insisting that indecorous language had been used, called to order, and closed the debate Then, taking the vote, he declared it, upon the mere show of hands, to be carried on the side of government On which side the majority really lay, became a matter of vehement controversy, each party declaring that they were a hundred to one of the other. The Sheriff then abruptly dissolved the meeting; but the whigs, indignant at this certainly very irregular course, mustered, and calling Lord Cloncurry to the chair, began forthwith to frame a counter address. The Sheriff, however, conceiving that such conduct, after the dissolution of the meeting, was an illegal invasion of the court-room, and having in vain summoned the members to depart, introduced a body of troops, who effected a forcible clearance The expelled body retired to a neighbouring inn, where they passed their counter address. Another meeting was afterwards held, in which Mr Hamilton Rowan being called to the chair, resolutions were entered into, expressive of the strongest indignation at the conduct of the Sheriff; and where deliberation was held as to the mode of appealing to the legislature for redress.

All this conflict of parties had one object in view, that of acting upon the meeting of Parliament, which was now approaching The whigs were prepared for a most active campaign. They had to propose a series of resolutions in favour of the Queen, which, notwithstanding the sensible abatement of enthusiasm in her favour, might still be considered as popular; and which, if carried, would soon be followed up by others, more directly tending to effect the grand objects of their policy. On the other hand, the friends of government predicted, that in this parliamentary warfare, the whigs would not only have to encounter the influence by which administration was usually supported; but that though the termination of the bill of Pains and Penalties had been accepted by the multitude as a full acquittal, different feelings had been cherished by the higher classes. These had been equally manifested by the adherents of both political creeds. Even the most zealous of whig members continued to decline family introductions, and all the efforts of the Queen's partizans had been unable to collect a female court, which bore even the appearance of respectability. It was alleged, moreover, that by this new alliance, formed with a party that had proceeded to such extremes, the whigs would lose more on one side than they gained on the other, in consequence of the terror struck into all that numerous parliamentary body, which was attached to established order, and fearful of revolution.

Under these circumstances, Parliament were assembled on the 22d January. Ministers had prepared a speech, in which every thing that could irritate the present state of the public feeling, was carefully omitted. It was as follows.—

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have the satisfaction of acquainting you, that I continue to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country

"It will be a matter of deep regret to me, if the occurrences which have lately taken place in Italy, should eventually lead to any interruption of tranquillity in that quarter; but it will, in such case, be my great object to secure to my people the continuance of peace.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"The measures by which, in the last Session of Parliament, you made provision for the expenses of my civil government, and for the honour and dignity of the crown, demand my warmest acknowledgments.

"I have directed that the estimates for the current year shall be laid before you; and it is a satisfaction to me to have been enabled to make some reduction in our military establishments

"You will observe from the accounts of the public revenue, that notwithstanding the receipts in Ireland have proved materially deficient, in consequence of the unfortunate circumstances which have affected the commercial credit of that part of the united kingdom, and although our foreign trade, during the early part of this time, was in a state of depression, the total revenue has, nevertheless, exceeded that of the preceding year.

"A considerable part of this increase must be ascribed to the new taxes; but in some of those branches which are the surest indications of internal wealth, the augmentation has fully realized any expectation which could have been reasonably formed of it

"The separate provision which was made for the Queen, as Princess of Wales, in the year 1814, terminated with the demise of his late Majesty.

"I have, in the mean time, directed advances, as authorized by law, and it will, under present circumstances, be for you to consider what new arrangements should be made on this subject.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I have great pleasure in being able to acquaint you, that a considerable improvement has taken place within the last half year, in several of the most important branches of our commerce and manufactures; and that, in many of the manufacturing districts, the distresses which prevailed at the commencent of the last session of Parliament have greatly abated.

"It will be my most anxious desire to concur in every measure which may be considered as calculated to advance our internal prosperity.

"I well know, that, notwithstanding the agitation produced by temporary circumstances, and amidst the distress which still presses upon a large portion of my subjects, the firmest reliance may be placed on that affectionate and loyal attachment to my person and government, of which I have recently received so many testimonials from all parts of my kingdom, and which, whilst it is most grateful to the strongest feelings of my heart, I shall ever consider as the best and surest safeguard of my Throne.

"In the discharge of the important duties imposed upon you, you will, I am confident, be sensible of the indispensable necessity of promoting and maintaining, to the utmost of your power, a due obedience to the laws, and of instilling into all classes of my subjects, a respect for lawful authority; and for those established institutions under which the country has been enabled to overcome so many difficulties, and to which, under Providence, may be ascribed our happiness and renown, as a nation."

On the following day, the debate, as usual, took place on the address. It was moved in the Lords by the Earl of Belmore, and seconded by Lord Prudhoe; while, in the Commons, the mover was Mr G. Bankes, and the seconder Mr James Browne, (member for Mayo). These gentlemen, as usual, went over the various topics referred to in the speech. They congratulated the House on the testimonies of loyalty, and of regard for religion and the laws, which had flowed in from every part of the kingdom—upon the assurances of amity received from foreign powers, on whose proceedings it might at the same time be necessary to look with a watchful eye—upon the degree of improvement which had taken place in the commerce and manufactures of the country—and upon the reduction proposed by his Majesty, in the military establishment. Ireland was mentioned as the only part of the empire still labouring under distress, which, however, its inhabitants had borne in the most heroic manner, and which, it was hoped, would soon be relieved.

Mr G. Bankes, in his animated speech, made pretty close application to events which had caused so much recent agitation. In a nation, in which all are free, folly must have her freedom, and mischief will mark her for its tool: folly will discharge her debts of gratitude by denying their amount, by forgetting the danger from which she has been delivered, though ever when in peril herself the loudest to complain, and the foremost to despair. He afterwards added, "it is no new thing for slander to arraign all that is high and holy; but the tongue of slander, however venomous, can inflict no wound—can effect no puncture in the character that is sound and whole—it is the pen of the libeller, against which innocence is no shield; and at a time when the evil eye of discontent not only envies its neighbour's goods, but covets its neighbour's character, we have, sir, to dread and to repel one general levelling system, both of property and of good name The barrier of the Constitution will not fall down at the first giddy shout of the multitude; the high tribunals, which are its bulwarks, will yet stand, though treason deny their authority, and conscious guilt their justice; blasphemy may rail at the holy place, and hypocrisy defile it with her pageants, long, long before the dome will totter, but the ruin must come at last, if the remedy be not fitly interposed. When the league of what is base and false, profligate and malicious, shall unite honour and integrity to oppose it, the evil then works its own cure, and the remedy is near at hand; we know its efficacy, we have proved it scarce a twelvemonth since. In the shows and processions of the year which has just expired, who but must have called to mind the like exhibitions of the twelvemonth which preceded it? The music, the march, and the banner, the meeting, the resolution, and address, those first were the very prototypes of these last arrays: the same in their real origin, and in their real object, differing only in their method of pursuing it; the first pursued its object by denouncing the aristocracy; the second by denouncing the crown: the aristocracy was then true to itself; the representatives of the people were then faithful, and if the highest duties of fidelity be now as well fulfilled, the country is yet safe. If we turn our eyes from the cares of domestic solicitude and look abroad, the whole world is to us a scene of calm, of tranquillity, our flag flies on every sea—our busy industry plies in every port—our merchants are the rulers of kingdoms—our character every

where high, and our credit everywhere firm."

Mr Browne, as an Irish member, dwelt particularly on the state of that kingdom. This was a subject in which he felt so deep an interest, that even if he should be supposed to have departed a little from the course usual upon such occasions, he hoped he should be forgiven. For his part, he could not consider it irrelevant, until he should believe that there existed a separate interest between the two countries composing this empire—until he should believe that their destinies were not interwoven, and that they must not stand and fall together. By some of those infatuations which sometimes afflicted wisdom itself, Ireland, hitherto, unfortunately, the subject of cold debates and short consultations—what had been her deportment during those agitations? Not the meanest of her populace—not the most furious demagogue, had strained his voice to applaud depravity—none had attempted to exalt affronted debauchery into suffering, dignified virtue, and, above all, none had presumed to outrage society by the introduction of a new doctrine—new even to the professors of profligacy in this country—that which granted to female manners the same licence which society endures in men, the very distinction between which it was that stood between society and national prostration.

In reply to these speakers, it was observed by the Opposition members, that the royal speech was of so cautious and negative a character, that they found little room to object to what it actually said, or to propose any counter address. Its sins were those of omission. They found in it none of those topics on which a British ministry, at such a crisis, might have been expected to dilate. While admiring and sharing those sentiments of loyalty which the country in general had so strongly expressed, it was impossible not to remark, that these had in no degree been coupled with any approbation of the conduct of ministers. Lord Grey, on the contrary, would venture to assert, that public opinion was most unfavourable to them; and he might have thence expected that some intention would be expressed of changing that fatal policy so long pursued. Mr Tierney saw indeed, in the speech, that loyal addresses were declared by the King to be most grateful to the strongest feelings of his heart. If heartfelt satisfaction had resulted from them, he firmly believed it belonged altogether to the King, for the addressers had taken especial care that no attempt should in any manner be made through these addresses to give satisfaction to any other person but the King himself, there was not a word of satisfaction for his ministers, (*a laugh*)—quite the reverse, for the only chance of carrying them was to say nothing of the acts of ministers, there was only one man in the kingdom for whom the heartfelt satisfaction was intended, and he was glad that that man was his Majesty. He should be glad if any of the gentlemen opposite could point out to him one word in any of the addresses which could be construed into an approval of any of the measures of administration, no, not one word, and he made the appeal to the present set of gentlemen, who were so good as to take upon themselves the care of the affairs of the country. There was candour at least in ministers not asking any of their friends to put in a single word of approbation of their measures.

Next, as to the improvement in national industry, it had taken place only in a few departments, even of

manufacture, while the vital branch of agriculture continued still in the most deplorable state.

Mr Curwen would ask, could the noble lord be really ignorant that the agricultural interests were in so wretched a condition, that even no abatement would, after some time, induce the cultivators of the land to go on with their labours? Knowing, as he did, their privations, their disappointments, their sufferings, he could not but call on every mind to admire their exemplary patience.—There were men, however, who arrogated to themselves the monopoly of all the loyalty in the country; but the conduct of a community which had borne unexampled hardships with an unparalleled spirit of endurance, proved that loyalty was not an exclusive possession—that it was not confined to this or to that set of men, but was the great characteristic of the country. This being the case, he was sorry to find that the Crown on the present occasion had not expressed one solitary feeling of regret for the fallen prosperity of agriculture, and the ruin of the spirited and hardy race, whose labours had previously placed it in so flourishing a condition

The Opposition members also strongly expressed their sentiments on the movements making on the continent, and the part to be taken by England

Lord Grey observed, that, by a question put by him to Lord Liverpool, it turned out that we had no accredited minister at Naples, a circumstance which he then regarded as ominous to our peace, since we were nevertheless on terms with that Holy Alliance which assumed the right of adjusting the differences of independent states. He hoped we had observed a strict neutrality on this subject, though he could not help stating, that when the powers now assembled at Laybach had summoned the King of Naples to answer to a self-constituted tribunal, for having thought proper to give liberty to his subjects, he was filled with surprise and indignation. If, therefore, we were not passive spectators of these scenes, we might have resisted the rivetting of those chains of misgovernment which menaced the happiness of other states, by the extension of misrule on every side. It was desirable to be informed of the probable effect of an Austrian army in advance on the frontier of Naples, while an English squadron was stationed in the Bay, making us appear the supporters of an odious system, in helping to maintain the suppression of liberty in foreign parts.

Upon this subject Lord Holland dwelt with peculiar emphasis. He could not see what matter there was for congratulation—what cause the people of England had to exult, because their Monarch was not called before the Congress of Laybach. Ministers had plunged this country into wars—they had burdened it with taxes—and now, while they were taking credit for having delivered Europe, the great powers of Europe, enriched by our losses, aggrandized by the possession of territories to which they had no right, were proceeding to further outrages, while we must be content with saying, we shall feel regret if you go to war, and this shall be the amount of our remonstrance. The noble Lord had amused the House with a set of abstract opinions as to interference in the government of other nations, when it would be right, and when it would not be right; but what they wanted to hear was, whether he approves, ay or no, of the principles adopted by his pretended allies, who are bound by treaty to communicate and to consult with the government of this country He (Lord Holland) did not think, ill as the noble lord

had conducted the affairs of this country, and almost contemptible as his counsels had made it in the eyes of Europe, still he did not think that if a proper remonstrance had been made, it would have proved unavailing. Such a remonstrance would not be an interference with the government of another country, but an effort to prevent the interference of those who intruded it To compare small things with great, for, with all his feeling for Naples, he could not help feeling that her cause was still inferior to that of France, but still, to make the comparison, he remembered that the very same language which they heard that day, had been used when the Duke of Brunswick was on his march towards Paris He would rather become a party to the infamous designs of those proud conspirators against liberty, than exhibit the meanness of mere regret when successful interposition was practicable Was it too much to say, when Austria was contemplating a crusade which was likely to engage all Europe in fresh wars—was it too much to say, pay us our debts, or at least, while you refuse, do not insult us by undertaking expensive wars, from which justice and humanity should disincline you? The noble lord had taken credit to himself for being explicit upon this point, but he was only explicit in the assertion of abstract principles. He had stated that this country would not go to war, while his irresolute conduct was of all things the most likely to involve us in war. Would he state candidly and openly—this is a war of which I disapprove—it is a war in which you cannot engage without diminishing those bonds of connexion which you have hitherto boasted That would be explicit, nay, more, it would be effectual. If Ministers were to do so, Austria would not dare to take one step against Naples. He was sure the noble duke (Wellington) must have felt indignation and disappointment at seeing how the constitution of Spain was regarded by those powers. That constitution might have its defects, but if he were a Spaniard, he would not surrender one even of those defects, while those despots, those barbarians of the north, stood threatening with their savage hordes to force compliance.

In regard to the Queen, though this was the point on which parties were peculiarly mustering, their strength, it was not much introduced. Earl Grey hoped, that the arrangement proposed would be accompanied with some conciliatory steps.

Mr Tierney thought that when the crown recommended a provision for any branch of the royal family, it was usual to state the sum required, or something near it. It was not customary for the crown to speak of pecuniary provisions under the indefinite term, arrangement. His Majesty's Ministers should have stated the sum, for it was not the business of Parliament, and never had been its practice, to make such arrangements.

Ministers were not slow in replying to these various topics of animadversion. In regard to the tenor of the addresses, and their total silence as to any approbation of the conduct of ministers, Lord Castlereagh said, it was always his opinion, that when the great bulk of the community were aroused to a sense of the dangers and difficulties which threatened them, only one voice would be heard to pervade the country for the preservation of its great interests. He knew that the sound portion of the people only wanted the opportunity of expressing their sentiments to make their voice loud enough to stifle the sound of that of the disaffected, who

were hostile to public tranquillity. When that infatuation was at its highest pitch, and before the country had spoken out intelligibly in the language of loyalty and duty, he had always relied that the delusion would be dispelled, and depended upon the sober and temperate judgments of Englishmen to defeat eventually the schemes of their enemies—(*Hear.*) Public opinion, when once fairly and coolly collected, must always have its due weight upon the measures of public men The right honourable gentleman, however, knew too well what was the real feeling of the country;—he knew too well, that no minister had ever dared to shew his face in that House, and he (Lord Castlereagh) trusted that no minister would ever dare to shew his face in that House, who had lost the confidence of the country—(*Cries of hear, hear.*) The minister who had really lost the confidence of the country, could not possess the confidence of that House, for the people of the country,—he meant the rational part of the community—that part which alone ought to possess any influence over the legislature—always made its sentiments as distinctly and intelligibly felt in that House as if the wildest plan of reform that was ever proposed had been adopted. He could assure the right honourable gentleman, that if he supposed either himself or his colleagues wished to remain in the service of their Sovereign a moment longer than they possessed the confidence of the House and the country, he had mistaken the men he had to deal with As long, however, as they possessed the confidence of their Sovereign, of the House, and of the country, no difficulty with which they had to contend, no taunts from the right honourable gentleman or his friends, no apprehension of consequences personal to themselves, should induce them to shrink from the discharge of their public duty. He by no means felt it as a reproach to be told by the right honourable gentleman, that his Majesty's ministers, at a moment when they believed in their conscience that the fate of the constitution was at stake, and the tranquillity of the country endangered by the supineness of the good, and the activity of the bad, entertained a wish that the sentiments of the country at large might be pronounced in support of his Majesty's government, without reference to their share in that government. This he by no means felt to be a reproach He rather considered it as a compliment. But it was a compliment which he could not return. The right honourable gentleman and his friends would never countenance any expression of affection or loyalty towards the Sovereign, and the constitution, in whatever peril, unless accompanied by a declaration of the expediency of a change in his Majesty's councils

In regard to manufactures and trade, ministers appealed to universal observation, whether there was not a material change from that state of distress in which they had been six months ago, and whether the cheapness of provisions did not materially contribute to the relief of the lower classes They felt no apathy on the subject of agricultural distress, it had been alluded to in the latter part of the speech; and they were ready to give the fullest consideration to every plan which might be proposed for its remedy, though they were inclined to think, that every thing practicable had already been tried.

In regard to foreign affairs, Ministers declined entering at length into the subject, but contented themselves with a few general observations.

Lord Castlereagh said, it was not for us to dictate to other powers, or

to control their policy We could not say how other nations were to feel who thought their interests endangered, if we enjoyed peace ourselves, we should endeavour to preserve it, but not presume to dictate to other powers, and thus arrogate the right of intermeddling with the affairs of others, which we condemned in them. Whenever the proper time should arrive, his Majesty's government would be prepared to shew that the language which had been held by this country, and the principles on which that language had been founded, were perfectly consistent with its character This, however, he begged leave at once to say, that it must not be inferred that Great Britain was of necessity a party to all the deliberations and conclusions consequent on those discussions, at which a British minister might be present. We had our own interests to watch over, and in his opinion it was an additional proof of the confidence happily existing among the great powers of Europe, that they received at their meetings the ministers of powers who were not immediately connected with the measures in progress, in order that their respective governments might, nevertheless, have the satisfaction of knowing the exact nature of those measures

Lord Liverpool observed, if it was necessary to engage in war, the system of war in which we should be most backward to engage, would be that which had for its object to interfere in the internal affairs of other states While he said thus much, he had never maintained that the principle of non-interference could admit of no exceptions; that there never could occur occasions in which we ought to interpose to prevent the adoption of certain internal arrangements, or that there might not be cases in which it was not only justifiable but necessary to do so for our own security. All that he would state was, the standing policy of this country was peace, and an abstinence from intermeddling with the internal affairs of other nations The course recommended by Lord Grey would lead to the most serious consequences Without knowing all the circumstances that connected the revolution of Naples with neighbouring states—without knowing how such an event might affect them—without waiting for explanation or defence—we were to take a side. He was not one of those who, in determining our policy towards revolutionized states, could leave out of view the circumstances by which they were accompanied—he was not one of those who loved revolutions for themselves—he was not one of those who viewed with the same eye a revolution against an oppressive and a mild government In viewing such constitutional changes, he examined the discriminating character of each particular case; he weighed the possibility of success, he calculated the chances of improvement; and he estimated the effect which the revolution would produce on other governments What two countries in which political changes occurred were placed exactly in the same situation, and how could a common course be chalked out to both? In these circumstances our abstinence from all interference with either party appeared to him to be the best policy, as to interfere would be exercising a judgment without the means of forming a correct one

In regard to the Queen, Lord Castlereagh denied there was any departure from the ordinary course or practice observed in speeches from the throne The subject was generally touched upon, and it was left to the wisdom of Parliament, according to the corresponding practice, to fix the

specific amount He knew that there were instances in which a contrary practice had prevailed, but they had been discontinued, and the course now observed pursued in their place. Upon the subject alluded to, he might as well now give notice, that it was his intention, on Wednesday week, to submit a proposition to the House for a suitable provision for her Majesty He was anxious to take as early a day as possible for his motion. Monday and Tuesday next were days on which the House usually adjourned, and therefore Wednesday was the earliest day he could select for the purpose of which he had given notice; and he might as well take this opportunity of adding, that the proposition which he meant to submit on Wednesday next was the only one which his Majesty's ministers intended to submit to the House upon this anxious and painful subject

The Opposition, as before announced, did not choose to hazard an encounter on the field of the address, but allowed it to pass without a division

The following days (25th and 26th) were employed in the reception of numerous petitions, among which was one from the Common Council of London, deprecating the proceedings against the Queen, calling for an inquiry into the conduct of ministers, and praying that she might be restored, without reserve, to all the rights and dignities of her high situation These petitions, being accompanied with frequent comments by those who presented them, which drew forth replies from the opposite side, gave rise to a number of little skirmishes, attended, in several instances, with a good deal of warmth Notice was particularly drawn by Alderman Heygate, who, in presenting a petition from his borough of Sudbury, stated indeed his uniform disapprobation of the bill of Pains and Penalties, but at the same time took occasion to reprobate, in a very marked manner, the political course which her Majesty had taken She had addressed a letter to her Sovereign and husband, which contained sentiments highly disrespectful and improper, and had followed it by a long series of attacks on both Houses of Parliament Incitements had been held out to the military, and the people had been gravely told, that if the bill passed, it would be a matter of doubt how far they were bound to obey it These sentiments had been repeated, not once or twice, but five hundred times. He could not join in an address to the throne, praying that respect and honour should be paid to a person who had so conducted herself.—Mr Hume lamented the honourable member should thus have brought forward a general charge of treason, for he could call it no less, against her Majesty It was most ungenerous, most unmanly, most unfair, and in the face of the House he protested against it Let the House consider the situation in which the Queen stood when she wrote that letter; the indignities which had been heaped upon her, the refusal of a ship to convey her to England, and of a house to live in Was she not then entitled to make a last appeal to her natural lord and protector? The terms of the letter appeared to him perfectly justifiable, and he challenged the Alderman to point out a single exceptionable passage.—Mr Heygate had not the letter by him, but thought he recollected the expressions, "Your court is a scene of low debauchery." He quoted others from the answers to the addresses, fully justifying, as he conceived, the censure he had passed on them.—Mr Lockhart and Lord Nugent conceived that any blamable expressions that

had escaped the Queen might be well excused, considering the hardship of her situation, and the neglect experienced from those who might have given her sounder advice.

In the course of these discussions, Lord Castlereagh stated, that no farther proceedings against the Queen were, or, since the withdrawing of the bill of Pains and Penalties, ever had been contemplated.

It was on the 25th, that the first grand trial of strength was made on this important question. Lord Archibald Hamilton brought forward a motion of censure on ministers, for the erasure of the Queen's name from the Liturgy Lord A. deprecated the idea of acting from any party feeling, he had from the first taken the same view of the subject, and had early made a motion similar to the present. If the House had then induced ministers to retrace their steps, would not the House, the Crown, and the country, have stood in a much more favourable situation than they now did? The Queen, he conceived, could not continue to exist as she was now placed, with the mere addition of a pecuniary establishment. It would be impossible in that case to stop those effusions of the press, which he deplored, but which he imputed altogether to the proceedings of ministers. It was impossible to contemplate their consequences on the country, and not feel disgust and indignation at the conduct of those men who had placed the country for so many months in such a state of jeopardy and danger The conduct they adopted was not only unwise and unconstitutional, but required the strongest expression he could use to designate it properly—it was of the most revolutionary description he had ever witnessed. He did not make use of this term unadvisedly, it was the only one suited to the occasion He was not afraid of either radicals or reformers—he was aware of no danger equal to that risked by the ministers of the Crown, in advising the prosecution of the Queen. A worthy Alderman had lately said, that he—that he, forsooth—regretted the omission of her Majesty's name in the Liturgy; but then he talked of her letter to the King. What was that but trying her then for one thing, and punishing her for another? Before any trial, ministers proceeded to take her Majesty's name out of the Liturgy—an act not only unwise, but unjust, an act of gross injustice For all that followed from this, they were indebted to his Majesty's Ministers. What was the situation of her Majesty then? She was without any court or retinue. The laws had deceived her. By law she was a Queen In domestic enjoyments she was equally deceived—she had no husband—no state, and left this country with a letter of licence for her conduct. Abroad she was followed by spies—persecuted by every thing in the shape of diplomatic function—she was forced to go about with no sort of protection from any one quarter Placed then as her Majesty was, in this condition, would the House affect to be shocked at her doing what her letter of licence allowed her—(if anything guilty were done by her?) If even all was true with which she was charged—he still thought she never should have been prosecuted in the manner she was Why, when the charges against her were not proved, was not her name restored to the Liturgy? The fact was, ministers wished to consider her as neither innocent nor guilty, they grounded their measures on a vague idea of her being both. He conceived it impossible to produce any legal ground which gave them authority to commit an act of legal degradation against her Majesty. If there was, let the King's law officers come for-

ward and state it. Whether it was considered as a matter of law or justice, ministers appeared to him to have acted wrong He could name one point in which the order was certainly illegal. The self same order which had been issued in England, had also been sent to Scotland, over which it had manifestly no power, and he would therefore say, in the presence of the Lord Advocate opposite, that the order, as it regarded Scotland, was either a dead letter, or a direct violation of the law What had been the consequence? In Scotland, as it ought to have been in England, the order had proved mere waste paper. Lord A then adverted to the absence of Mr Canning, which that gentleman wished to be understood as arising from a conscientious difference with the other ministers on this point. Why then had he spoken at first in favour of the prosecution? Why had he continued in office while it was going on? And why did he not now attend to speak in her Majesty's support? Although he merely moved now for a censure on what had been done, the House would be called soon to consider the means of restoring her Majesty's name to the Liturgy. (A cry of censure at the course now announced, being raised from the ministerial benches.) Lord A. felt surprised to see what he had just said received in so unexpected a manner by the noble Lord. The subject would engage the full attention of the House at no very distant day, but was it not more natural, was it not more conformable to the rules of parliamentary practice, to notice that which had already been done, before they proceeded to amend it? He felt convinced, that had he ventured to move an address to the King, praying him to restore the name of her Majesty to the Liturgy, he should immediately have been taunted by the insinuation, that he wished to carry a measure personally offensive to the King. After all, let it be as it might, he was not bound to receive his tactics from the opposite side. He wished to know what effect the giving up of the measures against the Queen was to have, if all due honours were not restored to her. On what principle would it be contended, that the dignity of the Crown could remain safe and uninjured, whilst the Queen was exposed to calumny and insult. Would it be urged, that it was in consideration of any personal quality, or on account of any merit in private life, that the King was entitled to be prayed for in the Liturgy? No, he held his place in the Liturgy as a member of the Royal Family, independently of any merit or desert of his own. Could any thing be imagined more unjust and unfair, or more likely to excite an invidious comparison, than to say that the name of one of the parties was fit to be inserted in the Liturgy, and the other unfit, if the House began to set the example, how far would not the evil spread itself, or at what limit would it stop? He was decidedly of opinion, that the measure would prove injurious, not to the Queen alone, but the whole of the Royal Family. When the noble Lord said, that he would do no more against her Majesty, the House understood his reason for desisting. The fact was, he could do no more—the public feeling would not allow him. He therefore begged the noble lord not to take any credit to himself for his forbearance; he had done his utmost, and being at length reduced to abandon his designs, he now came forward to argue their legality He begged the House to consider how the country, which took so decided a part in the Queen's favour, would endure that nothing should be done to redress her wrongs, or to stop the torrent of calumny poured upon her by

all who wished to court the favour of ministers He did in his conscience believe that the noble lord and his colleagues were too honourable and too wise to advocate the abominable and foolish measures, the responsibility of which they were now compelled to bear He believed, as it was generally understood, that in an unfortunate moment they had given a pledge, that if the Queen set foot in England, they would proceed against her, thinking, no doubt, that there was no chance of her ever doing so By this means they had now become responsible for conduct which they were ashamed to contemplate He did not know what the noble lord might say upon the subject, but he thought that he (the noble lord) had not advised the prosecution, and that he was now obliged to bear the responsibility of measures entered into against his advice Of such conduct he could not speak in terms of sufficient reprobation, for it was too much that they were not only to be deprived of the talents (and those not too great) which the ministry possessed, but that the latter were to come forward, and justify measures against which they had themselves advised Lord A. then concluded with moving that "the Order in Council, &c appears to have been ill advised and inexpedient."

Mr Ellis here rose for the mere purpose of justifying his friend Mr Canning. That gentleman, in the first discussion of the proceedings, had declared his intention of taking no part in them During the whole of the proceedings in the other House, he had remained absent, and had only returned upon their termination The new state in which he had since found affairs, had made it appear to him, that the course which he had hitherto adopted would no longer be compatible either with his duty or his feelings. There appeared no other alternative than that of surrendering his office Having done that, and having thus purchased the right of acting conformably to the resolution which he had originally expressed, he had now determined to remain absent until the final termination of the question relative to her Majesty He could assure the House, however, that upon all questions of internal and external policy, his honourable friend and his late colleagues were entirely agreed.

Mr Robinson began with declaring, that ministers were ready to take the full responsibility of the proceedings. and most decidely repelled the idea of having acted otherwise than on their own conviction Neither now, nor at any time, had they any doubt of their proceedings being strictly legal, and numberless instances could be given, in which a similar course had been followed If then it became a question of discretion merely, he would beg the House to recur to the period when it first became necessary for ministers to direct their attention to the subject of the Queen They would recollect her Majesty had for some time been living in a state of separation authorized by his late Majesty, and in some measure recognized by Parliament itself Upon the death of his Majesty, arrangements had been entered into, the effect of which was to induce her Majesty to remain abroad, and to renounce the style and title of Queen of England When those arrangements had been first proposed, abundant reason existed to believe that they would have been acceded to To have inserted the name of her Majesty in the Liturgy under those circumstances, would therefore have been inconsistent with the situation in which they stood, if those regulations had been completed. The intention of ministers in that respect being defeated, they were compelled to embrace the other alternative, and

bring the question before the House. Ministers could not have advised his Majesty to place the Queen in the Liturgy, without advising him also to bestow on her every honour that belonged to a queen. If they were guilty of the dreadful charges brought against them by the noble lord, how could he think of compounding for them by such a milk and water motion as the present? He could have no object but to catch a few votes. Yes, to enable the noble lord to gain possession of the loaves and fishes, the King might be insulted with impunity, the Queen might be betrayed without fear of observation—the laws might be violated—the country might become the victim of rebellion or of anarchy—all those horrors might arrive, provided the noble lord and his friends but gained the object of their wishes. If the noble lord wished to do justice to the Queen, why had he not endeavoured to do so, instead of cringing to the gain of a few votes? Why else had the noble lord been satisfied with such a weak, such a futile conclusion as was contained in his motion? Perhaps it was but a feint, to put to the test the feelings of the House, but why did the noble lord anticipate the resolution proposed by him, or rather, why did he not more manfully bring it forward? Mr R. finally moved the adjournment of the House

Mr Hobhouse strongly supported the motion of Lord A Hamilton, and conceived that Mr Robinson had evaded entering into any proper justification of his colleagues. In a measure so unprecedented, the *onus probandi* appeared to him to rest entirely upon ministers He condemned the discussion relative to Mr Canning, as introducing irrelevant matter into so important a debate

Mr Wetherell now rose, and began with drawing the attention of the House to the extreme importance of the discussion, which interested all future queens, and involved the question, whether the Privy Council could alter the statute law, as well as the practice and usage of the kingdom for three centuries I say, continued Mr W, that the present is one which relates to the past, to the present, and to the future, it is one which requires this House to say, not whether the present Queen is to be thrown at the feet of ministers, to be spurned, to be degraded, to be dethroned, at their pleasure, but whether the established laws of England are, or can be, abrogated by any power other than by the legislature, and whether any future Queen Consort is, or may become, the victim of any Privy Council I take the liberty of declaring it to be my opinion, after a full and satisfactory deliberation, that the act of the 12th of February last is grossly illegal If the right honourable gentleman thought that the motion of the noble lord to-night was one of mere milk and water, he will not have to reproach me with using such language, for I thus openly declare, that the erasure of the name of her Majesty from the Liturgy was grossly illegal and unconstitutional. Mr W then went through the history of the Liturgy, from the time of Henry VIII, to the Act of Uniformity under Charles II. He had consulted the act, but could not find any position of it, or any clause in it, which could sanction the act, which he had already pronounced illegal. The particular clause which had allowed the alteration or changing of names of those persons of the royal family for whom the act required the subjects of the kingdom to pray, was in substance as follows —" Be it enacted, that the names of the King,

Queen, and royal progeny, be challenged and altered from time to time, and fitted to the present occasion, according to the direction of lawful authority." This might authorize the alteration of the young George for Frederick, or of Anne for Elizabeth; but certainly nothing more In the Liturgy of the church, the Queens of Henry VIII. James I and Charles II had been uniformly introduced, and the Liturgy of that day was precisely the same as that which had existed previous to the Reformation It was somewhat remarkable, that in the printed copy of the Common Prayer attached to the statute, a blank was left where the name of the Queen had been usually inserted, because that monarch was not married, and therefore there was no Queen Consort. The established usage, besides, for upwards of three centuries, had, he conceived, given to the Queen a right founded upon prescription. Upon what but custom did the prerogative of the monarch depend? By what but custom did they enjoy these privileges? What but custom protected the rights of the community? What, indeed, could be named, that was possessed by any man, that was not secured by usage? (*Cheers by the Opposition*) Was it for the noble lord and his anti-radical coadjutors, after exciting an alarm at innovation, thus to set at defiance usages of three centuries?—they might deny radicalism, and so would he, but yet, whether radicals or anti-radicals, he wished men to be consistent. He would not anticipate what the talents of those might be who might undertake to answer him, but he believed he knew the arguments they would adopt The fact was that of the omission of the Queen of George I. That monarch, it would be recollected, ascended the throne in the year 1714. At that time the Princess Zell, to whom he had been married, had been a captive at Hanover a considerable time, she was never known in this country as Queen Consort; she had never had any court, nor exercised any privilege In the addresses presented by that House and by the House of Peers to that monarch, nor indeed in any address, had she been noticed, added to that, she had been divorced upwards of eighteen years George I had contracted a bad-handed marriage, as it was termed, with the Duchess of Kendal, who was entitled to the style of Queen Consort in preference to the Princess of Zell Many experienced clergymen, and many learned gentlemen, with whom he had conversed, were of opinion, that the words of the act, coupled with immemorial usage, were completely decisive against the legality of the measure. He had endeavoured to bring the question to the test of monarchial rights and of monarchial candour, —(*Hear, hear,*)—whether it would not be most impolitic to leave the Queen to the discretion of popular or unpopular faction to exalt or degrade her —He had read enough of the history of his country to know that there were factions at court, as well as factions among the people. The Queen, who was now opposed by the Court party, was at one time strenuously supported by them That fact plainly elucidated his argument, and evinced the dangers that might arise from such a discretionary power being intrusted to any party, by which they might deprive the Queen of her attributes. He could not compare the proceedings of the Privy Council to any thing but the High Court of Commission, and the members he must describe as inquisitorial judges. The learned gen-

tleman concluded with strongly reprobating the whole course of the proceedings against her Majesty

Dr Dodson maintained the right of the King to regulate the Liturgy; and Mr Martin conceived, that, after the resolution of Parliament last session, the Queen ought to have acquiesced.

The Attorney-General began by expressing his surprise, that the noble mover, affected apparently by the speech of Alderman Heygate, had directed his attack merely against the expedlency of the measure, thus tacitly admitting its legality. If the act was illegal, why discuss its wisdom? Once show this act to be illegal, and no matter what might be the conduct of the Queen—whether it was such as the whole nation might be proud to approve, or such as it must be compelled to condemn, nothing could justify ministers in having advanced that act, there was *litera scripta* upon the subject, there was a course laid down for them to pursue; and to recommend any other course would be to recommend the exercise of such a dispensing power on the part of the Crown, as no minister in his senses could venture to advise Mr Wetherell, after first declaring the measure to be illegal, appeared finally to rest his argument chiefly upon usage. He was prepared, however, to meet the argument upon both points. The honourable member for Westminster told the House, that from the year 1546 to the present period, there was no instance in which a Queen Consort had been omitted in the prayers of the church. It would be seen by the prayer-book used in the time of Philip and Mary, that a Queen, not a Queen Consort, but a Queen Regnant, had been in that situation, for during that reign the King was prayed for, and the Queen, though Queen Regnant, was not. (*Hear, hear, from the Opposition benches, and cries of "Queen Consort"*) Queen Consort, did the honourable members say? That was the case of a Queen Regnant, and that Queen was not prayed for The book was to be found in the British Museum; and the form stood, "*Pro rege et principibus suis*" The honourable and learned member for Oxford had ascribed to the Act of Uniformity, that immutable right of the Queen to be prayed for, which no King, it was insisted, had power to take away He (the Attorney-General) wished to see the enactment, he desired to have the clause laid before him under which the immutable right was to be claimed. So far from the course having been uniform from the Reformation downwards, there had been repeated instances of deviation. In the reign of George II., the name of Frederick Prince of Wales had been struck out of the form of prayer. In the commencement of the late reign, the same measure had been adopted with respect to the Duke of Cumberland. The words of the act were certainly "to alter and change" The framers of that act had not probably the *copia verborum* of the honourable and learned member for Oxford, and did not think it necessary to employ variety of words where the meaning might be expressed by one, but the advisers of George III., at the period alluded to, men upon whom the honourable and learned member, notwithstanding his aversion to anti-radical and to monarchical administrations, would scarcely pass hasty censure, those advisers had recommended to the King to strike the Duke's name out of the Liturgy, he (the Duke) being still in existence. He would now come to that instance, which he took to be an instance of the highest value, and which had

been described to the House as an instance of no value at all—the measures pursued towards the Queen of George I. Did the honourable and learned member really mean to contend that the divorce mentioned by Cox, was a divorce actually annulling the marriage between the parties? Why, the very same page which spoke of the divorce, stated that the Queen was gazetted as Duchess of Zell, and as Duchess Dowager of Hanover. It was said, that the second marriage, the marriage with the Duchess of Kendal, was a good and valid marriage Why, then, was it not set up as a legal marriage? It was not his intention to provoke discussion as to the question of guilt or innocence, but ministers had believed they were in possession of satisfactory evidence against her Majesty. When a change in the Liturgy became necessary, while such a charge was hanging over her Majesty, if her name of Queen Consort was inserted, with what face could ministers afterwards come down and say, we have a charge against the Queen, which, as we think, forms a ground, not only for degradation, but for divorce? The answer would immediately be, What! you who advised her name to be inserted in the Liturgy, who placed her in the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of Queen Consort of these realms!

Sir James Mackintosh declared, that after the most deliberate consideration of the subject, his mind was brought to this conclusion, that the removal of her Majesty's name from the Liturgy was a violation of the common law, that there was nothing in the statute law to countenance such a proceeding; that it was unwise, inexpedient, and a departure from the principles of justice The arguments used by Mr Robinson and the Attorney-General, were mere charges of party feeling, not affecting the merits of the question It seemed a very singular charge, that the motion was too mild and too respectful to his Majesty He would now tell his learned friend, the Attorney-General, that his argument drawn from the case of Philip and Mary had no force To prove it, what did his learned friend do? He quoted the mass book in the time of Philip and Mary. He introduced the popish ritual, as if Philip and Mary were supreme heads of the Church of England, a title they would have looked upon as damnable and heretical. The fact was, that the name of the Queen was never found in the ritual before the Reformation. He would now come to the case of the Princess Sophia. His learned friend, the Attorney-General, seemed to think that she could not have been divorced, as she was called in the Gazette by the name of the Duchess of Zell Did he forget that she inherited this title from her father, that she was the daughter of the Duke of Zell, from whom she inherited large estates? Her being styled Duchess of Zell at her death, appeared to him pregnant proof of her having been divorced His learned friend contended, that there was no divorce *e vinculo matrimonii* He (Sir J. Mackintosh) thought there was Every person knew, that, in all protestant churches, except that of England, a divorce *e vinculo matrimonii* might be obtained in a Consistorial Court, and the noble lord himself (Castlereagh) admitted, in alluding to this subject last session, that the record of this divorce was still extant in some of the Consistorial Courts of Hanover. George I. could as easily have obtained a divorce *e vinculo matrimonii*, as a divorce *a mensa et thoro*, and therefore the probability was that he obtained it. This case of a woman,

about whose guilt he had no doubt, who had been confined eighteen years previous to the divorce, and thirteen years after, and whose divorce passed *sub silentio*, appeared to him to supply but a wretched argument. Such evidence would not be thought sufficient in a common case of trespass or right of way. The Parliament of England at the time had no means of obtaining information on the subject, for it never occurred to them that they could send clandestine commissions even into Hanover, for the purpose of examining witnesses. (*Hear from the Opposition*) The weight attached to this case appeared to him most decisive proof that the gentlemen opposite felt the weakness of their argument. The question for the House now to decide, was one which they only were competent to decide, and which was a question far more important than the present—namely, whether or not the Queens of England should be degraded from that constitutional independence in which the wisdom of our forefathers had placed them, and which they had enjoyed for centuries, and be reduced to be the slaves of every administration? The next passage in the act was, "that the names of the King, Queen, and royal progeny, shall be changed and altered from time to time" He asked whether the words "altered and changed" could have any view to delinquency or moral turpitude? Was it not more consistent with common sense to say, that these words had in view the alterations which must take place by births, deaths, or marriages? Could it be said, that, coupled with the words "from time to time," it meant delinquency which must occur from time to time? Some weight had been attached to the words "by lawful authority," but what did those words mean? That it was not fit to leave a discretion in the breast of every incumbent of a parish to decide who were the King, Queen, or royal progeny. If that were allowed, we should about 70 years ago have heard Queen Clementina, King James, and Charles Prince of Wales, prayed for in most parishes in England. The cases of George of Denmark and the Princess Sophia, appeared to him, by their specialties, rather to confirm than weaken the general rule Was there a permanent omission, except in the case of the Duke of Cumberland, of the name of any one branch of the royal family, who had ever been prayed for? Even this instance could not avail those who were compelled to acknowledge that it was the only permanent violation of the Act of Uniformity; it could not avail them, because the hostility of George III. to the Duke of Cumberland was well known As a Highlander and a Whig, he could not bring himself to eulogise and do justice to the character of the Duke of Cumberland, who was not a merciful commander in Scotland, though a good Whig Prince in England He never imagined, till he heard the speech of the Attorney-General, that ministers should not have had some better authorities to go upon As to the intention of effecting an arrangement with the Queen, it appeared to him a most strange preliminary to begin by an insult; by proclaiming her from ten thousand pulpits an adulteress. There was not a man of any party, who would not lay his hand upon his heart, and say, that this was a most unfortunate measure The way in which the people of England received this question was—they thought the Queen degraded before accusation—prosecuted without necessity—attempted to be convicted without suf-

ficient evidence, and now attempted to be punished after acquittal.

The Solicitor-General conceiving that the object of the present motion was to prepare for one praying the restoration of the Queen's name to the Liturgy, begged the House to consider, whether they were prepared to assent to such a motion He conceived, that both the legality and expediency of the course held by the King, had been most fully established. With respect to the feeling of the country upon this subject, he was not afraid of popular clamour. He relied upon the soberness and prudence of a large portion of the community, who were satisfied that nothing but the best motives actuated the individuals engaged in this affair, and on whom they placed the utmost and most implicit reliance. He was not disposed to re-agitate the question which had been ably touched upon the other night by the member for Sudbury, but he would take this opportunity of observing, that if ever a malignant falsehood appeared, if ever a disgraceful libel was published, it was contained in the notorious letter addressed to the King His impression was, that no person could agree with the present motion without being alike an enemy to his monarch and the monarchy. (*Loud cries of Order!*)—and

Lord Milton and Mr Scarlett rose The latter gave way

Lord Milton, amidst much confusion, expressed himself in terms of high disapprobation at the concluding sentence of the Solicitor-General, and several persons on the Opposition benches cried out, "Take down the words."

The Solicitor-General was satisfied no person present would accuse him of imputing improper motives to any one. He merely meant to say, that an address to the King of this nature would be highly insulting to his Majesty

Mr Scarlett strongly supported the motion The question of right was evidently at least doubtful, and while it was so, ministers were highly culpable in acting upon it. The whole shewing of the arguments on the other side, evidently proved that something was intended to affect the dearest interests of the Queen, and sure he was, that before an audience representing the feelings of the British people, judgment before accusation would not be admitted. Was it to be contended that his Majesty could of his own caprice strike the names of all he pleased out of the Liturgy?

Lord Castlereagh now rose He conceived that the practice of the opposite side exhibited the most complete specimen of inconsistency, and of disregard to parliamentary practice It was not at all essential to the justification of ministers, that the charges should be proved, provided it appeared that they had not been brought forward on light or insufficient grounds Ministers had acted in the most conscientious manner. They had not endeavoured, by any influence which they possessed, to bias the minds of those who were to consider the question, on the contrary, at the commencement of the business, they called on those who had any political connexion with them, to act in total oblivion of that connexion, and he thought gentlemen opposite would encounter very little difficulty in finding instances where persons who were even connected with the Sovereign, had acted with the most perfect freedom. He wished he could pay the learned gentleman who had just sat down, and his friends, the same compliment, he

wished their conduct had been equally free from party motives, but he believed every unprejudiced man would allow, that administration had acted a more pure and disinterested part on this occasion than their opponents had done. The members opposite, instead of coming forward in a bold way, had selected one single point, with the view of picking the votes of a few individuals whose opinions were doubtful. They had had recourse to a system of management, which could only be met by management; and when a proposition was made that could lead to no practical good, it was fair to meet it by moving other orders of the day, or by calling for an adjournment It was extraordinary that twelve months had been suffered to elapse, during which ministers were allowed to perpetrate a great injustice against the Queen, and at the expiration of that time nothing but an abstract proposition was brought forward. As to the law of the question, he thought that there was nothing so decisive in the clause so much relied on by the noble lord, as to render it imperative to insert the Queen's name in the Liturgy The Act of Uniformity was not passed out of any jealousy of the Crown, but to prevent encroachments and alterations from being made in the prayers of the church, and to put down heresies and schisms injurious to the establishment That clause, therefore, was inserted in the statute to shew, that though no alteration could be made in the general prayers of the church, those collects and litanies which affected the royal family were open to alteration The opposite party had done the very thing of which they accused ministers, when they struck the name of Lord Melville, before trial, out of the list of privy councillors, also, with regard to the Queen herself, when they placed her conduct under the investigation of four commissioners, without informing her of the existence of such a tribunal. If the King, in the exercise of his royal prerogative, should be forced to insert the name of her Majesty in the Liturgy, that would be found to be only the first step to greater encroachments; for he should wish to know on what principle, after such an advantage were gained for the Queen, she could be excluded from the coronation, and all those privileges of grace and favour which, in happier times, it would have been the pride of the King to have afforded her. He allowed, that now that the bill was withdrawn, the Queen was in the situation of a person technically innocent, and she was in as full possession of her rights as Queen Consort, as if no stain had ever been cast upon her character It was one thing, however, for her to enjoy the rights to which she was legally entitled, and another to enjoy those honours which had been granted to her predecessors as matters of grace, favour, and consideration. She had no strict right to have her name inserted in the Liturgy, and when the matter had come to such a pass as it had done in the Lords, where 123 peers had declared her guilty upon their honours, he could not, as a minister of the Crown, allow it to be granted to her as a boon The conduct of her friends in parliament was very extraordinary, whilst her trial was proceeding, they were making motion after motion for a prorogation, in order to put a stop to it, but now that it was over, they wished again to meet the question, and to drag the House again through all the mass of evidence which they had declared to be so disgusting. If they succeeded in their efforts, on their heads rested the responsibility. His lordship then proceeded to state, that

he felt compassion for the state to which the Queen had reduced herself, but there were so many circumstances that rendered her dangerous, that it became necessary to tear away the veil from her guilt. She had lent herself to a party who, he believed, entertained views dangerous to the established institutions of both church and state, and he therefore could honour her as little in a political as he could in a moral point of view. He would caution honourable gentlemen not to be deceived by her advocates, nor to be entrapped into the support of the present milk and water resolution, by any rash declaration that might have been made in the country. The country was now, thank God, coming to its senses, (*Hear, hear, from the Opposition benches,*) and the efforts of that party which had hitherto distracted the country, would soon expire if Parliament maintained its present firm tone of determination It ought to support the existing government in undiminished honour and character, or at once to extinguish the present cabinet as ministers

Mr Brougham would have taken no part in the debate, but for the insinuations by which the noble lord had revived all the late agitating and painful discussions. Little weight could be attached to the majority in the House of Lords, when its nature was examined If the House would allow him, he could shew in what way the majority for the Queen had been composed, he could shew how many of that majority owed their places, their patronage, their honours, and their revenues, to the patrons of the bill, he could prove, that while the minority could not in the slightest degree be influenced by the party who was to be the victim, the Illustrious Personage who was the unavowed prosecutor, was represented by his household, and state officers, and dependents of all ranks, and his power extended as well over those who waited for the highest rewards a monarch could bestow, as those who accepted even the lowest boons they could confer upon their adherents. Nothing was talked of on the other side, but the Queen's increasing and inconvenient popularity Why was she popular? And why were the hearts of all classes interested in her behalf? Because she was oppressed and persecuted, and if ministers wished to sink her into comparative oblivion, they had nothing to do but to abstain from that persecution. The people had witnessed a woman and a Queen maltreated, insulted, trampled upon; they had seen injuries inflicted where injuries were possible; and insults where injuries were powerless. They felt for her, because they loved the monarchy and the persons of their rulers, with what an historian had called, with somewhat of a sneer, "a childish admiration of royalty" For this the people of England had covered their Queen with the shield of their protection, and had covered themselves—he would boldly say it—with immortal renown, as lovers of justice and detesters of tyranny.

After an explanation from Alderman Heygate, and a reply from Lord A Hamilton, the House divided, when there appeared for the original motion, 209; for Mr Robinson's amendment, 310. The motion was therefore negatived by a majority of 101.

On the 31st January, Lord Castlereagh brought forward his announced proposition of going into a committee to consider of a provision for the Queen Mr Brougham hereupon immediately rose and made the following communication.—

"CAROLINE R.

"The Queen having learned that the House of Commons has appointed this day for taking into consideration the part of the King's most gracious speech which relates to her, deems it necessary to declare, that she is duly sensible of his Majesty's condescension in recommending an arrangement respecting her to the attention of Parliament She is aware that this recommendation must be understood as referring to a provision for the support of her estate and dignity; and from what has lately passed, she is apprehensive that such a provision may be unaccompanied by the possession of her rights and privileges, in the ample measure wherein former Queens Consort, her royal predecessors, have been wont in times past to enjoy them

"It is far from the Queen's inclination needlessly to throw obstacles in the way of a settlement which she desires in common with the whole country, and which she feels persuaded the best interests of all parties equally require, and being most anxious to avoid every thing that might create irritation, she cautiously abstains from any observation upon the unexampled predicament in which she is placed, but she feels it due to the House and to herself respectfully to declare, that she perseveres in the resolution of declining any arrangement, while her name continues to be excluded from the Liturgy

"*Brandenburgh-house,*
Jan. 31. 1821."

Mr Western bitterly reproached ministers with at once declaring their belief of the Queen's guilt, and proposing such a provision for her. They should first turn their attention to the state of the country, and inquire into the expenditure, with a view to its reduction. What would the people of the country say, when they learnt that a minister had dared to call the Queen of England an adulteress, and at the same moment had proposed to make a provision for her? After withdrawing the indictment, and abandoning the bill of Pains and Penalties, was it time to consider, whether the Queen was guilty or innocent? Under these impressions, he moved the previous question.

Lord Castlereagh conceived, there was not much notice due to the argument of the honourable gentleman, that the House should pay attention to nothing except the state of the country, and should make it preliminary to any provision for the Queen He passed, therefore, to consider the intimation now given by her Majesty. He apprehended that her Majesty would have an opportunity of exercising her right to abstain from benefiting by the resolution of the House No act of oppression was intended to be exercised by the Crown; her Majesty would be free to act, and would exercise her own discretion as to the acceptance of a grant, if the House should be disposed to vote one Her Majesty had been travelling in unconstitutional paths, and the whole system of her conduct had been to erect a great power to dispute with the Crown the allegiance of its subjects. They had lately heard of her Majesty's subjects, and of the allegiance owing to herself.

Here violent cries of order were raised, and a discussion of some length ensued, in the course of which Mr Hume cried out, "It is necessary that the noble lord should state, whether he thinks what he says, or knows what he means."

Lord Castlereagh maintained, that he had been strictly in order, and undertook to prove it, by several quotations from the Queen's speeches and answers, particularly where she says,

"I shall be happy to do any thing for the good town of Canterbury, and to make MY PEOPLE happy" He then added, we shall see by what means it is contemplated by her Majesty to render her people happy We shall see whether it is decided to be effected by a subversion of the Constitution of the country—whether it is by controlling the legislature, or by assailing the prerogatives of the Crown, or perhaps by effecting a reform in Parliament—a reform in the largest sense. He came, as one of the ministers of the Crown, to call the attention of the House to his Majesty's most gracious message, and in particular to that part of it in which the establishment of a provision for the Queen was recommended The question, therefore, was, whether the House would grant to the Crown the means of forming that provision? Prior to that grant from this House, her Majesty could not form any stipulations with it. When that grant was agreed to by this House, it would rest with her Majesty to refuse it. If the House stopped their proceedings to-day on this account, they might do it to-morrow for want of the introduction of the Queen's name into the Liturgy, and next day for want of her receiving a palace He attributed not the manifold attempts now made to disturb the peace of the country to her Majesty in particular; but there was a desperate faction—there were wickedly inclined and desperate men, who would plunge this kingdom into anarchy; but their attempts would be foiled. It was not the people who were to be feared as the disturbers of the state, but those desperate politicians who sought their own petty gains in the ruin of the existing state of things While he lived—while he had means of repelling that attack upon the Constitution of the country—while he was party to the King's councils, never would he suffer the constitutional authorities of the kingdom to be controlled in the exercise of their privileges—to be dictated to by any persons whatever The present introduction of the state of the country, joined with the paltry motion made on a former evening, clearly shewed that the object of the gentlemen opposite was, by aggravating the distresses of the country, to make their way to power, (*Calls to order.*) Lord Castlereagh concluded by saying, that the present question was not respecting the guilt or innocence of the Queen, but the provision to be made for her.

Mr Tierney, in rising, applied himself particularly to repel the charge made by Lord Castlereagh against the motives of his party. He would not stoop to the meanness and little deception of saying that he was not ambitious. He had always held those persons cheap who affected to despise proper and honourable rewards, which the possession of office conferred on him whose talents were dedicated to the performance of its duties, and not less so, those who thought that the acceptance of office necessarily implied a violation of political integrity and connexions For himself, he knew of no bond by which power could be gained—no connexion by which success could be ensured, but the union of the views and principles of those who were united to attain it. In this sense, perhaps, the opinion of the noble Lord might apply to him, and the other gentlemen on that side of the House. But if that noble lord meant to insinuate that power, and power only, was the object of himself (Mr Tierney) and his honourable friends around him, and that they would consent to accept power on the same terms as those on which his lordship held it, he threw back that imputation in the teeth of the noble lord, and could tell him that he would

rather die on a dunghill than sanction such acts as they had seen performed there. The demand for the restoration of her Majesty's rights was loud and general throughout the kingdom, from the north of Scotland to the Land's End But the noble lord had judged, and very wisely, that the re-establishment of the Queen's character, and the restoration of her rights, would necessarily be fatal to his continuance in office. Lord C. disclaimed any unmanly insinuations against the Queen; but in Mr Tierney's opinion, the most unmanly attack ever made against a defenceless woman, was that made on Friday by the noble Lord. With regard to the Queen's message, instead of being an attack against the dignity and privileges of Parliament, it appeared to him expressly calculated to obviate any such charge Being determined to refuse such provision, she sought to spare Parliament the trouble of voting it. He complained of the attack on his friends, as having endeavoured to excite agitation out of doors, he himself had been complained of as lukewarm in the business, and had been complimented by the noble lord on his moderation. He did view with perfect horror the doctrine which he had heard advanced within the last week or two He viewed it, perhaps, with the greater abhorrence, as having himself been brought up as a lawyer. It was a doctrine totally abhorrent from the principles of any gentleman's education, and one which, so help him God, he could never have thought the desperation of the most discomfited administration could drive them to He did not conceive, that the lords who voted for the third reading, had pronounced the Queen guilty, or had given any deliberate opinion on the bill. But why did not the noble lord take the third as well as the second reading? for the third must have been at least as much to the purpose as the second. Why? because then he must have acknowledged that the majority consisted of the prosecutors only. It would have been inconsistent with all that fine moral feeling which the noble lord vaunted so much to have made his statement against the Queen, had he recollected that ministers themselves formed exclusively that ultimate majority which pronounced against the Queen. The assertion that the Queen had been declared guilty was monstrous. He was very sure that there was no gentleman—no man of good feeling—no man who had studied the Constitution of England, that must not feel that if a doctrine such as that the noble lord maintained was to be tolerated, there was an end of all the security of character; and, in short, the character of every person in this kingdom might be damaged, provided the minister of the day should have the good luck to get through the second reading of a bill of Pains and Penalties He thought, after the character Lord Castlereagh had given of the Queen, he had very little reason to complain of Mr Western, at a period like the present, being unwilling to vote away to her any part of the public money He agreed with his honourable friend, he should object to vote away the public money under the circumstances. When he heard the noble lord declare, that though the Queen was "technically acquitted, she was morally guilty," he did marvel at the steadiness of his lordship's countenance, especially when he proceeded to argue, that any man who doubted the propriety of voting 50,000l. a-year to a person so circumstanced, could have no object except to raise a clamour and make a disturbance in the country The noble lord exclaimed, "You are leagued against the public tranquillity." Now

he did not think that he was a likely man to be accused of having a design against the tranquillity of the country. Ministers complained that on the present occasion they had not been opposed by a direct motion of censure, but by a mere milk and water mode of proceeding. Now, a milk and water mode was surely not one calculated to disturb the peace of the country. He could not conceive how the noble lord could assert that the proceedings held against the Queen had been conformable to the sense of the country. Where was that sense collected? Was it in the petitions with which the table groaned? Had not the petty malice, the persecuting hostility, exercised against the Queen, only increased her weight and interest with the nation. Never did he expect to see and hear what with his own eyes he saw, and with his own ears he heard. At one o'clock, in the House of Lords, it was declared necessary to pass a bill, and within half an hour afterwards, the same bill was rejected, and declared unfit for enactment. The noble Lord seemed to think that 50,000*l.* a-year was a salvo for every thing; but he was mistaken in his estimate, both of her character and of public opinion. He honoured her Majesty for her message of this day, because it shewed what persons in office were not accustomed to shew, that she preferred a fair character to every other earthly consideration. The whole of the conduct pursued by ministers towards the Queen, was marked by a little petty and rancorous malevolence, and he would like to see any sign of a spirit of accommodation and kindness pointed out in one line, even of the speech from the throne. The noble lord seemed to challenge a fresh motion, and a fresh motion he should have,—another motion he must have—the whole country called for another motion—to restore her Majesty's name to the Liturgy. It might be the duty of the minister to defy clamour, when it was intended to carry some great public measure, but let the noble lord recollect that the whole question with which he was agitating all England, was, shall an acquitted Queen have the benefit of her acquittal? The right honourable gentleman then commented at some length upon the fatal delusion of ministers, who appeared to suppose, that because they had committed one error in the first instance, therefore it was never to be retracted, since the dignity and security of the King's ministers were concerned, to this consideration every other was to yield.

Mr C. B. Bathurst supported the motion of Lord Castlereagh, and condemned, in many respects, the conduct of the Queen.

Lord Folkestone said, he must, in supporting the amendment of his honourable friend, the member for Essex, for adjourning, conjure the House at the last hour to pause before they proceeded further in the course they had taken. From the first step of the proceedings against her Majesty, from the bringing down of the green bags, he had never ceased to deplore the course taken. What he alluded to particularly in the noble lord's speech, was, the manner in which the noble lord had talked of her Majesty, mentioning her by name, and accusing her of attaching allegiance to herself—of exciting a tender interest in the hearts of the people—almost accusing her of high treason. Was this, he asked, fit language for the noble lord, in the present state of things? Petitions were poured in from every part of the kingdom, every one asking the restoration of her Majesty's name to the Liturgy. Was nothing due to the people? Was nothing due to those from whose impo-

verished pockets 50,000l was to be wrung, in order to make provision for the Queen? The people almost unanimously asked for it, and if it was a favour, that favour ought to be granted to the people. The noble lord had talked of the unconstitutional error into which her Majesty had fallen Unconstitutional! Those ministers complain of an unconstitutional error, who had brought in the bill of Pains and Penalties; who produced it as necessary, and yet who refused, when it was lost, to give the Queen her rights and liberties! Unconstitutional! This charge to come from a noble lord who had talked of a technical acquittal and moral conviction! Was it out of tender compassion for her Majesty that they had abandoned it? Was it from a feeling of mercy to an unfortunate and injured Queen? It was not It was because there was no evidence, no reasons, no facts, to support the case which they had attempted to make out. The noble lord had said, that even though her Majesty was convicted and degraded, she would have had a provision It might have been less than the one now proposed—it might have been 10,000l, instead of 50,000l, but still, when the Queen was denied her other rights, and when she was declared by the noble lord to be morally convicted, the magnitude of the sum was to be taken as no proof of her acquittal. She was put in the situation of one whose guilt had been proved, while she was denied those privileges and advantages that belonged to her rank and station —while her name was excluded from the Liturgy—while she was refused a palace to reside in, and deprived of that state which her predecessors enjoyed

Mr J Browne opposed the grant, from his conviction of the Queen's guilt and unworthiness When others were so angry, that those opposed to them considered the Queen guilty, he thought he had as good a right to complain of their assuming that she was innocent, after a bill of Pains and Penalties had been brought in against her, and carried to the second reading

Mr Lamb said, he was unwilling to utter one word that could reflect upon the character or conduct of her Majesty, but he thought it right to state, that he was bound to respect those noble peers who heard all the evidence, and who had delivered their opinion upon it The presumption was, that they had judged rightly, and he regretted that they had been called upon to pass any judgment at all He regretted that when a retreat had been offered her—a retreat into which she might have gone without any imputation on her character—a retreat on which she might have entered with the approbation and gratitude of all whose approbation and gratitude were worth having; and, in his opinion, with as much honour as she had found by pursuing a different course—he regretted that at that time she did not retire, and give up the question of the Liturgy. He thought that, even on the termination of the proceedings, a regard to the peace and welfare of the country might have dictated the same surrender, and to-night it would have given him great satisfaction to have found her coming frankly forward and making the sacrifice He did not condemn, but he deplored, the message that had been brought down. He thought it would be unwise and impolitic if the House in the least altered its course in consequence of that message

Mr Brougham had not intended to say a single word; but he could not sit silent under the view taken of the subject by his honourable friend. He must now urge, on the part of her

Majesty, that she had been not only virtually acquitted, but acquitted in every sense of the word, and that a most perverse judgment on her cause had appeared in more parts of the House than one, and just now had been pronounced from a quarter where he least suspected it His honourable friend seemed determined to render every thing said or done by the Queen as wrong, even when she demanded for herself the most common rights Even after her prosecutors had been obliged to abandon the proceedings against her, from their inability to substantiate them, from the total failure of the evidence upon which the charges rested, she ought, in the opinion of his honourable friend, to come forward and to confess herself guilty Admitting her to be the aggrieved party in the omission, he yet threw upon her the whole blame of the agitation which it had occasioned Lord Castlereagh, again, had begun by treating the exclusion as a stigma, and he now supported it on a principle of law entirely new—a principle monstrous in its possible application to the characters and fortunes of men, and hideous in its consequences—that there might be a technical acquittal with a virtual conviction. He was perfectly astonished at the objections which had been made to the message, and at its being considered as disrespectful to the House The interpretation of the language of her message was, that she understood from the votes of the House, which she was entitled to read, that provision was to be made for her to-night; and she said, that, under the circumstances in which she had been placed, she could not barter her honour for money; for, if she did, there was an end of her character, and with her character her safety. She warned the House, therefore, in respectful language, against voting the grant. She told them that the money to her would be useless, as, with the feelings which she entertained for the treatment which she had received, and the situation in which she was placed, the acceptance of it would be impossible The noble lord, on the contrary, said, "Wait till the money be voted, and then refuse it" But if she waited till then, on the same authority, she would be told that it was too late—that it was disrespectful to the House to refuse their grant, and that she ought to have interfered to prevent its being voted In the message which he had presented there was no disrespectful expression—no appearance of dictation—no claim of right—no assumption of authority. She only said, "You wish to make provision for me; in doing so, you mean my advantage, but allow me respectfully to decline it."

Mr H. Bright and Mr Martin of Galway opposed the adjournment. Its movers did not finally push the question to a vote, but allowed it to be negatived without a divison.

The House having now gone into the Committee, Lord Castlereagh named 50,000l. a-year as the amount of allowance which appeared to him most suitable It was the dower fixed on her Majesty by the marriage treaty; it was the sum which Parliament had thought fit to settle upon her in 1814, as Princess of Wales; and it was the sum which ministers had proposed to her Majesty at St Omer's He therefore proposed that 50,000l a-year should be settled upon her Majesty for life

The only opposition which this motion experienced, was from the somewhat free opponents of ministers, upon grounds, however, which could not be supposed very unwelcome to them.

Mr S. Wortley did not view this as a question of mere economy, nor did he speak of it with respect to her Ma-

jesty's guilt or innocence; but, be her guilt or innocence what it might, he thought that the language that her Majesty had been advised to use in her answers to some addresses, and particularly in her letter to the King, had made it unsafe for her Majesty to be intrusted with the management of so large a sum.

Lord J Russell expressed surprise at what had fallen from the honourable member, and conceived that the popular acts of which the Queen had been accused, were no other than those which had been imputed, on the most trivial grounds, to Catherine, Queen of Henry VIII.

Mr Hume insisted, that the passages upon which Mr Wortley and Alderman Heygate founded their charges, had been erroneously quoted, though, he admitted, not intentionally He would admit that some individual expressions were very strong, but, taking the general sentiments which pervaded the answers to the addresses, he contended that they were constitutional in the highest degree. (*Hear, and laughter*) He contended that the answers to those addresses contained the most constitutional principles and the most sound morality.—(*Hear, hear! and laughter.*)

Mr Martin was perfectly astonished that any one could use such language as Mr Hume, with regard to the addresses He had never heard another individual attempt to defend them

Mr Holme Sumner now rose, and reiterated in stronger terms the charge of Mr Wortley The noble lord opposite, (Lord John Russell,) said it was unmanly and ungenerous now to talk of the charges brought against her Majesty. Such was the language held by those from whom they heard every hour the cry of conspiracy, subornation, and perjury. While such a cry was raised by the gentlemen opposite, they were to shut their eyes to the conviction produced, not by hired evidence, but by her Majesty's own witnesses. Had her Majesty shewn any contrition for her conduct, he should be the last man in the world to say a word on the subject, but she had no claim to such indulgence. To his mind, the charge of adulterous intercourse, and of conduct more degrading than ever was proved in any class of life, had been clearly made out. The message brought down that very night breathed hostility, and shewed a disposition to keep the country in a state of disquietude — With a view even to economy, but much more with a view to safety, he thought the sum proposed too great. Before such a grant was submitted to the House, they had a right to be informed of the amount of advances made to the Queen since her arrival. It became her Majesty also to furnish, through her legal advisers, some account of the manner in which it had been disposed of.

Dr Lushington started up, and, with indignant derision, spoke of the temper, moderation, humanity, and justice, which had so conspicuously adorned the speech of the honourable member for Surrey—that honourable member was the first man in that House who had presumed to utter, who had dared to declare, that the Queen had been found guilty of adultery. Having heard, in all probability, the evidence but imperfectly—having, perhaps, merely read the evidence without seeing the witnesses—the honourable member came forward, uncalled, unasked, to declare her Majesty, in his firm conviction, guilty. Really, when he looked at the whole train of proceeding, and thought of the opinion which the honourable member had pronounced, he did think that the Queen might have met with a fairer trial from a jury of convicted

felons. With respect to the sums received by her Majesty, he could state, that they amounted to 35,000l a-year. He could further state, that on her first arrival, he had applied in her name for so small a sum as 5000l, and that it was refused She was therefore compelled to live for some time on credit

Mr Brougham also rose, and stated, that as to the law expenses, of which it might be expected that he should know something, he would merely say, that they were submitted to as strict an audit as any other species of public accounts The sums to defray them were issued by the Treasury, and the person who received was deemed accountable for them The sum as already issued to meet these expenses, was 50,000l, and he would say that it would fall short to cover them. If the honourable gentleman should think that they were too much, he could only say, that her Majesty, regretted as much as he could the absolute necessity there was for incurring them.

After a good deal of consideration, the report was brought up, and ordered to be taken into consideration on the following day

On the 1st of February, at the motion of Lord Castlereagh, the report was read Mr Holme Sumner rose, and justified the opinion he had yesterday expressed, though without having heard the whole of the evidence The testimony of the Queen's own witness, Lieutenant Hownam, appeared to him perfectly decisive of her guilt He moved the reduction of the grant from 50,000*l* to 30,000*l*.

Mr Brougham did not oppose the motion Whether 30,000*l*, 10,000*l*, or nothing, were voted by the House for her Majesty, was to himself, and his honourable colleague, who acted as counsel for her Majesty, a matter of perfect indifference. The Queen refused their money altogether, she would take no money; she had nothing to do with this grant At the same time he must appeal to the honourable member, whether it was manly, or decent, or consistent with the forms of the House, that he, and other honourable members, should go on, night after night, canvassing detached portions of the evidence in the Queen's case, all which evidence had been produced before the other House of Parliament? He wished it, however, to be now understood, that if he heard any other member single out parts of this evidence, on which he might have formed an opinion, and deliver his judgment in that House with reference to those particular parts, it was impossible that the matter could rest there Either the Queen was guilty, or she was not guilty; either she was acquitted, or she was not acquitted

Sir T. Lethbridge supported Mr Sumner's motion, particularly considering the use to which there was reason to believe the money would be applied, as he had been informed that the courier Bergami was now living at Paris in the style of a nobleman This was denied by Alderman Wood and Mr Brougham, but confirmed by Lord Lowther, who, in a late excursion to Paris, had Bergami pointed out to him in the street, his style and equipage were on a large and expensive scale. Alderman Wood insisted that Lord Castlereagh had misquoted the speeches made by the Queen at Dover and Canterbury. His lordship, however, though he could not pretend to be as well acquainted with the answers as the honourable alderman, who had travelled through the country for the purpose of knowing them, yet quoted several very recent ones, in which the Queen had called the addressers her subjects After a great deal of desultory skirmishing of this nature,

the gallery was cleared for a division, to which, however, Mr Sumner did not press his amendment, and the original motion was carried without a division

Sir J. Newport now called the attention of the House to a breach of their privileges, in the address presented by the presbytery of Langholm, on the late proceedings He observed on the right which was fully secured to the members of parliament, to debate all matters consistent with public affairs, without liability to injurious comment. This right had been violated in the present instance He did not, however, so much regard it, on account of the petition itself, as of the notice taken of it by government An answer had been returned, that it had been graciously received by his Majesty, and it had appeared in the Gazette, where, according to the late confession of one of the ministers, it was usual to insert only a selection of the addresses. That in question contained the following passages —

"We have witnessed with much concern, and we strongly deprecate the spirit of disaffection lately become so prevalent, from what we would term the violent and unconstitutional speeches of the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament, and the infamous scurrility and misrepresentation of a licentious press.

"With every good citizen and loyal subject, we reprobate the Address and Petition of the Common Council of the City of London, than which a greater insult could not be offered to Majesty, and which it behoves all who wish well to their King and country publicly to condemn; nor can we refrain from reprehending severely the insolence of certain members of the Opposition, upon the late prorogation of Parliament, for if such conduct in the representatives of the people pass unnoticed, what may be expected from the people themselves?"

The honourable member concluded with moving that this address was a breach of the privileges of the House

Lord Castlereagh and Mr Bathurst stated, that the address had been admitted by inadvertence, amid a crowd of others, which there had not been time to peruse attentively Its insertion had been a subject of particular regret to the minister of the home department. Lord C. conceived, however, that the subject having been thus mentioned and explained, no farther proceedings ought to be held No man could feel more strongly than he did for the privileges of the House, but if they were to notice every writing that could be construed into a breach of the privileges, their whole time would be occupied in such proceedings If it were laid down that all publications of this nature were to be brought under the notice of the House, he would by tomorrow select three or four specimens from addresses in which he, and those with whom he had the honour to act, were charged with motives the most base, with corruptions the most disgraceful, with the abandonment of duty, and with the commission of the most flagrant crimes Now, he was persuaded that the honourable baronet was influenced too much by the spirit of justice, to think of throwing his broad shield over his own friends, without allowing him (Lord C.) to produce what he might call his *conte-projet*, in defence of himself and of his colleagues.

Mr Scarlett, however, insisted that it was not so much the circumstance of the presentation of the address, as that of its sanction by ministers, which called for animadversion. It was finally agreed, that there should be an entry on the journals, purporting, that this publication contained gross

breaches of the privileges of Parliament; but that a communication having been officially made, that their insertion in the Gazette had taken place through inadvertence, the House did not feel themselves called upon to take any farther measures

On the 25th of February, another grand effort was made by the opponents of ministers. A motion of censure, for their conduct in the case of the Queen, was brought forward by the Marquis of Tavistock. The noble mover conceived, that the opinion of the public on this subject was so express and decided, that the vote of the House might be considered as a test how far the wishes of the people were represented in Parliament Anticipating an unfavourable result, he hailed these proceedings, rash, unjust, and illegal as they were, as the bright omen of reform, for which he trusted the people would now pour in petitions from every quarter. After taking a view of the series of proceedings, all of which he condemned, the noble marquis concluded by moving, "That the proceedings instituted against the Queen were not justified by the political expediency, or necessity of the case, and that they were derogatory to the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the best interests of the people."

A long debate ensued, and was continued for two days, in which Mr Lambton, Mr Whitmore, Sir James Mackintosh, Lord Nugent, Lord Milton, Sir F. Burdett, Mr Tierney, and Mr Brougham, supported the motion, which was opposed by Mr B Bathurst, Mr Bankes, Mr Peel, Mr Horace Twiss, Mr Huskisson, Mr Wellesley Pole, and Lord Castlereagh The subject, however, had already been discussed so repeatedly, and in such multiplied shapes, that an analysis of the debate could no longer possess any novelty Mr Wilberforce's sentiments were expected with some anxiety, but though he voted in favour of ministers, he did not speak Lord Castlereagh felt indebted to the noble member, for the candid and straightforward way in which he had brought forward his motion, by which he had rescued his party from the milk-and-water system with which they had so long been dealing. He might have rested upon repeated parliamentary decisions, which would have made the vote of censure operate as severely against the House as against ministers. He would waive this ground, however, and consider the question on its own merits He then went over the whole train of the proceedings, justifying at once their legality and expediency Mr Brougham, as it had been industriously circulated, that he had formed a private opinion of the Queen different from his public one, solemnly declared, that if he had been one of the Queen's judges, he would have conscientiously given a verdict of *Not Guilty*

On the vote being called, there appeared for the motion, 178, against it, 324, making the majority of 146 in favour of ministers

On the 13th, the last effort was made by Mr J Smith, who had announced his intention of moving an address to the throne, for the restoration of her Majesty's name to the Liturgy He altered his motion, however, to a mere resolution, "That the House was of opinion that her Majesty's name should be inserted in the collects, prayers, and litanies," &c The interest of the House was exhausted, and none of the great political combatants came down into the arena The motion was supported by Mr Tennyson, Mr Lennard, Mr Maryatt, Lord Milton, Sir J. Newport, and Mr Lamb, while it

was opposed by Mr Legge, Mr C Wynn Mr Stuart Wortley, Mr Wilmot, Sir T. Acland, and Sir J Marjoribanks. Mr Wilberforce, on this occasion, delivered his sentiments. Looking to the whole conduct of his Majesty's ministers, he saw nothing which called for the condemnation of the House and the country He felt doubtful as to the legal question of the right to omit her Majesty's name in the Liturgy He viewed with strong disapprobation the Queen's answers to the addresses, though he was ready to make allowance for the treatment experienced by her. At the same time, he thought that the restoration of her name in the Liturgy, was a point to which no objection could be made, and which might be yielded to the people, in order to allay their irritation

In consequence of the view thus taken by Mr Wilberforce, and some of his friends, the majority in favour of ministers was not so great in this question as in the former It was only 120, (298 to 178)

Although the general question in the Lower House was thus closed, a debate of some interest was moved by Lord Archibald Hamilton, on the Order in Council, directed to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, for the omission of the Queen's name in the prayers of that church His lordship began with alluding to the extraordinary declaration of Lord Castlereagh, that this motion was a disgrace to the order book of the House (*Cries of 'no ! no !'*) The words had not passed from his memory, and he was anxious to justify himself This Order in Council purported to be one to which obedience was lawfully due —It was issued on the same day with the English Order in Council, by virtue of which the Queen's name was omitted in the Liturgy ; it was drawn up in exactly the same terms, and signed by the same names, the Archbishop of Canterbury, &c It had, however, received a different fate from that issued in England And he meant to state, and without using a sarcasm, that due and proper obedience had been paid to the order sent to Scotland, by not obeying it at all In his opinion the order was either impotent or illegal ;—impotent, if they knew it would not be obeyed—illegal, if it were to be obeyed without any proper authority So that, in either case, he must beg leave to say that such an order reflected far greater disgrace upon the book of the Privy Council which issued it, than his motion could possibly do upon the order-book, according to the opinion of the noble lord opposite The first case in Scotland to which he meant to call the attention of the House, as following the arrival of the Order in Council in that part of the empire, was that of the County Sheriff acting at the Sessions of Kirkcudbright, and here he particularly begged their attention to the parties who were called upon to give efficacy to the order At the sessions to which he alluded, there met, the Sheriff, his son, a colonel of the Yeomanry, and the clergyman. At that meeting the Sheriff, his son, and the colonel, agreed, that in compliance with the Order in Council, they should prevent the Queen from being prayed for The clergyman, however, dissented from their opinion, and refused to omit her Majesty's name. The matter was then referred to the Presbytery, who approved of the conduct of the clergyman, disapproved of the Order in Council, ordered the minute of the Sheriff's approval to be erased, and the parties to appear before them for reprimand, and the whole decision to be read in the church. Surely this was throwing great obloquy upon the Order in

Council, and which, if that order were legal, must be attended with some penalty. The second case to which he wished to call the attention of the House was that of another Sheriff of a Scotch county, who was also a colonel of Yeomanry The colonel asked the clergyman of his district, whether he was a party to any agreement not to omit the prayer for the Queen in the church service. The clergyman replied very properly, that he would act in obedience to the law of the land The same clergyman, at the end of a sermon which he preached—one which was, as the learned lord opposite (the Lord Advocate) must admit, remarkable for nothing but the propriety of its language and sentiments—at the end of that sermon the clergyman, after praying for the King, said, "and bless likewise the Queen" For that conclusion the clergyman was on the same day (the Sunday) put under arrest He begged to be understood as not meaning that he was put under actual personal restraint; but merely that he was desired to consider himself as arrested, and the arrest was continued for that day The order was made to alter the prayers of a church which had no Liturgy, and was addressed to a body over which it had no more authority than it would have at Constantinople It might, perhaps, be shown that Orders in Council had formerly been addressed to the clergy of Scotland, but of this he was sure—that whenever such an order had produced any effect on the church, it had only been through the recommendation of the General Assembly, and not from any force in the edict itself, and this, in fact, had been the case on the marriage of the present King The case of arrest was one which particularly called for the sympathy of the House, for the clergyman on whom that outrage had been committed was an individual of the utmost respectability of character, who, so far from allowing his zeal in political matters to carry him too far, was one of the most moderate and temperate members in all the church But was a clergyman to be put under arrest, because he refused to pray, as he expressed it himself, "by word of command?" Let the House only reflect on the situation in which the Church of Scotland was placed by this order—a situation which left the clergy no alternative, but either to disregard an order of the King in Council, or to forfeit the respect of a great portion of their parishioners

The motion was seconded by Lord Glenorchy, who considered the order as a breach of the fundamental principles of the Church of Scotland

The Lord Advocate conceived, that the motion did the noble lord no discredit, and was only consistent with his principle of watching over the interests of Scotland The speaker, however, was prepared to defend ministers for advising this Order in Council He rested this defence, not merely on usage, though it had subsisted for upwards of a hundred years, but also on law. He founded the right on the act of the 10th of Anne, chap. 7. sect 10 By this enactment, he conceived that the Order in Council was fully warranted He did not say this on his own authority, but on such authority as, he believed, would be convincing to the whole House—he meant the Decisions of the Supreme Court in Scotland, by which individuals had been punished for refusing to pray, not for Queen Anne or the Princess Sophia, but for George I He contended then, that the act applied to every future sovereign and heir apparent. An Order in Council, dated the 21st of June,

1714, was sent down, ordering every minister to pray for Queen Anne and the Elector of Brunswick, (*Hear, hear,*) and a few months after, on the death of Anne, and the succession of George I, a similar Order in Council was sent to Scotland, enjoining the clergy to pray for his Majesty George I. The origin of the act of Queen Anne was this: the clergy in Scotland had been in the habit of praying for the King, but not by name, and as it was well understood that many of them meant the Pretender, this act was introduced for the purpose of tying them down, in express terms, to the name of the Sovereign. It had been held that that act of Queen Anne applied to King George, or the existing monarch, notwithstanding the limitation of its terms, and those persons were indicted before the Supreme Court of Justiciary in Scotland, for that offence. By the various decisions of that Court, it was held that the statute of Anne was "not limited to Queen Anne alone, but was to apply to the reigning Sovereign of the day." The learned lord then went over a number of trials, which had been decided upon this principle. Whether the House should consider these decisions right or wrong—such as they were, they were the decisions of the Supreme Criminal Court of Scotland, and found under circumstances in which, if the Court had entertained any doubts upon their cases, those doubts would have availed the panels. From the year 1714 down to this moment, whenever any alterations of the Liturgy of the Church of England took place, by virtue of an Order of the King in Council, a like order had been sent down to the Moderator of the Church of Scotland, directing him to take the necessary measures for adopting a similar step there. The proceeding of the present government then, was one which had been universally practised, for a long period of time, by their predecessors, and it was complied with by the Church of Scotland in these cases as an act of due respect and consideration for the authorities of England. The present order merely enjoined to pray "for his sacred Majesty King George IV, and all the Royal Family." He was ready to admit, that though the order thus required that the clergy should pray for King George and all the Royal Family, they were not excluded from praying for any particular branch besides of the Royal Family that they chose. And he was also free to confess, that if a clergyman might think proper to pray for the Queen also, *nominatim*, he did not see anything illegal in it. But when it was asserted that such a prayer for the Queen was the universal custom of the Church of Scotland, he must deny it. When it was said that nine-tenths of the Scottish clergy so prayed, he would venture to observe, that he believed the ratio to be just the reverse. As to what the noble lord had said relative to a letter sent from the Secretary of State, that was quite a different question, and one into which he was not bound to enter. The two subjects of the motion had no sort of connexion whatever. They related to different circumstances occurring at different times. The facts of that case to which the noble lord alluded, had been fairly stated by the noble lord. In the kirk session, it appeared that two members voted against the opinion of the third, "that during the vacancy, it was highly inexpedient that the clergy should pray for the Queen." He was not going to defend this proceeding, on the contrary, he thought it unwise, foolish, and illegal. But what happened afterwards? The presbytery, on receiving intelligence of the matter, saw

at once the illegality of the act, and not only ordered that proceeding of the kirk session to be erased from the books, but cited the individuals who had originated it to appear before them, and answer for their conduct The parties did appear before the presbytery, acknowledged the irregularity they had committed, and expressed their regret, the presbytery put an end to the whole proceeding, declaring themselves satisfied with the acknowledgment that had so been made. He could not, therefore, help saying, that after everything which had taken place, it was now quite too late to bring the matter forward in Parliament Then came another circumstance by no means connected with the other. The proceeding against the chaplain had nothing to do with the proceeding in the kirk session, they were quite independent of each other In this case, the colonel of the Yeomanry corps of the county of Kirkcudbright made application to a gentleman, who was the chaplain of that corps, in order to know whether he should think it his duty to pray for the Queen in public or not? The chaplain, for reasons best known to himself, did not think proper to answer that application, which he (the Lord Advocate) could not help regretting, as it might have prevented what followed. In justification of the colonel, he, for one, could not blame him very deeply for his extreme anxiety on such a subject Upon the return of the chaplain, that officer communicated to him that he must consider himself under arrest That arrest was continued, it was not a close one, but he was confined within the limits of the county. It lasted, altogether, for about three weeks, in order to allow time for the colonel to ascertain the sentiments of government upon the business The noble lord spoke of such a communication having been made to him (the Lord Advocate.) This was wrong; it was made to the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and by him referred to Lord Sidmouth, as Secretary of State Lord Sidmouth, undoubtedly, did communicate to the Lord Lieutenant, that the government would not interfere The colonel of the regiment then informed the chaplain that his arrest was at an end Upon these facts, and the refusal of government to interfere, surely this was a matter not proper to be brought forward in parliament. He had been informed that the injured party meant to bring his action at law against the officer, and surely this was the legal and proper mode of proceeding

Sir James Mackintosh was led to make a few observations on the candid speeches of the gentlemen on both sides, by that warm affection for the interest of Scotland, which neither the lapse of time, the distance, nor occupation, could ever eradicate from his bosom. He considered the speech of Lord A Hamilton as thoroughly conclusive. He took a view of the constitution of the Church of Scotland, which acknowledged no head upon earth, and was entirely independent of government It was not his wish to dispute the authority of an act of parliament, but that of Anne appeared to him clearly to be temporary in its nature and provisions. The convictions to which the learned lord alluded were ill chosen They took place during the four years that passed between two rebellions; before the ashes of one rebellion were cold, and while a new one was kindling—when every thing concurred to disturb the calm administration of justice The whole question before the House had been waived

by the learned lord, by a piece of dexterity which his natural candour sometimes allowed to be seen through. The question was, not whether they should blame the issue of an order directing the King to be prayed for by name, it was not in ordering the King to be prayed for by name, but the implied omission which gave to this order its questionable character The order issued to the Church of Scotland was in the same terms as that to the Church of England, and it was certainly understood by the whole body of the church of England, as an order *not* to pray for the Queen by name What then was the natural construction to be put upon this order, but that the Church of Scotland were commanded in the same manner to omit the name of the Queen? But the King was not the head of the Church in Scotland, there was no Act of Uniformity which could apply to Scotland, and the statute of the 10th of Anne gave no authority to order the omission of any name

Lord Castlereagh conceived that the whole question was unworthy of the notice of parliament It related merely to two slight cases of individual injury, the proper place to try which was in a court of law Such questions were brought down, the business of the Session was delayed in discussing them, and it must be obvious, that they could answer no other purpose but that of sending statements abroad calculated to poison the public mind What, he asked, were the cases introduced? They were cases already settled, one of them referred to the decision of an inferior court, which had been disapproved and set aside by the superior court, and the other was the case of an individual to which his Majesty's government had given no sanction or approval Why, he again asked, were not such matters left for the decision of the law courts, or why was the House called upon to waste its time, in discussing such cases?

After some further conversation, the motion was negatived by 110 to 35

The only remaining step consisted in the passing of the Queen's annuity bill, in the House of Lords. This question, on that great theatre of former conflict, did not produce the warm discussion that was expected. Lord Darnley agreed for once with Lord Liverpool, in approving of the sum which had been proposed He could not say, with all due respect for the House of Commons, that he agreed with the other vote, by which they had declared that no censure was to be passed on his Majesty's ministers He was afraid, that whether they acted right or wrong, there was a strong impression, that under any circumstances whatever, the present government were to be supported. And though he had reason to believe, that if he were to move an address to his Majesty, praying that the Queen's name be restored to the Liturgy, there was a number of individuals in that House, with some of whom he was acquainted, and others whose conduct during the late proceedings had shewn they preferred their duty to their country to their duty to ministers, who would favour him with their votes, yet he was disposed for the present to relinquish that intention At the same time he declined giving any pledge against hereafter proposing a measure, which he considered highly desirable, and one, the voluntary adoption of which would do the greatest honour to his Majesty He thought her Majesty had been substantially acquitted, but he did not wish it should be supposed that he approved of her conduct in every instance Had she been better advised, and had she not suffered certain publications to appear under the sanction

of her name, her claim would have been irresistible, and he would not have been under the necessity of relinquishing at present his motion for bringing it forward There was a point to which he could not forbear drawing the serious attention of their lordships It would be a great calamity, at least it ought to be so appreciated by all those who were anxious for the security of our establishment, if the members of the Established Church, who ought to find in its bosom the oblivion of all political differences, were driven out of its pale by being daily reminded, by the omission of the Queen's name, of those unfortunate circumstances in which the Sovereign and his Consort were placed, and which had disgraced the country He was informed that the consequence of that omission, had already been a considerable secession from the Established Church, and he believed it He even understood that one of those reverend gentlemen who mingled politics with their sacred functions, had been under the necessity of exhorting his congregation, because he had found that a very great secession had taken place in consequence of the religious feelings of pious Christians being shocked by the omission of her Majesty's name in the Liturgy

The Lord Chancellor conceived there could be no doubt whatever as to the legality of the exclusion. The Archbishop of Canterbury apprehended, if there had been any secession on this ground, of which he had never heard, it must have been from political only, not from religious, motives.

Lord Ellenborough said, when he considered her Majesty's conduct, he could not see any ground which entitled her to such a favour as to be allowed so large an income When he looked at that conduct as it had been proved at the Bar of the House, when he looked at her replies to addresses, and her letter to his Majesty, he could not think that the munificent provision now proposed would be employed as it was meant, to support the dignity of the situation and character of Queen He feared, on the contrary, that whether at home or abroad, so large a provision would only enable her to disgrace still more deeply than she had done, the high situation which she held He conceived that motives of economy might also be taken into account. At the same time he did not think it expedient to propose a lesser sum, at the risk of occasioning a contest between the two Houses of Parliament, and reviving discussions which the public interest demanded should no longer be agitated He wished to do nothing which might prevent her Majesty from falling as soon as possible into that oblivion to which she ought to be consigned. When this bill should have passed, he trusted that the House would have got rid of the subject altogether, that it would no longer disturb Parliament This he thought formed the great benefit of throwing out the bill of Pains and Penalties, which pending, the irritation of the country would never have subsided He trusted that the Queen would not, for the sake of keeping up that irritation, refuse the magnificent provision made for her by Parliament, and prefer becoming the pensioner of a party.

The Marquis of Lansdowne was prepared to accede to the grant, and was happy that his noble friend, Earl Darnley, had followed his recommendation, of not pressing any motion on the subject. Disapproving of the Queen's letter to the King, and of her answers to addresses, he still thought much allowance was to be made for the situation in which she had been placed. If, in the pro-

ceedings instituted against her, she had found in the Peers of England, persons not confining themselves to the duties of peers, but exercising the functions of prosecutors—if she had been led to think that a process new to the constitution, had been set on foot by ministers against her, and sanctioned by that House, he was bound to say that improprieties in her conduct since her arrival in this country there might have been, but no member of that House, after the abandonment in which she had been left in point of dignity and comfort, ought to wish her to be made responsible for them. He, therefore, did not object to the present grant, and he thought that her Majesty, not being called upon to wave her claim to the insertion of her name in the Liturgy, was not bound to refuse the money. She had been ill advised to refuse it, and he still trusted she would be well-advised to accept it.

The bill passed without any farther observation or discussion

The bill having thus been carried through all its stages, received the royal assent, and waited only the Queen's acceptance of the sum thus voted. This acceptance, after some delay, and notwithstanding the contrary recommendation of injudicious advisers, she was wise enough to grant Thus this long series of proceedings, which, during more than six months, had agitated the House and the nation, was brought to a final termination

CHAPTER II.

FINANCE.

Introduction of the Subject —Motions by Mr Maberly, Mr Creevey, and Mr Hume —Navy Estimates —Army Estimates, numerous Divisions —Ordnance Estimates —The Budget.—Address to the Crown on the subject of Economy and Retrenchment

THE agitation of the House and the country on this painful question being brought to a period, the chief subject of contest during the remainder of the session, was the standing subject of finance On this field a new combatant had recently appeared, who, by activity and determination, soon thrust himself forward into a conspicuous place We took once occasion to complain of the popular chiefs as advancing charges which were too vague, too sweeping, and never laying their finger upon any real or practical grievance This charge is certainly redeemed by Mr Hume, who can be accused of nothing but the excess of minuteness. If the others attacked no detail, he attacks indiscriminately every detail He somewhere, we think, lays it down as a maxim, to advance all the charges which he has heard, or can think of, taking the chance of being able to make good some one or other of them. He has thus brought forward many rash assertions, and inaccurate calculations, yet, presenting an immovable front to all the buffets with which he was overwhelmed, he continued to press towards his point. As money is the subject on which the House shews itself always the most sensitive, and on which it divides stronger against ministers than on any other, he was sure of support whenever he had got any good ground to stand upon. His disputations, hence, though too much multiplied, and often trifling, had the effect of introducing a more systematic plan of keeping accounts, and a more rigid determination to practise economy than heretofore. Our readers, therefore, will not, we suppose, be unwilling to follow this determined investigator through the narrative of his multifarious career during the present session.

The financial campaign was opened on the 1st February by Mr Maberly, who moved for a variety of accounts relative to the sinking fund. Its nominal amount of 17,000,000*l*, he observed, was rendered nugatory by a loan of 12,000,000*l*., which reduced its real amount to 5,000,000*l*. He urged that this fictitious system should be done away with, and the sinking fund stated in the public ac-

counts at what it really was, being only the excess of national income above expenditure. This view was seconded by Mr Grenfell. The Chancellor of the Exchequer observed, that the country, he was glad to say, had now arrived at that period when they might bid adieu to new loans and new taxes The expenditure of the year would be met by the revenue, and he had to congratulate the country on a great increase of the export trade

In the course of a desultory debate, Sir J Newport complained of the great rise which had taken place in the expense of collecting the Irish revenue. Since 1808, it had risen from 11*l* to 25*l* per cent Mr Vansittart explained this to arise, in a great measure, from a large part of the expense being no longer charged on the merchants as formerly, but now defrayed by the revenue Mr Baring and Mr Philips complained of the unintelligible manner in which the public accounts were made up, but the old mode, according to Mr Vansittart, served many useful purposes, though it was not comprehended by the honourable gentlemen opposite

A pretty warm conversation also took place on the 9th, when the minister moved the appointment of a committee of ways and means Mr Creevey referred to the petitions from the agricultural and commercial interests, which fully proved the monstrous distress under which the country laboured—distress so great, as to prepare one part of the community to go to war with the other for the possession of its property, and yet in this deplorable state, nothing in the way of relief was even hinted at by government—they heard no plan for the amelioration of distress—night after night they had before them the old story of committees of supply and ways and means, but they heard not one word about reform—not one word upon the necessity of retrenchment Under such circumstances, he would not consent to grant one farthing of the public money—he would divide the House upon every vote, until he had some distinct pledge from those who took upon them to manage the affairs of the country, that some plan of practical reform should be submitted to that House He would call upon the landholder and the fundholder, to unite—to unite against monsters—the monsters were not the fundholders, the monsters were those who held places under the crown, and appeared in that house They appeared in that house under various characters, as lay lords of the Admiralty, as puisne commissioners of the India Board, but they shewed that they were real pensioners—dependents on the bounty of the crown; their presence in that house was useless—it was worse than useless, for there they were to vote on all occasions with the minister, never with the people. Let it not be supposed that he objected to the responsible ministers of the crown sitting in that house, their presence was necessary, but it was a monstrous thing to see persons holding places at pleasure under the crown, sitting and voting in that house, these formed a part of the pack which stood firm and united, it was found impossible to break in upon them There were 72 persons in that house who held places to the amount of 120,000*l* a-year, and 40 members were sufficient to make a house, to vote away the public money, or to invade the public liberties! Was such an abuse to be endured? Was it possible from such men to expect the introduction of any plan of economical reform? There was another body of men in that house who were called independent members,

there were no greater enemies to the country than those independent members; then votes were with the ministers, then families lived upon the taxes, and did any one doubt it? could the right honourable gentleman deny it? The brothers, sons, and more distant relations of those members would be found throughout the country, holding places in the customs, in the distribution of stamps, and in various other departments

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in answer, took occasion to state, that a reduction of 1,000,000*l* was expected to be made in the estimates of the year, and that there would be a saving of 130,000*l* in the management of the revenue, without diminishing the efficiency of the system

Mr Hume complained, that the estimates would still amount to 18,000,000*l*, being a million more than had been contemplated by the committee of finance in 1817

Colonel Davies and Sir J Newport complained of the late period at which the estimates were laid before the House, so that parliament were obliged to vote away almost all the money, before they could be examined and reported upon A most indecorous hurry was thus produced at the close of the session, and sometimes thirty or forty bills were passed in a day. As an instance of the bad effects of this system, he recollected a bill laying a duty upon madder having passed both Houses, when it was discovered that the word "madder" was omitted

Mr Huskisson represented that the mode of presenting the estimates was now much improved He recollected the time when they were not printed at all, now they were much clearer and in greater detail Inadvertencies like those mentioned were unavoidable under the last system of legislation, he remembered a bill to exact double tolls on a certain road on Sunday, and by a mistake it was so framed as to import, that only half could be levied on that as on other days

The first estimates introduced to the notice of parliament, were those for the navy On the 2d February, Sir George Warrender, in the committee of supply, proposed a reduction of 1000 in the number of men required for this service His motion was for 22 000 seamen, including 8000 marines

Mr Hume urged, that the reduction should rather have been made in the marines

The minister said, that this opinion differed from that of all those who were acquainted with the service In the event of war, a fleet of twenty sail could be immediately manned from the mercantile navy, whereas, the marines could receive no such immediate increase

On the 4th May, when the navy estimates were brought up, and previous to Sir G Warrender moving the grant, Mr Hume proposed a series of resolutions, which, on account of the information contained in them, we shall here insert.

"That it appears, by the returns before this House, that the expense of the admiralty office, of the navy pay office, and of the navy office establishments, in the year 1792, when there were 144 ships in commission, 257 ships in ordinary, and 16,000 seamen and marines in the service, was 58,719*l*, that, in the year 1813, when there were 666 ships in commission, 355 in ordinary, and 140,000 seamen and marines in the service, the expense of those offices was 189,227*l*, and in the estimates for 1821, when there are only 119 ships in commission, 582 in ordinary, and 22,000 seamen and marines in the service, the expense is 185,000*l* for

those offices, being only a reduction of 4,177*l.* in the sixth year of peace, from the year 1813 of extended warfare, and the sum of 126,331*l* more in 1821 than in 1792.—That the expense of the dock-yard establishments in England in the year 1792 was 25,352*l*; in the year 1813 it amounted to 212,143*l.*; and in the estimate for the year 1821, the amount is 210,745*l.*, being only 1,398*l.* less than in 1813, and of 185,393*l* more in 1821 than in 1792, that the expense of the foreign dock-yards in the year 1813 was 52,369*l*, and by the estimate for 1821, the charge is 53,951*l*, being 1,591*l* more in the year 1821, a year of peace, than in 1813, a year of war:—That the sum voted for the ordinary estimate of the navy in the year 1792, was 672,482*l*, the sum voted for the ordinary estimate of the year 1813, was 1,757,928*l*, and that the ordinary estimate for 1821 amounts to 2,484,600*l*, being 1,812,118*l* more than the estimate of the year 1792, and 726,672*l* more than that of the year 1813.—That the total supply voted for the service of the navy in the year 1792 was 1,985,482*l*, with 16,000 seamen and marines in the service, that in the year 1819 the supply voted for the navy was 5,985,415*l* with 19,000 seamen and marines in the service, and the estimate for the total supply of 1821 is 6,382,786*l*, with 22,000 seamen and marines in the service, being a charge of 1,397,301*l* more in 1821 than in 1792, and of 397,371*l* more in 1821 than in 1819."

After a few words from Sir George Warrender, Mr Hume forbore to press his motion.

Sir George now brought forward the navy estimates. He observed, that it was impossible for parliament to judge of the amount of emoluments received by dock-yard officers in the year 1792, from any documents submitted to its notice. At that time a dock-yard officer, with a salary of only 100*l* a-year, might receive emoluments to the amount of 1000*l.* a-year; whereas at present all his emoluments were known to, and limited by, parliament. Formerly, so far from being a check to abuse in the yard to which he was attached, he was actually busied in promoting it. At present, a system had been introduced, which made it his interest to look carefully after the interest of the public. The plan of task and check work had certainly introduced new officers into his Majesty's yards, but the benefits derived therefrom had more than compensated the expense they had occasioned. On the return of peace, it had been the first object of government to place such of our ships as had been for many years at sea, in an efficient state of ordinary, and that object had been so far accomplished, that orders had already been issued from the board of admiralty for the discontinuance of one fifth of the men employed in the dock-yards. Besides this reduction, inquiries were now making for the purpose of discovering what further reductions could be effected. He believed he might promise the House that a very considerable reduction would be made with respect to the commissioners of dock-yards, and also to the civil officers employed in them, in the course of the ensuing year, and he did not know whether it might not be found expedient to reduce one of the dock-yards altogether within that period. The honourable Baronet then proceeded to detail the different items in the estimates. He stated, that the increase of 11,000*l* in the salaries and contingencies of the admiralty-office was occasioned partly by the reward given by the board of longitude to the crews of the Hecla and Griper, and partly by circumstances which he would at a future period shortly enumerate. The

disbursements of the assistant to the counsel of the navy in law suits, &c was 11,000*l* this year; last year they had only been 8000*l*. There was also an increase in the contingencies relative to the service wherein the hydrographer was employed; but this would not be surprising to any member who recollected that the maritime surveys were more conveniently taken in a time of peace than in a time of war. He should have to ask for a grant of 32,000*l* to Greenwich hospital, as also 8000*l* to the naval asylum Last year he had asked 11,000*l*. for that purpose, But as it was now intended to unite that establishment with the school at Greenwich hospital, several expensive offices would be reduced, and the sum which he had mentioned would be sufficiently large for the present year He should now move, "That the sum of 2,184 599*l*. 11*s*. 5*d*. be granted for the ordinary expenses of the navy for the year 1821."

Mr Bernal objected to the voting so large an amount in one sum.

Sir George said, that this had been the uniform practice, but feeling a presentiment that the old method might be objected to, and being as desirous as possible to have these estimates thoroughly sifted, he had prepared them so as that they could be brought forward *item* by *item* Withdrawing his general motion, he therefore moved, in the first instance, 70,596*l* 5*s* 1*d* for salaries and contingent expenses of the admiralty office

Mr Bernal insisted, that the following savings might be effected:—Two lords of the admiralty, 1000*l* a-year each, vice-admiral of Scotland, 1000*l*., paymaster of royal marines, 500*l*; in all, 3500*l*.

Sir George Cockburn insisted, that all these offices were necessary, particularly the two lords of the admiralty. If the gentlemen opposite could find any individual who could, without injury to his health, attend at his office from nine o'clock in the morning till four in the afternoon, and then be in his place in that House from four in the afternoon until two in the morning, to answer such questions as might be put to him, he, for one, had no objection to let them instal him in the office. He was of opinion, however, that no such individual could be found; and until such an individual could be found, he would maintain that seven lords of the admiralty were not too many for the office.

Sir Joseph Yorke, on the other hand, who had himself sat at the board, declared that he was sure that the efficiency of the admiralty would not be at all diminished, if the number of the lords were five instead of seven. On his faith, his honour, and his conscience, he believed it Until the year 1806, the salary of the first lord was 3000*l*., when it was increased to 5000*l*. at the time when Earl Grey held the office It did appear to him a little extraordinary, that the gentlemen over the way did not advert to this subject Not that it was possible that a nobleman or a commoner could maintain the situation of a cabinet minister on 3000*l* a-year, without great loss, but if the first lord had any other office, he certainly should not take, in all, more than 5000*l* a-year The Marquis of Camden had the thanks of the House for giving up part of his salary as teller of the exchequer, but a right honourable relative of his own (Mr C Yorke) had given up the additional 2000*l* a-year while he held the place of first lord, and not a word was said about it He meant no personal offence to any gentleman, but he was of opinion that the business of the admiralty could be as well transacted by five as by seven lords

Mr Robinson, who had also sat at the navy board, professed a directly opposite opinion

Mr Creevey observed the dilemma to which he and his friends were reduced by such contrary statements. It seemed they were voting a supply for five members of parliament He approved of the heads of offices sitting in the House, but did not see why all the minor officers of government should be there to vote upon the extent of their own emoluments

The same remark was pressed by Mr Hume

Mr Croker again declared, that, having thirteen years experience of the labours of the board, he must state his deliberately formed conviction, that the constitution of that board was not only highly useful, but almost absolutely indispensable Even if the alteration were carried into effect, he could not contemplate any saving to the public, for, as it would then become indispensably necessary that the remaining commissioners should devote their whole time to the duties of their office, it would be impossible to appropriate to them smaller salaries than those of the under secretaries of state.

The committee having divided upon this subject, the original resolution was carried only by a majority of 115 to 77 Another proposed reduction of 1000*l* was negatived by a majority of 118 to 55.

The next vote was of 38,924*l* 2*s*. 6*d* for the navy pay office.

Mr Hume observed, that the charge was only 44,930*l* in 1813, when the establishment of the navy was 120,000 seamen, and the expenditure 22 millions He conceived, that the reduction ought to have been much greater, when there were only 14,000 seamen, and an expenditure of six millions.

Mr Robinson explained at full length the cause of the expenditure being still so high. It arose chiefly from two new and highly important departments, the inspector's branch and the prize branch.

Mr Hume declared himself so satisfied with the honourable gentleman's statement, that he declined pushing the question to a vote

On the 7th May, Mr Hume objected to the sum of 955,000*l* for completing the dock-yards at Sheerness. He, therefore, moved, "that the amount of the estimates for completing these works was 824,992*l* in 1814, and 433,800*l*. in 1818, and although the large sum of 1,147,000*l* has been expended, a further sum of 955,121*l*. is stated as necessary to complete the improvements in that yard, and which will make the total charge for one dock-yard 2,102,421*l*.—That, therefore, under such varying and uncertain estimates, it is expedient that a committee of this House should be appointed to inquire into the expenditure and future estimates of all works in dock-yards"

Sir G Cockburn, Sir J. Yorke, and Sir J Coffin bore testimony to the great utility of these works, which would be rendered useless if not speedily completed. Mr Hume's motion was negatived by 82 to 27

On the same day, 129,395*l*. was voted for vessels in ordinary; 970,400*l*. for half-pay to officers, 1,094,589*l*. for building and repairing ships of war.

Mr Hume moved a reduction of the last sum to 794,580*l*; but on understanding that this could not be done without the violation of certain contracts, he agreed to the postponement of the saving till after their fulfilment. Mr Hume objected also to the sum of 424,648*l* for improvement in the dock-yards, which he understood was only part payment of two millions

Sir George Warrender explained,

and the original vote was carried by 107 to 30.

The army estimates were contested at every point in a more detailed manner, and with still greater obstinacy. On the 9th March, when the proposal was made for the House going into a committee, Mr Creevey opposed such a step till a strict investigation had been made into the public expenditure. He bitterly reproached parliament with the insensibility they displayed to the distresses of the nation. He called upon the House to consider the number of offices and pensions held by members of parliament, also the large sinecures and pensions by which government could secure the interest of the great families. He would oppose the vote till all these things were thoroughly investigated

Lord Palmerston observed, that if the honourable gentleman meant to oppose voting any supply till all the above questions were satisfactorily adjusted, his motion went to put an entire stop to the government of the country.

Even Mr Calcraft confessed that he was taken by surprise by the motion of his honourable friend, and was not prepared immediately to decide upon so important a question as that which his proposition involved Neither was he prepared to take a step which went to embarrass, not the particular administration, but the general government of the country Strong as was his hostility to ministers, he could not take this mode of gratifying any party feeling.

Although, therefore, the motion was supported by Mr Bennett and Mr Monck, it was negatived by 172 to 38

Mr Hume, without seeking to impede public business, wished to put on record a review of the comparative state of the military establishments now and at a former period. He condensed a speech of some length into the following resolutions.

"1 Resolved, That it appears by the official returns before this House, that the total military establishment of Great Britain and Ireland for 1792, (exclusive of the East Indies, and of the artillery, militia, and marines,) consisted of 48,474 men, namely, 15,918 for Great Britain, Guernsey, &c., 17,323 in the colonies abroad, and 15,232 in Ireland, and that the total military establishment of Great Britain and Ireland for 1821, (exclusive of India, the artillery, the militia, and marines,) consists of 81,106 officers and men, namely, of 27,852 in Great Britain, Guernsey, &c.; 32,476 in the colonies abroad, and 20,778 in Ireland

"2 Resolved, That the supplies for the expense of the military establishment of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1792, were 2,331,149*l*, that the supplies voted for the military establishment of Great Britain and Ireland, for 1820, were 9,500,216*l*, and that the army estimates for 1821, now submitted to the House, are only 167,498*l* less than those of 1820.

"3 That there were in the service of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1792, (exclusive of the regular cavalry and infantry,) 25,757 troops, namely 3730 of royal artillery, 4425 of royal marines, and 17,602 of disembodied militia, and in 1821, (exclusive of the regular cavalry and infantry,) the number of 125,492 troops, namely, 7872 engineers and artillery, 8000 royal marines, 51,998 disembodied militia, and 57,622 yeomanry cavalry and volunteer infantry, being in number a larger force by 132,367 men, available for purposes of government, in the year 1821, than the government had in 1792

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this House, that, under the present circumstances of the country, it is expedient to make a large reduction in the amount and expenditure of its military establishments, and to approximate as soon as possible to the establishment of 1792, as recommended by the Finance Committee of 1817."

On the 12th of March, Lord Palmerston prepared to lay the army estimates before the House Before he began, however, Mr Hume rose and urged, that the time was now come for putting the above resolutions, read on the former day They contained only matters of fact, and pledged the House to no specific measures

Lord Castlereagh conceived there could be no objection to their being entered on the journals, if the honourable member would wait till the proper time, but it would be absurd to call on the House to record an opinion against the estimates, before those estimates were taken into consideration

Lord Palmerston pointed out a number of errors of calculation which he conceived the honourable member to have committed He had read somewhere, that it was said by a sage of antiquity, there were two things which were beyond the control of men, and even of the immortal Gods, namely, past events and arithmetic, but the honourable member had a genius which that sage never contemplated, for he exercised a despotic control over both those things—(*a laugh*)—past events he could alter, and the rules of arithmetic he had the talent to subvert However, he would do the honourable member the justice to believe that he was not accountable for all the inaccuracies of his resolutions in finance. He understood that he was chairman of a self-constituted committee of finance, which sat from time to time upon the army estimates, as well as other subjects of calculation, and drew up those resolutions, for all the mis-statements in which it would not be fair to make the chairman responsible. (*A laugh*) There was also, he understood, an establishment of clerks, who made up the accounts under the direction of the committee, and if these accounts were not more accurately made up for the future, he would move for returns of the expenses of the said establishment, in order to ascertain whether the salaries of those clerks were greater than their attention and ability merited.

Mr Hume defended his calculations He would not deny that he submitted those accounts to the inspection of one or two friends, but not of a self-constituted committee He wished the noble lord would manage his establishment as cheaply as he did his He employed no clerks to assist him In such matters, where the interest of the public was so much at stake, it was no difficult matter to find volunteers. The House divided upon the resolutions, which were negatived only by a majority of 98 to 24.

Lord Palmerston now rose, to lay the estimates before the House The principle proposed to be acted upon was a reduction of the establishment, and a diminution of expense The House would see from the estimates, that a reduction had taken place in every thing which was under the effectual control of the executive government, and where an increase should appear, that it had arisen in consequence of certain and fixed rules, which placed these departments beyond the control of the executive government. The veteran battalions had been raised at a moment when the tranquillity of the country had been endangered, and the government at that time pledged themselves that a reduction of those battalions should take place as soon as the situation of the country could justify such a reduction The estimates would shew that government had acted according to the rule laid down,

and had been true to their promise, and would, he hoped, convince the country that the government were alive to its interests. These battalions had been reduced, and the result of such a proceeding was a reduction of 9800 men, and a saving of 144,998*l.* There was a greater apparent decrease in the estimates, because a sum of 185,000*l* was voted for clothing in the last year Comparing the estimates for the land forces of this year with the estimates of last year, the reduction amounted to 374,000*l.* 50,000*l* of which arose from adopting a regulation, recommended two years ago by the honourable member for Corfe Castle, (Mr Bankes,) namely, applying part of the pay of the non-effective to the miscellaneous allowances There was a saving in the staff of 7000*l*, by the reduction of two major-generals in Guernsey and North Britain. In the whole effective estimates for this year, there was a reduction of 367,000*l*, compared with the estimates of last year There was in the military college a diminution of 4500*l*, and upon the garrisons 175,000*l.* There was an increase of 4000*l.* in the full-pay superannuation retired list, and upon the foreign half-pay a diminution of 4024*l* In the out-pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham an increase of 4569*l* In the royal military asylum a diminution of 3200*l* In the widows' pension list an increase of 6000*l*, occasioned by the operation of the new law allowing officers' widows to marry again In the estimates for reduced adjutants of the local militias, there was a saving of 676*l.* Upon the whole of the reduced estimates there was an increase of 122,000*l*, arising from certain causes of recent occurrence This formed only one part of the expenditure. The honourable member for Abingdon (Mr Maberly) wished to reduce the expenditure as recommended by the finance committee of 1817. That committee stated the army estimates at 8,500,000*l*, including officers, and it did not, as would be seen by the 11th report, make any provision for the training of the embodied militia. That committee allowed nothing for the charge of a permanent staff, and on the return of the army from France, there was an increase of 300,000*l.* in that respect Notwithstanding this increase, the estimates for the present year were less by 266,000*l* than the estimates recommended by the finance committee. The estimates for the present year were—

Ordinaries	L 6,643,000
Extraordinaries .	1,020,000
Commissariat .	501,569
Barracks .	237,500
Training the militia	90,000
Total, .	L 8,492,069

which, considering the provision made for services not contemplated by the finance committee, was less than the estimates of that committee by 266,000*l.* The country would see if the House did not think fit to agree to the proposition, that the estimates for the present year should not exceed those agreed to by the committee of 1817, it was because they had a confidence in the government, which the present estimates would shew had not been misplaced. Comparing the charge of this year with the charge of last year, there was a saving—

Upon the ordinaries .	L 144,998
——— extraordinaries	200,000
——— commissariat	74,000
——— barracks	117,000
training militia	40,000
For clothing Irish Yeomanry	50,000
forming the veteran battalions	40,000

He was ready to admit that the last two items were not actual reductions, although they were, in fact, diminutions of expense Upon the whole of the army votes of this year, compared with those of the last year, there was a saving of 707,000*l.* He could not say whether the reduction proposed would meet the views of honourable members, as some might think that on such a service a greater reduction could be made; and on such a question it was impossible to expect unanimity, but he hoped the reduction stated would shew that the government were alive to the interests of the country, and were determined to do every thing in their power to reduce expenditure The House would readily believe such to be the intention of government, when they saw a reduction of 707,000*l.* in one year, and that government had not abused the confidence reposed in them He should be content to sit down after having made these statements, was it not for what passed upon a former occasion, upon which he should now make a few observations. An honourable member had taken the establishment of 1792 as the standard for a peace establishment. The honourable gentleman could not advance a step in proving, that the establishment for 1792 was fit for 1821, without first shewing that the country had been in the same situation now as in 1792. Here the argument failed Look at the works erected during the war! Look at the money expended on the stores accumulated during that time! Was it not necessary to protect those stores? Was it not necessary to prevent the dilapidation of those works? Looking at these things, and at the colonial and foreign possessions, he would ask any man, could it be asserted that the establishment of 1792 was fit for 1821? He would allow, that it was incumbent upon government to shew that a larger force was necessary now than in 1792 The estimates for 1792, as taken from the journals, were, including officers, 43,578 men; but it was fair to state, that the establishment was never so low, and that there were, in fact, 1600 men more in pay, which, deducted from the numbers of the present year, would leave an excess of 37,000 Of this excess there were, including officers, 15,299 in our new colonies,—the New Leeward Islands, Malta, the Ionian Islands, the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, St Helena, the Mauritius, and our possessions in Africa When he stated this, he must state that these troops were in stations which every man in the country considered important for commercial and military objects, and for which the country had sacrificed so much blood and treasure. This being the case, he could not persuade himself that such a force was too much for these places; indeed he should mislead the House were he to say that they were sufficient to repel an attack in case of any sudden declaration of war These troops were stationed in these places upon a peace principle—that was, to defend them from any sudden surprise. Upon the old colonies there was an increase of 2614, including officers, compared with the force of 1792 The old colonies were Gibraltar, Canada, Nova Scotia, the Leeward Islands, and New South Wales In North America and New South Wales the population was much increased since 1792, in the latter place by the sending out of persons from this country; and that circumstance would account for the increase of 692 men in the latter settlement. Our possessions in one of the Canadas had been extended since that period, and therefore, as a civil precaution, a larger number was necessary Of this excess of 37,000, there remained 19,615 for Great Britain and Ireland, and the islands in the Channel. Of that number 8676 were sent

to Ireland. He would leave it to those better acquainted with the state of Ireland than he was, to say if such a force were unnecessary? There now remained an excess of 10,839 men to be accounted for The duty of the depots at Plymouth, Chester, Chatham, Hull, Heligoland Guernsey, and Jersey, required an addition of 5000 men and 1000 officers After these deductions, the excess of the troops now employed above those actually employed in 1792, was only 3226, officers included The change in the system of enlistment rendered this excess necessary In the year 1792 a man enlisted generally for the whole army, and when the number of a regiment was reduced, there was nothing necessary to be done but to send out a sufficient number from any regiment in the service; but now, when a man enlisted for a regiment, it was not in the power of the crown to transfer him, and the only mode for recruiting a regiment on a foreign station was to bring it home This being the case, the non-effective part must fall heavier on the regiments in England than abroad, and when it was remembered that there were in India 19,988, and that it was agreed upon all hands that ten years was the time appointed for the residence of a regiment in India, the House would agree that the excess of 3200 men was rather too little. The honourable gentleman found fault with the organization of the regiments, and said, that regimental establishments of 650 should be increased to 800. But in the establishment of regiments three things must be taken into consideration—economy, efficiency, and a quick, cheap, and effective means of augmentation in case of war The establishments of 92 were as low as 400, but in case of a sudden war, 600 must be added to that number, and the regiment must have the name of a young regiment An establishment of 650 was more economical than 400, but less economical than 800. In 1792 the regiments were not efficient, in consequence of the smallness of their establishments, but by the present establishments, an addition of 34,000 men could be made by the addition of a lieutenant to each company of infantry, and each troop of cavalry. Establishments of 800, though more economical than 650, were more objectionable, because, if it were necessary to send out a small number of troops to a foreign station, those large regiments must be broken up. In regard to the public departments there was an increase since 1792; but a great reduction had taken place in them since the termination of the war. There was a difference of 80,000*l* a-year in those departments since the year 1814. On this subject again, it was nothing to say, these departments only cost so much in 1792 The public business was now transacted very differently to what it was at that period—they had then no notion of the accuracy and the dispatch that now prevailed. For this, however, he arrogated no praise either to himself or his Majesty's government This House had it all. This House set commissions and inquiries on foot, and the government were compelled, from time to time, to do their business in a more regular manner than was formerly the practice.—(Cheers from the Opposition)—He understood very well the meaning of that cheer—but when honourable gentlemen came down night after night with quires of motions, and expected instant information on every topic, was it fair for them now to turn round and say, for this increased labour, accuracy, and precision, you shall only have the estimate of 1792? Though the expense was now greater, the business was much better done; and genuine sound economy was much better answered by the present method than by any which was heretofore

adopted He could state to the House, that in the last two years 110,000*l* had been received, in consequence of an examination into the arrears of accounts; a sum greater than the whole charge for the War-office during that period! He concluded with moving his first resolution for 81,468 men.

Colonel Davies said, notwithstanding what fell from the noble lord, he was perfectly satisfied that the statements made a few nights since by his honourable friend (Mr Hume) were substantially correct He confessed himself unable to follow the noble lord through all his voluminous detail of figures, and he should conclude his observation with a motion, "That the chairman report progress, and ask leave to sit again, in order that the proposed estimates should be referred to a select committee, to consider if any diminution could be made in them" He should make this motion without any view whatever to delay the public business; for, while that inquiry was going on, he should have no objection to grant temporary supplies, until the committee should come to some decision He was in general averse to committees, because they in some degree took from ministers that responsibility which should always attach to them. But, in the present case, he wished for a committee to inquire into what he fearlessly termed abuses The estimates for this year were less than those for the last year; but he, and others like him, knew not what the estimates for the last year were The accounts were not now before the House.

The land forces for 1821, cost .	£3,533,025	10	11
Ditto, 1819, cost .	3,462,453	0	0
Making an increase over 1819 of .	£60,572	10	11

Yet this was called a reduction!

The total permanent charge for the present year, exclusive of the corps intended for reduction was	£6,493,647		
In 1819 it was .	6,379,548		
Making an increase this year of .	£114,099	0	0

And this was also called a reduction! Did not these things call for inquiry, to say the least? The noble lord also took credit to himself for a reduction of 117,000*l* in the barrack department; but he forgot to state, that when last year barracks were built all over the country, he told the House that expense would be only temporary. The noble lord further said, there would be now no charge for the veterans of 80,000*l*., but he (Colonel D) was at a loss to know how they could be sent home from the place of their disbandment without incurring some charge on the public. He would not trouble the House by entering into any details, but he was prepared to shew that a reduction might take place in our military establishments, without any danger at home, or to our colonies abroad; or if the House seemed to think an army of 100,000 men was necessary in time of peace, he was equally prepared to shew that such an army could be maintained at a much less expense than was now called for by the estimates of the noble lord The honourable gentleman then proceeded to enter into some details, with a view to shew how certain reductions could be effected in different garrisons abroad and at home, and thereby a saving of the public money The honourable gentleman then contended, that there were now nearly 170 000 men in this country and the colonies, including the regular troops, the marines, the militia, and yeomanry corps, and called upon the House to say, whether there

was any thing in the circumstances of the country or the colonies to justify the continuance of such a force? The honourable member then pointed out a variety of minor reductions, which, he conceived, could be made in the military expenditure.

Mr J. Macdonald supported the motion of Colonel Davies, and declared his intention, if the House went into the committee, of moving a reduction of 10,000 men.—Mr Bennett took the same view of the subject.

Lord Castlereagh, in supporting the estimates, directed his attention chiefly to the motion for reducing the army by 10,000 men. The House would recollect that the time had not long gone by, when the addition of that number of men to the existing military force was thought necessary; and if they were now to effect that reduction out of the troops at home, he hardly knew how the home duty would be performed by those who would then remain. That the army now at home in Great Britain, consisted of 48,000 men, inclusive of officers; but, taken as rank and file, not more than 43,000. He wished the House to consider, that if they were to make the reduction out of those troops, they would hardly have 20,000 men at home, while there would be 17,000 men in India, and 32,000 in the colonies, numbers which hardly any objection had been taken to. Added to this, if they meant, in the course of ten years, to reduce the whole of their garrisons, as had been on all sides agreed upon, the scheme of economy proposed by the honourable gentleman (Mr Bennett) was absolutely impracticable.—(A laugh)—If the House considered that ministers came forward with these estimates, themselves producing a reduction of 10,000 men previously, and looked at that scheme of economy now suggested by the honourable gentleman, viz. another and a further reduction of 10,000 men, he (Lord Castlereagh) thought they would agree with him that a reduction of 20,000 men (for such in fact it was) in one Session of Parliament, would be a most desperate measure. Comparing the present year with 1818, the general estimates, army, navy, and ordnance, were, in 1818, 19,580,000*l.*; in 1821, 19,616,000*l*; the difference being somewhere upwards of 36,000*l.* between the present estimates and those of 1818, as settled by the finance committee

Mr Calcraft could not but observe, that the doctrines of Lord Castlereagh were the same that were eternally opposed to every plan of reduction. He conceived that 10,000 more men might easily be reduced, and 10,000 be still left disposable for the relief of the East Indies and of the colonies He believed that two or three millions might be saved, and the duties of the service just as well performed as they had been, or were likely to be, under the extravagant administration of the noble lord opposite. The foot-guards, the life-guards, the horse-guards, and the dragoon-guards, none of which took any share in colonial service, formed a force, in 1792, of 6374 men; the same indisposable force now amounted to 14,612 men; and might not some part of that excess, an excess of 8000, be converted into such disposable troops as should be applicable to colonial duty, and afford relief to the regiments of the line? He knew what committees were, and he had read with great attention those reports (those of the finance committee of 1817,) upon which the noble lord (Castlereagh) had grounded himself, but he would put it to the gentlemen who had sat as members of that committee, whether, when they fixed the amount of force likely to be requisite, they had contemplated the probability of that distress in which the country was unfortunately plunged. He did maintain

that we must yield to necessity; that the happiness, the comfort, the security, and the tranquillity of England, must be preferred to the maintenance of armies, or even of navies, greater than were absolutely necessary While, however, he advocated, and most zealously advocated, the cause of economy, he begged to say that he would be no party to reducing the pay of private soldiers, or the salaries of clerks in offices, but he wished to see the right honourable gentlemen opposite curtailed of their emoluments.

Mr Calcraft was answered by Mr Huskisson, while the original motion was supported by Mr Maberly. A division being then called, the amendment was negatived by 216 to 96 Four successive divisions were, however, called forth on the same subject, each negatived by large majorities. The Opposition seemed now to amuse themselves with harassing ministers and the public, by division after division. In the course of the evening there took place sixteen, the carrying on which occupied five hours Among these votes were two, whether the first volume of the statutes at large be read; and whether candles should be furnished to members who called for them. At length Lord Castlereagh, on account of the lateness of the hour, moved that the committee should adjourn.

On the 14th, Mr J Macdonald brought forward his promised motion for a reduction of 10,000 men in the military force Feeling that the discussion of the other night had been most conclusive in support of the proposition which he now came forward to make, and knowing that other members, whose knowledge and indefatigable industry entitled them to the attention of the House, intended to follow up his arguments by others of their own, he should not preface his motion with many remarks. It was his conviction that the course of argument adopted by gentlemen on the other side did not justify the existence of a larger standing force than 60,000 men He would allow 25,000 men for the service of the colonies, and 35,000 men for the home service, exclusive of the artillery and the irregular troops Adding to these, 5000 men for the sake of the reliefs, there would be a total of 65,000 men, which he thought fully able to perform all the duties for which they were likely to be wanted at present With such a conviction impressed upon his mind, he could not see any excuse for voting a larger number of men. He would, however, confine himself not so much to what was possible as to what was practicable, and would therefore limit his proposition to the reduction of 10,000 men instead of 16,000 Besides the regular troops, the House had been informed that there were above 37,000 yeomanry cavalry, and 20,000 volunteers. The whole force, therefore, would be considerably above 100,000 men; to which, if he were to add the militia, which could be easily embodied within three months, there would be an aggregate force of not less than 200,000 men. He would implore the House to consider the importance of the question which they were now called upon finally to settle. Out of 54,000,000*l*, there were only 6,000,000*l*. available for the service of the year. Besides this sum, there was nothing except the sinking fund, which ought not to be touched.

The honourable member was eagerly followed up by Mr Hume, who complained that all the boasted savings were only upon the estimates of last year, and left things as they had been in 1819 Upon an expenditure of 9,000,000*l*. there was only a saving of 145,000*l*., scarcely the cost of five battalions He had been represented as inaccurate in saying that the irre-

gular forces in this kingdom amounted to 125,000, but he would now shew that they were 149,000. He made it out thus

Royal marines,	8,000
Royal artillery and engineers,	7,872
Yeomanry and volunteer infantry in Great Britain,	37,391
Volunteer infantry in Ireland,	20,231
Disembodied militia, 89 regiments, Great Britain,	52,092
Ditto, 38 ditto, Ireland	20,958
	£149,544

The regular cavalry and infantry in the kingdom and the colonies were to be added to this calculation, and the whole force could not be estimated at less that 270,000 men If a reduction of only 20,000 were made, the following savings might be effected —

In pay, ...	£188,260
In barracks, commissariat, &c,	431,769
In garrisons, .	22,000
In the Military College, .	16,000
In the Asylum, .	25,000
In half-pay, . .	100,000
	£786,029

The honourable gentleman complained of the manner in which the vacant commissions were filled up by new appointments, instead of taking them out of the half-pay officers; also of the foreign enlistment bill, which prevented our gallant unemployed officers from finding subsistence and employment abroad

Mr Goulburn observed, that the gentlemen opposite not having gone over the items of our colonial establishments, it was difficult to meet their arguments. There were only 7000 men for Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian Islands—in short, for the whole Mediterranean. The establishment at St Helena, he thought, could not be objected to, considering the nature of its object It could not at least be diminished without imposing severe personal restrictions on the individual with reference to whom it was kept The noble lord now at the head of the colonial department had introduced numerous reforms He had obliged the individuals holding offices to reside, and to do the duties of them in person He had reduced many appointments; that of the governor of the Cape by 3500*l* a-year; that of lieutenant-governor (4000*l* a-year) had been abolished All offices of importance in the colonies were filled up from the half-pay list. With regard to foreign enlistment, the colonial states, to which it took place, had published a proclamation, declining the services of European officers

Lord Castlereagh wished to state the several numbers as they were written down in these estimates, the whole amounting, exclusive of the East India service, to 70,350 rank and file — ("No, no.")—He begged that he might not be interrupted, he was only taking it as the grand total of rank and file, not including the officers If from that number they deducted 10,000 men, as the honourable member meant to move—("No, no," and "Order,") —that would leave 60,350 men In examining these returns, it was necessary to allow for what the army was short of this complement, and that deficiency he (Lord Castlereagh) had taken very low at 5000 men, which would leave 55,350 men rank and file for the whole of the service at home and abroad, excepting the East Indies only From this, if they deducted the foreign service in the old and new colonies, which he took at 25,500 men, they would have 29,850 men for the home service of Great Britain. If the House deducted the Guards and the cavalry from this last amount again, they being about 14,000 men, there would remain 15,850 for the whole

service of Great Britain and Ireland, and for the relief of an army abroad of 50,000 men.

After observations from Sir H. Vivian, Sir H. Hardinge, Mr J P Grant, Sir R. Ferguson, Colonel Wood, Sir R. Wilson, Mr Evans, Mr Calcraft, and a reply from Mr Macdonald, the House divided, and his amendment was negatived by 211 to 115

Mr Dawson now made a proposition for a reduction of 5000 men. It was negatived by 195 to 130.

On the following evening, Mr Hume again brought forward the proposition for a reduction of 10,000 men After a debate, in which Mr Wilberforce gave his support to the motion, it was negatived by 116 to 46

On the 30th March, the subject coming again under discussion, Mr Hume moved a series of resolutions, comparing the expenditure of the staff in 1792 and in 1821, and importing that it had risen from 33,794*l.* to 117,710*l.* He did not press it to a division but immediately after moved a resolution, that, in consequence of the diminution of business, and the restoration of the currency to its former standard, there ought to be a revision of all salaries increased since 1797. After some discussion, it was rejected by 50 to 29.

Lord Palmerston now proposed 105 943*l.* for the expenses of the staff.

Mr Hume pointed out the extraordinary rise in different departments since 1792. In Ireland, the staff had risen from a few thousands (he could not ascertain the exact amount) to 20,000*l.*; the foreign staff, from 17,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*; the Windward and Leeward Islands from 8442*l.* to 29,000*l.* The staff of 15,000*l.* for South Britain was most extravagant; and that for North Britain was treble of what it had been He moved, therefore, a reduction to 85,000*l.*—Lord Palmerston explained, that the duties of the staff were much more laborious, and the efficiency of the appointments greatly increased since 1792.—Mr Hume finally agreed to raise his allowance to 90 000*l.*, which, however, was negatived, and the original motion carried by 116 to 61.

On the subject of the staff of Ireland, Sir Henry Parnell moved a reduction from 25,382*l.* to 20,472*l.* Negatived by 140 to 43.—Mr Hume moved a reduction of the allowances to the commander in chief and personal staff from 14,474*l.* to 12,256*l.* Not pressed to a division He moved a reduction of 5000*l.* on the paymaster's department Negatived by 25 to 20

On the 6th April, Mr Creevey moved a reduction in the expense of the office of secretary at war from 50,418*l.* to 45,000*l.* Negatived by 106 to 67

On the 11th, the sum of 6844*l.* being proposed for the adjutant general's office, Mr Hume moved a reduction of 1661*l.* Negatived by 83 to 54 He then moved a reduction of 1500*l.* on 6192*l.* proposed for the quarter-master general's office. Negatived by 104 to 60.—Mr Bennett proposed the reduction of the same office in Scotland from 922*l.* to 600*l.* Negatived by 98 to 56.—Mr Chetwynd proposed the reduction of the allowance to the judge, advocate-general, deputy, &c. from 5180*l.* to 3180*l.* Negatived by 92 to 44

On the 13th, the same train of motions and divisions was resumed. Mr Hume again moved a reduction of 2000*l.* on the allowance to the commander-in-chief Negatived by 94 to 23. The motion, in a different shape, was negatived by 99 to 27 A smaller reduction was negatived by 125 to 40.

On the 16th, the vote of 10,517*l.* for public departments in Ireland, was proposed by Mr Hume to be reduced to 7000*l.* Negatived by 99 to 45.—On the proposed vote of 27,824*l.* for

the medical service of the army, Col. Davies moved a reduction of 5000*l*, and Mr W Smith a postponement The postponement was negatived by 109 to 59, and the reduction by 110 to 58

The vote of 170,000*l*. for volunteer corps gave rise to a pretty warm conversation on the origin of the discontents in Scotland.

On the 30th April, when the House was about to go into a committee, Mr Creevey said he wished to address to them a few words They had been now sitting six weeks upon the army estimates, without a single reduction in any one item proposed having been agreed to; still, however, a sensation had been felt elsewhere, as he understood that circulars had been addressed to the inferior clerks in the public offices, to intimate a probable reduction of their salaries. Now, he was anxious, that, when the gentlemen opposite began to reform the public offices, they should begin at the right end. The lower clerks were the most useful class of persons in the public departments, and yet their salaries were to be curtailed, while the salaries of those at the head of the offices were not to be touched. He therefore moved a resolution, specifying a number of large salaries, and stating the resolution of the House to consider the expediency of reducing them, after receiving the report of the committee of supply.

Lord Palmerston said, he had never known a resolution so extraordinary in its nature, or so singular in its grounds. The honourable member had heard that some reductions were about to be made, and therefore he called upon the House to re-consider certain votes it had already come to. If the government had not come to any determination to reduce its expenses, then there might be ground for the amendment; but it was a most singular reason for it, that government had determined to see what reductions might be made in particular departments. In a few days, the items to which the amendment alluded must come before the House, and he conceived it would be only stultifying itself to declare now, that it would consider what, in the course of business, must come under its consideration in so short a time.

After some observations from Mr Bennett and the Marquis of Londonderry, Mr Creevey's resolution was negatived by 55 to 22.

Mr Hume proposed, that the vote of 16,915*l*. for the Military College should be reduced to 9771*l* He admitted that there had been a reduction since 1816, when it was 33,000*l* The expense, however, in the last five years had been 115,280*l* while only 160 cadets had obtained commissions; so that the education of each cadet cost the country 720*l* 10*s*

Lord Palmerston said, those students who had passed the examinations were regularly provided with commissions; at present there were only 14 without them. The whole number educated at the college since its institution had been 2528, of which 1817 had joined the service The amendment was negatived by 32 to 23

On the vote of 28,204*l*. for garrisons, Mr Hume inquired if there was no intention of reducing sinecure garrisons —The Marquis of Londonderry replied, that government considered them as a suitable mode of rewarding the services of distinguished military officers —Mr Hume, however, moved a reduction of 2444*l*. on the garrisons of Berwick and Gibraltar Negatived by 87 to 27.

On the motion of 115,266*l* for full pay to retired and unattached officers, Mr Hume merely made some strictures on the increase of this list, consequent upon the temporary embodying of the militia. On the motion, however, of 121,265*l*. for disbanded

and wounded foreign officers, and allowances to their widows, he said, if the House had the smallest regard to economy, they would oppose this resolution. He complained of the arrangements being such, that foreign officers were better provided as to half-pay than British —This was explained by Lord Palmerston; and Mr Hume moved, finally, a reduction of only 2000*l*., which was negatived by 89 to 35.—The allowance of 42,796*l* for Chelsea in-pensioners, was passed without a vote, Mr Hume only remarking, that it might be afterwards considered whether Chelsea ought to be continued.

On the 1st May, the report of the committee of supply being brought up, Mr Bennett rose, and expressed his intention, and that of his honourable friends, of discontinuing the discussions upon the different items of the estimates. After the ordnance estimates should be gone through, either himself or some honourable friend of his would move a series of resolutions upon the whole amount of our army establishment. It was impossible not to see that the House was tired of the discussions which had taken place, from the scanty attendances, and particularly that of last night. Therefore it was that they intended to make their objections upon the whole sums, and to hold them up to the public, so that the country might see what votes the House were willing to grant. With all their efforts they had not been able to prevail upon the House to reduce one shilling upon the whole of the estimates. He was confident, however, that the country would never again see such estimates brought down in a time of peace.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that the House had agreed to the present estimates without correction or diminution, because they were judged to be such as the existing circumstances of the country required. By such circumstances the estimates were always regulated, and were never considered as fixed and permanent expenditure As to the resolutions of which the honourable member gave notice, on a general scale, when they were brought forward would be the time to meet them.

On the question, that the resolution respecting the half-pay be agreed to,

Colonel Davies made a motion relative to the employment of officers from the half pay list There were at present on half pay 8816, costing annually 765,781*l* In the five years, 1816—1820, the new appointments were 1105, of which 54 only were made from this list.

Lord Palmerston replied, that of these 1105, there had been 508 filled up by purchase, 114 by cadets from Woolwich, 80 from the half pay, the remaining 314 without purchase. Only 62 commissions had been given away annually, of which 38 to cadets from Woolwich and officers on half pay.—The motion was not finally pressed to a decision. On the following day, however, Colonel Davies proposed an address to the King on the subject, which was negatived by 46 to 14.

On the same day, Mr Hume moved a clause for the revision of superannuation allowances.—The Marquis of Londonderry stated, that a measure for reducing the scale on which they were granted was under the consideration of government; and the motion was negatived—63 to 22.

On the motion for 35,000*l*. for fees to be paid at the Exchequer by the Paymaster General, Mr Hume ridiculed the idea of the public paying for the payment of its own money After some explanation, however, no amendment was moved.

This long series of debate and conflict was now drawing to a close.

On the 25th May, the vote of a

million was proposed for the extraordinaries of the army On this sum, a variety of animadversions were made It was complained that, in many cases, the accounts were indistinct, and that particular specification was wanting It was answered, that arrangements were making to render them more detailed and intelligible —Mr Hume, however, moved a reduction of 36,612*l*, which was finally merged in Mr Bennett's motion for a reduction of 100,000*l* It was negatived by 84 to 32.

On the same day, 401,569*l* was asked for the Commissariat department Mr Maberly and Mr Hume complained of the great expense of the storekeeper's office, and proposed that it should be merged into the ordnance department In 1813 there had been 300 commissaries, and there were still 231 —Mr Arbuthnot said, 800 clerks had been dismissed from this department —Col. Davies, however, moved a reduction of 4238*l*. Negatived by 89 to 40.

On the motion for 137,500*l* to the barrack department, Colonel Davies opposed it both in a financial and constitutional view. He particularly objected to the rise since last year, and to the charge of 74,000*l* for new barracks It was for garrisons in disaffected districts, and augmented the ferment of distress, which it was meant to relieve. The people demanded relief, and ministers gave them a barrack; they asked for bread, and they received a stone.—Mr Arbuthnot declared, that no part of this expenditure had been undertaken, unless from a belief of its necessity The new barracks were necessary for the preservation of tranquillity, and to protect the people against themselves —Mr Hume's motion for a reduction of 78,000*l* was negatived by 53 to 29

Amid this general sifting and searching of all the details of public expenditure, the ordnance was not neglected. On the 16th February, Mr Ward presented the annual estimates for that service. On this occasion, Mr Hume rose to move for the production of more accurate and detailed accounts. The estimates, as at present framed, gave none of the requisite information; they entered into no details, but left the House utterly ignorant of all the items which went to compose the separate heads of expenditure It was certainly singular that the House should have hitherto been content to vote the sums demanded, on an inspection merely of their total amount. The consequence was, that the sums actually disbursed did not correspond with the finance accounts. In the year 1817, the sum charged was 1,435,000*l*., whilst it appeared in the finance accounts to be only 1,189,000*l* He alluded now to the third report of the finance committee In the year 1818, the amount of expenditure, as stated in the latter, was 1,200,000*l*, and according to the estimates laid before that House, it was no less than 1,400,000*l*; and in 1819 there was a difference between 1,100,000*l* as represented by the finance accounts, and 1,538,000*l*, being an excess of 400,000*l* actually disbursed He wished only to refer for one moment to the ordnance expenditure during the three years previous to the war. The amount of it in the year 1791 was 506,000*l*, including a sum of 70,000*l* for the discharge of debt contracted. In 1792 it was 419,000*l*.; and in 1793, just before the armament, it was, including the charge for artillery, 513,000*l*.— The average was about 440,000*l*.; which average, after all the reductions and alterations made, amounted in 1819, the fourth year of peace, to 1,400 000*l*, and in the following year to 1,500,000*l* It now appeared, by the estimates for the service of the present year, that the same amount

was to be continued, or at least that the whole saving did not exceed 15,000*l*. He would now give some instances to shew the real disposition of his Majesty's ministers to carry their boasted schemes of retrenchment into effect The estimates proved nothing, shewed nothing, and in order to procure some light, he must again have recourse to the reports of the finance committee. In the fifth year of peace, there had only been a deduction of 300,000*l* in this branch of our expenditure. The Tower and Pall-mall department had risen since 1782 from 38,000*l*. to 120,000*l*. There would be 30,000*l* found charged as allowances for length of service In the 13th report of the commissioners of military inquiry, they expressed their surprise at this circumstance, and observed that these additional gratuities were granted by his Majesty's warrant. They complained, therefore, not of the authority under which they were allowed, but of the discretion exercised by those who recommended these grants to the crown. The commissioners said that they believed it was a practice unknown in any other department, and that it had gone to the extent of trebling the former salaries The pay and allowances of the Master General of Ordnance had been doubled. The salary of the clerk of ordnance had received a considerable addition. The secretary to the Master-General, whose salary was 300*l* per annum in the year 1796, and who ought to be regarded as a private rather than a public secretary, now received 2000*l* In the year 1819, a committee of that House (the finance committee) thought it a great merit to advise the reduction of this sum to 1500*l* per annum, just as if it was the case of a public secretary, instead of being a private appointment, or as if there was no public secretary, although the person who did actually fill that office was at the same time receiving 1400*l*. per annum. The office of under secretary, to which there was a salary of 300*l* attached, had indeed been abolished; but lest the public should derive any benefit from the abolition, the salary had been divided amongst the clerks The salary of the storekeeper at Dover had, since 1796, been increased from 120*l* to 420*l*., without any proportional increase of services By cutting away useless offices in one quarter, and by curtailing the salaries of them in another, he was convinced that the ordnance estimates might be reduced from 1,500,000*l*. to 1,100,000*l* There was now a half-pay list of 330,000*l*, and it appeared to him that, under such circumstances, if in 1796 the estimates were only 450,000*l*, the estimates in 1820 ought not to exceed three times that amount And yet they did exceed that sum, nor was it wonderful when they recollected the gross and lavish expenditure in the storekeeper's department at Sheerness, into the particulars of which Mr Hume entered at considerable length. He next adverted to the gunpowder department of the ordnance, in which he maintained that as little frugality and attention to economy had been displayed. The expense of the establishment at Feversham amounted to 3000*l*, although no gunpowder had been made for some years, and the very mills had been let. The floating magazines he considered a subject of great abuse. Honourable gentlemen were perhaps aware, that if a common labourer took a couple of brass nails, or a log of wood out of the ordnance stores, he was liable to be transported for life, but would they believe that if a storekeeper took a boat-load of them, not the slightest notice was taken of that fact? He would prove that it was a frequent practice with the storekeepers to appropriate part of the old stores to their own use—

and especially in the case of Mr Pennell of Sheerness. He had old carriages cut up for his own use, and not only cut up for his own use, but cut up for him by the servants of the public What he wanted was information, detail, specification. It had been recommended again and again to the ordnance department, that the artificers should appear in the estimates, divided and classed into corps and battalions, in the same way in which the different regiments appeared in the army estimates. Why should not that course be adopted? Why should not the House be allowed to see its way, instead of seeing a lumping charge of 250,000*l*, without one word of why or wherefore? For 280 000*l*. the country had three words—"Repairs, current services, and contingencies" There was a laxity throughout the whole system. The honourable member concluded by moving, that the ordnance estimates for Great Britain for the next year should be submitted to the House in a state distinguishing by separate columns the salaries and allowances of officers, and the amount of expenses in each department, and distinguishing such officers as have been appointed to their situations since the year 1793

Mr R. Ward had not the smallest objection to the motion of the honourable member for Montrose, nor did he wish to withhold any information from the House. If the matter had been discussed, as it might more conveniently have been, in committee, he would have proposed to leave the estimates upon the table, and to supply, upon a separate paper, the detail required. If the House would accept the detail in that shape, and it might be printed at the same time with the estimates, he would furnish it; and the delay attached to the production of new estimates might in that way be avoided. After the long statement, however, partly correct, and partly most incorrect, which the honourable member had presented to the House, a few observations were absolutely necessary Instead of 3000*l*., which he had represented as the utmost amount of reduction, he would find on examination, that there was 53,000*l*., a considerable mistake in a sum of 1,300,000*l*. The speech of the honourable member had been so rambling, that he (Mr W.) was obliged to ramble a little along with him. In regard to the conduct of the storekeeper at Sheerness, the honourable member, accusing one individual of peculation, argued with his usual candour, that such was the general practice of the department. As to the fact, he knew nothing. If it were proved, the individual, besides losing his situation, would certainly be punished in a way which would not be agreeable to him. In regard to the doubling of the salary of the major-general, it had arisen from the union of the office for England and Ireland, when the salaries of both were put into one The salaries of many heads of departments had been lowered. On Mr Hume doubting the fact, Mr Ward gave the following instances:—"My own emoluments have been decreased from 1700*l*. per year, to 1100*l* An honourable friend who sits near me is in the same situation; his salary is reduced 200*l*. a-year. The secretary of the board, who had 1*l* a-day war allowance, lost that allowance at the commencement of the peace." The Duke of Wellington, since he had been at the head of its affairs, had abolished sixty-eight offices, the salaries attached to which amounted to no less than 14,000*l* a-year. The honourable gentleman, if he had wished to look fairly at the question, would have told the House that the union between England and Ireland had taken place since 1793, a circumstance which had added an addition of about 150,000*l*.; he would have mentioned the increase of

science since then; that additional improvements had been made; that that corps, which the honourable member for Shrewsbury (Mr H. G. Bennett) had on a former occasion called the sinews of war, the artillery drivers, had been added to the service, that the medical establishment had not then existed. The honourable member had omitted to notice all these, which, if deducted from the excess of the present establishment above the expense of 1793, would leave a very little difference.

Sir R. Ferguson and Sir H Parnell insisted, that Mr Ward had taken no notice of the main point—the general increase of salaries in the department.

Mr Hume's first motion was negatived by 58 to 44, but two others were agreed to without a division.

On the 11th May, when it was proposed that the House should go into a committee on the estimates, Mr Hume rose to make a few observations. He insisted that he was correct in not admitting the 50,000*l* as a saving, because it was composed of the sale of old stores and other articles, which did not form part of the regular expenditure. He complained also of the expenditure so greatly exceeding the estimates. The right honourable gentleman had stated on a previous occasion, that sixty-eight clerks and agents had been reduced since the year 1816, and this fact was held up as an example of economy in the administration of the noble duke at the head of the ordnance department. It might be seen, however, that the pension list, which had grown as long as a tailor's bill, was increased in the same proportion; and (what was yet more material) that sixty seven persons, under the name of clerks and storekeepers, some of whom had never before been in the public service, were newly appointed. Many of them were very young; for instance, not above seventeen or eighteen years of age, whilst those more advanced in life had been removed and placed on half-pay, or on the pension list He insisted, that the scale of salaries in this department was extravagantly high, and that in no other was there greater waste and profusion. He finally moved an amendment, when, after enumerating all the facts alluded to in his speeches, he concluded with a recommendation to the committee to effect every practicable reduction

The marquis of Londonderry replied, that it was impossible, before going into the committee, to reply to such a variety of details, and that the conclusion was a mere truism. The motion was negatived by 110 to 56.

The House having gone into the committee, Mr Ward rose, and defended the estimates. Comparing the present period with the time of Cromwell, when the charge for ordnance, (exclusive of the half-pay,) and for England only, was upwards of 120,000*l*.; the present estimate for the united kingdom and colonies, and half-pay, though exceeding 1,000,000*l*. was a less charge in proportion The House would keep in its remembrance, that formerly the half of the naval stores charge was included in the navy estimates; but for many years past, down to 1818, the whole amount of those stores was charged in the ordnance estimates. In 1817, the ordnance estimate was 2,307,000*l*., in 1819, 1,255,000*l*. Since 1818, there was a reduction of 23,000*l* in this estimate, notwithstanding the addition of 53,000*l*. occasioned by this charge for naval stores; and but for this circumstance, the reduction would have been upwards of 70,000*l* The peace estimate for 1821 was 1,366,000*l*.; deduct from this the dead charge of half-pay, namely, 886,000*l*, and it was reduced in fact to a charge of 980,000*l*. With regard

to the rise in the salary of the storekeeper at Dover, from 120*l.* to 500*l.*, that officer had, in the first period, enjoyed a number of perquisites, which had been taken away, and a nett salary substituted Had these perquisites continued, he would have had now 800*l.* or 900*l* a-year. The same was the case with the storekeeper at Chatham, who, if all the perquisites and allowances of 1792 had been continued, would have had now 12,000*l* a-year The noble person at the head of the department always inquired, when a place became vacant, whether it could be dispensed with, but the fact was, that the 56 vacant places which had been filled up, did not disprove this statement, for though the inquiry was always made, the filling up of the place arose from its being found that it could not be dispensed with. After making the necessary allowances for the difference of the number of troops, establishments, new colonies, and other causes of expense in the present year, above the former period, the expense of the ordnance department in the present year above the year 1792, was only in the ordinaries 59,000*l*, and in the extraordinaries 8000*l*, from which 2000*l* unprovided was to be deducted, thereby leaving 65 000*l* as the total difference. The salaries were by no means so extravagant as had been represented The average of the salaries altogether was not more than 226*l* a year, while in the other offices they were at least 30*l* or 40*l* more. It was to effect a just equality that those gratuities had been given; that object had been now nearly accomplished, and the consequence would be a reduction of the gratuities

On the 14th May, the discussion between Mr Hume and Mr Ward was resumed, though little new matter could now be introduced.

Mr Hume moved, that the sum of 43,071*l.* for salaries to the master-general, officers, clerks, &c. should be reduced to 27,253*l.* Negatived by 134 to 78 He moved, that the allowance of 20,163*l.* for establishments at the out-ports, &c. should be reduced by 429*l.* Negatived by 110 to 53.

On the 18th May, as the House were going into the committee, Mr Chetwynd rose, and, after drawing a strong picture of the distress of the country, proposed a recommendation to the committee, that they should enforce a system of the most rigid economy. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, not denying the general proposition, denied that there existed any necessity for its enunciation in the present shape. General attacks upon the conduct of government, in regard to economy, were made by Mr Maberly, Mr Calcraft, and Lord Milton Mr Hume then moved, that 14,631*l.* for officers and clerks in foreign stations, be reduced to 10,975*l* Negatived by 86 to 55. He moved, that 56,000*l.* for fort and barrack expenses, be reduced to 33,000*l* Negatived by 99 to 64.

On the 21st May, Mr Creevey objected to 5900*l* for repairs at Barbadoes, insisting that they ought to be defrayed out of the four and a half per cent duty on Leeward Island produce Mr Long contended that this duty was a final grant to the crown. Motion negatived by 86 to 58.

Mr Ward moved 94,356*l* for pay, over and above 150,000*l* formerly voted, and making in all 244,356*l.*

Mr Hume moved a reduction of 25,000*l* Negatived by 43 to 16. He moved to deduct 3778*l.* from 8377*l.* proposed for medical establishment Negatived by 17 to 18. To reduce 6610*l.* for the Military Academy at Woolwich to half that sum. Negatived by 63 to 20 Thus closed this branch of the estimates.

Amid these financial struggles, the reduction of taxation, especially in the present exigencies of the country, was

likely to form a prominent feature. Ministers maintained that defensive position which is natural, and, as it were, habitual to them. Their antagonists, however, encouraged by their success against the income-tax, and by the large numbers which they always divided upon such subjects, did not remit their efforts The agricultural interest, upon which so large a portion of the general pressure fell, was that which chiefly looked to this quarter for relief. Their main points of attack were the malt tax, and the husbandry horse tax.

On the 21st March, Mr Western, considered as the leading representative of the agricultural interest, brought forward his motion for the repeal of the last duty of 1*s.* 2*d* a bushel, or 9*s* 4*d* a quarter laid on malt in 1819 This was a measure of high importance, and to which the public looked with anxiety; and he conceived himself entitled to bring it forward, without being called upon to name another tax in its place; this rested with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he could not contrive to do without it altogether Whether the House looked to the heavy burdens on one portion of the community, to the morals and habits of the poorer classes, to the justice or policy of the measure itself, or, finally, to its influence on the revenue, they ought to consent to the repeal of this tax. He would first call the attention of the House to the extent of the burdens already upon malt; they would find them astonishing The total amount of the tax on malted barley, including that on beer and spirits, was 10,000,000*l.* In the last budget of finance, it was 8,670,000*l.* in England, and about 1,300,000*l* in Ireland. But he would for the present look to it in Great Britain only. To go into the detail—there was first, the tax of 28*s.* per quarter on the malt; then a tax of 32*s.* per quarter on the beer—making in the whole, 3*l* per quarter on malt and beer The duty on it, as manufactured into spirits, actually amounted to 10*l.* per quarter, that was, every quantity of spirits made from a quarter of malt, paid that duty. The House might wish to know what was the progress of this duty In the year 1780, the duty was 10*s* 6*d* per quarter on malt, and so it continued with a very little deviation, which he should afterwards notice, until 1802. In that year it was raised to 18*s* 8*d*, and in 1803, it was farther raised to 34*s* per quarter He now came to state the progress of the duty on spirits In 1791 the duty was about 2*l* 10*s* per quarter; in 1793, it was raised to 2*l.* 17*s* 4*d*; and in 1796, to 4*l* 3*s.* 4*d.* per quarter, and so on, till it reached its present amount of 10*l* the quarter, exclusive of the duty as derived from malt and beer Now he begged the House to consider how this operated on the grower Supposing an acre of land to produce four quarters of malt barley, the duty of 28*s.* per quarter would amount to 5*l.* 12*s.* per acre, the duty on malt and beer together would amount to 12*l* per acre, and the duty on spirits, at the same average of four quarters to the acre, would amount to 40*l* on the acre. He would undertake to shew that this system of taxation had produced a regular and extensive effect in reducing the consumption of barley. Taking the average from the year 1791, he found that the consumption was 27,672,047 bushels. Then came the high duties in 1802 and 1803. After this, taking the average, and beginning with the year 1804, there was a consumption reduced to 23,450,000 bushels; and in the last four years, the average was 22,600,000, making a diminution of five millions of bushels in the consumption, as compared with the year 1791 In Scotland, the diminution was in that time nearly one half; and in Ireland it was still greater. In 1791, in that country, ta-

king the same averages, the consumption was 1,855,000; in 1804, it was 2,750,000, and, in the last four years, not much more than one million. This was the exact diminution; but, by a comparison of the increase of population within the time mentioned, we should find that it ought to be considered greater By a simple calculation in the rule of three, we should find that the population, since 1791, being increased, and the consumption less, the proportion of decrease must be considered greater than the nominal amount he had stated If the calculation was made upon a population of ten millions of people consuming upwards of 27 millions of bushels, as was the case in 1791, the defect of consumption in 1804, considering the increased population at that time, would appear 12,675,000 bushels, and in 1818, the defect would be 14,672,000 bushels, or, in other words, making a diminished consumption of 1,824,000 quarters within the period of 30 years Mr W. concluded with heavy complaints against the poor-rates, and the want of protection against foreign corn.

Mr Mackenzie, member for Rossshire, seconded Mr Western's motion He particularly dwelt on the increase of illicit distillation in Scotland, consequent on the high duties During the last year, as compared with the preceding, there had been a diminution of 100,000 gallons He complained likewise of the equalization of the duties on Scotch and English malt, whereas formerly, a just allowance had been made for the inferior quality of the former

The Chancellor of the Exchequer endeavoured to shew, that Mr Western was mistaken in supposing that the consumption was diminished by the taxation The repeal in 1816 did not increase the consumption during the succeeding year, although not only was the duty then withdrawn, but that which had been advanced for the stock on hand had been repaid. The average quantity of corn, on which duties were charged, between July 1816, and July 1819, when a considerable portion of the war duty was resumed, was 22,000,980 quarters, making an actual diminution of nearly 3,000,000*l.* on the revenue during these three years, as compared with the three years preceding 1816. Neither had the re-imposition of a part of that duty, in 1819, diminished either the consumption or the revenue since that period The quantity was in fact increased by 1,200,000 bushels As to Scotland, illegal distillation had diminished since the imposition of the duty. A difference of duty between the Scotch and English barley would afford great room for abuse, since the English might be imported into Scotland, and manufactured there at an inferior rate of duty

Lord A Hamilton conceived that the facts stated by the Chancellor of Exchequer were fully accounted for by the scanty harvest of 1816, and the plentiful one of 1818 No fair trial had thus been afforded In consequence of the equalization of duty on Scotch malt, the duty on a bushel exceeded the original price of the barley

Lord George Cavendish and Mr Wodehouse strongly supported the motion

Lord Folkestone thought the repeal of the tax would not relieve agriculture, but it would relieve the community. It appeared to him impossible for the country to go on paying the interest of the national debt It might be an act of good faith to break faith.

Mr Huskisson was impatient to vindicate the honour and good faith of the British parliament. The public creditors were not, as had been represented, an idle race, they were persons, who, after a life of slow gains, and patient industry, had confided their earnings to public honour; and he trusted it was not necessary to appeal to a Bri-

tish parliament in their behalf. Two years ago, government, upon a solemn review of our situation, had come down to the House, and proposed 3,000,000*l* of taxes Parliament granted this addition of taxes, by a majority of 327 to 129; not so much for the benefit of the fundholder, as for the support of public credit. What change, then, had taken place since, that made it expedient to diminish the revenue to the amount of 2,000,000*l* ? He was sorry to find that some few members in the House were disposed to go so far as to break public faith If we were in a situation to reduce any of the public burdens, he would not, with the partiality which he felt for the agricultural interest, conceal his opinion that this was the first tax which ought to be removed But when honourable members attributed all the distress under which the agricultural interest at present laboured to its operation, they were guilty of great inconsistency in their reasoning, for the distress had not only existed before it had been imposed, but during the war, when it was 1*s* a bushel more than it was at present, the agricultural interest was in its most flourishing condition

After some observations from Mr Wilberforce, Mr Monck, and Lord Castlereagh, the question was loudly called for, when there appeared for Mr Western's motion 149, against it 125 It was thus carried against ministers by a majority of 24, to the great exultation of the Opposition and the landed interest. Mr Western then obtained leave to bring in the bill.

Notwithstanding this defeat, ministers were determined not to give up so important a source of revenue. Not only were they unprepared to carry on the public business with means diminished by two millions, but the precedent of getting rid by a mere vote of the House, of any tax, which it was disinclined to pay, appeared highly alarming It was easy to foresee that tax after tax would soon be repealed, without any willingness to admit of a substitute, even if it could be found. The interval, therefore, previous to the second reading of the bill, was employed by ministers in a diligent muster of all their forces. Criticism was strongly excited by one measure, the dismissal of a noble Earl (Fife) from a confidential place near the King's person, on account of his vote upon this occasion. The consequence was, that, on the day appointed, ministers came to the House, secure of such a majority as would be more than sufficient to reverse the obnoxious vote.

The second reading was moved by Mr Western on the 3d April The arguments were necessarily the same as had been already gone over.

Lord Castlereagh very strongly declared his attachment and favour for the agricultural interest, but conceived that even if this amount of taxes could be spared, the present was not the most expedient branch, or that from which relief would be most felt —Lord A Hamilton having alluded with censure to Lord Fife's dismissal, this last nobleman expressed his wish to have retired earlier from the situation, which he was withheld from doing only by motives of delicacy. He could not help wondering, however, at the time selected; when he had just received orders to attend the King to Ireland; and after the very same vote which he had given last year When no notice was taken of his voting with the minority, it did not appear why voting with the majority should be visited with such high displeasure.

The question was finally carried, by 242 to 144 (or a majority of 98) against Mr Western's motion.

On the same day, Mr Curwen introduced the motion for the repeal of the duty on husbandry-horses. A consequence of this tax was, he observed,

that a farmer who held fifty acres, and kept four horses, was obliged to pay five pounds a-year. He conceived the repeal would enable the farmers to pay 2*s* 6*d*. more a-week to every labourer in the kingdom

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that before giving up a tax which yielded half a million a-year, he would wish to know the degree of importance generally attached to it by the agricultural interest The sentiment of the House appearing to be very decided in its favour, the minister still expressed a wish to delay till the report of the agricultural committee was presented The report proving favourable to the repeal of the tax, the bill to that effect was brought in, and carried without opposition

These preliminaries being thus laboriously gone over, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the 1st June, proceeded to the grand operation of opening the budget, or general view of ways and means and supplies for the year. In the first place, the House had sanctioned the following:—Annual taxes, 4,000,000*l* The House had sanctioned taxes to this amount instead of that of 3,000,000*l*, at which they had been taken last year. The reasons for taking them at 4,000,000*l*. for the present year he would proceed to explain A certain portion of the excise duties granted during the war, and which were to have expired on the 5th of next July, had been added to the annual taxes, instead of being continued to the consolidated fund The produce of these having heretofore amounted to a million, he had felt justified in adding that million to the estimated amount of the annual taxes But it was proper to remark, that for the increase so claimed, a corresponding diminution would be found in another portion of the ways and means. This would be seen in the very next article. The committee would find that the temporary excise duties for the present year were taken at 1,500,000*l*. instead of 2,500,000*l*, at which they were estimated last year. The reason of this he had already explained, when stating the increase in the annual taxes. The result was this, that under the two heads he had enumerated, the expected produce was precisely the same as last year, the amount being 5,500,000*l*. The lottery he took in the present year at 200,000*l* In the last year it was taken at 240,000*l*; but as the actual produce had fallen considerably short of that sum, he did not deem it prudent to take it at more than 200,000*l* For the old stores, he thought he was entitled to take 163,400*l*. The next item was in its character somewhat novel and extraordinary, and required explanation. He had just laid before the House, papers by which it would be seen that there was a surplus of the pecuniary indemnity due to this country from France, amounting to 500,000*l*, which was applicable to the public service of the present year He regretted that he could not lay before the House a detailed account of the whole of the payments which had been made by the French government, and their application. It had not been possible to get it made up in time, the payments not being completed, but early in the next session, he expected it would be laid upon their table At present he would give the House such information as it was in his power to supply from memory. It would be remembered, that the sum to be paid by France as an indemnity to this country, had amounted to 125,000,000 of French livres, or about 5,000,000*l*. sterling. From this sum the bounty of parliament had taken 1,000,000*l*., which had been bestowed, in conjunction with our allies, as a donation to the army employed in achieving the last glorious events of the war. The

extra expenses of the army of occupation had been provided for by further deductions to a considerable amount. The French government, in addition to the sums paid as indemnities, had advanced other sums to meet the expense of the army of occupation, which it had been thought necessary to maintain in France But as the allowances for a continental army were not equal to those required for a British army, a considerable expense had fallen upon this country, which, though in the first instance met from other sources, had finally been paid out of the indemnity The sums issued by the pay master-general, amounting to 1,200,000*l*, had also been taken from the same source. Other payments had been made for the Hanoverian troops which formed a part of the British army. Various sums had been paid to individuals who had claims on the British government for services performed The French government, pursuant to the treaty concluded, had made a liberal provision for the relief of those who had suffered from the spoliations of their armies In some instances, claims of a similar description had been made on the British government These had been answered, and after providing for the various charges which he had described, and further, after advancing to complete the fortifications in the Netherlands, the sum of 2,000,000*l*, there remained a surplus of 500,000*l*. applicable to the service of the present year, and perhaps a small additional sum at the winding up of the accounts might be applied to the ways and means of next year. He hoped he had stated the outline of the case intelligibly to the committee. For the particulars, of course, they must wait until the accounts could be produced. The next item to which he had to call their attention, was the sum received in repayment of Exchequer bills for public works, under an act passed in 1819. The sum realized last year under this head, was 198,000*l*. In the present year it amounted to 125,000*l*. While he was upon this subject, he could not but congratulate the House upon the successful operation of the act to which he had alluded By the issue of Exchequer bills which that act had authorized, most important assistance had been afforded to the industry of the country, and several public works had been brought to a successful conclusion, which had previously languished from a want of funds to carry them on Upon this subject, therefore, he sincerely congratulated the House, that without bringing any charge on the country, effectual aid had been given to those engaged in carrying on important, and in many instances necessary, public works, which could not but prove highly conducive to the general good. The only remaining item to which he had to call the attention of the committee, was a surplus of the ways and means of 1820, amounting to 81,630*l* The total amount, therefore, of what was called the ready-money produce of the year, it would be seen, was 6 570,030*l* In order to make this sum meet the supply, which he had stated amounted to 18,021,000*l*, it became necessary to take a loan from the sinking funds of Great Britain and Ireland; he, therefore, took from the sinking fund of Great Britain, 12,500,000*l*; from that of Ireland, 500,000*l* The reason for that division had been not only to leave a larger sum in the market, but also because the sum of about 500,000*l* was necessary for the payment of the excess in Ireland beyond the amount of her consolidated fund. Perhaps it might be right here to observe, that, in consequence of this diminution of the sinking fund of Ireland, which would still, however, leave a considerable sum applicable to the purchase of

stock, a necessity was felt of allowing the re-transfer of stock from Ireland to England; so that a stock holder would be enabled to choose in which part of the empire he would receive his dividend. This would also be the means of producing other beneficial effects on the market. To these statements was only to be further added, the increase of capital of the Bank of Ireland, equal to 500,000*l.* Irish, or 461,539*l.* British currency. The total amount of the ways and means would thus be, as he had already said, 6,570,030*l.* from the ready-money produce of the year, and 13,461,539*l.* from the sinking fund, and the Irish Bank capital, making, in the whole, 20,031,569*l.*, or an excess of about 13,000*l.* beyond what the service of the year would require. The total amount of the supply, and of the ways and means, was as follows:—

SUPPLY

1820		1821.
9,443,243	Army,	£ 8,750,000
6,586,695	Navy, .	6,176,700
1,199,650	Ordnance,	1,195,100
2,441,100	Miscellaneous,	1,900,000
19,673,688		18,021,800
18,021,800		
1,000,000	Interest on Exchequer bills,	1,000,000
410,000	Sinking fund on do.	290,000
21,083,688		19,311,800
19,311,800		
1,771,888		
2,000,000	By reduction of unfunded debt, viz. Irish treasury bills, 500,000; Bills for public works, 206,400	706,400
30,083,688		£ 20,018,200

WAYS AND MEANS.

Granted for 1820		Estimate for 1821.
3,000,000	Annual taxes,	£ 4,000,000
2,500,000	(Excise duties) tea duties,	1,500,000
240,000	Lottery, . .	200,000
260,000	Old stores, . .	168,400
	Surplus of pecuniary indemnity payable by the French government, .	500,000
198,000	Exchequer bills for public works repaid,	125,000
	Surplus of ways and means, 1820,	81,630
		6,570,030
12,000,000	Sinking fund loan, viz. Great Britain, 12,500,000; Ireland, 500,000	13,000,000
	Bank of Ireland, increase of capital 500,000*l.* Irish currency, being in British currency, . .	461,539
12,000,000	5,000,000 loan, 7,000,000 funding Exchequer bills	
30 198,000		£ 20,031,569

A considerable diminution had been made in the expenditure of this year; and every possible saving would still be effected, but he did not conceive he had any right to hold out the expectation that farther material reductions would be made. There was even room to apprehend some increases from the charge upon the out-pensioners of Greenwich-hospital, and also from arrangements with the East India Company.

Mr Vansittart now proceeded to shew the action of the present state of the finances upon the sinking fund. He had already shewn, that the sup-

ply for the present year, including 900,000*l.* for Irish treasury bills, and 1,000,000*l.* for the interest of Exchequer bills, with a sinking fund on them of 290,000*l.*, amounted to 20,018,200*l.* exclusive of the supplies necessary to meet the existing debt, amounting to 30,706,400*l.* He wished now to shew how the sinking fund loan would operate upon the purchase of stock. It would be undoubtedly satisfactory to persons connected with the funds to know, that, although a loan of 12,500,000*l.* was to be taken from the sinking fund in the present year, and though but 12,000,000*l.* had been taken in the last, the sum for this year's purchase of stock was 60,000*l.* larger than the sum appropriated to a like purpose in the year 1820. He then entered into a more detailed comparison of the sums received by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt in Great Britain and Ireland, in the year ending 5th January, 1821; and an estimate of the sums which will be received by them in the year ending 5th January, 1822, exclusive of the sums set apart to pay life annuities, which was as follows:

		Sums applicable to the		Total sums received
		Purchase of stock	Sinking fund loans	
Great Britain				
Year ending 5th Jan	1821	4,101,024	12,400,000	16,501,024
	1822	4,160,202	12,000,000	16,160,202
Ireland (B C)				
Year ending 5th Jan	1821	645,865		645,865
	1822	491,294	174,462	665,756
United Kingdom				
Year ending 5th Jan	1821	4,746,889	12,400,000	17,146,889
	1822	4 651 496	12,174,462	16,825,958

The honourable gentleman now proceeded to compare the actual income and expenditure of the years 1820 and 1821. In the year ending January the 5th, 1821, the revenue actually received in the united kingdom, amounted to 54,022,714*l.* To this was to be added, for the lottery, 156,154*l.* For old stores, 263,820*l.* Repayment of Exchequer bills, 198,000*l.* Amounting together to the sum of 54,640,688*l.* And now he came to the expenditure of the same year. The actual charge on the consolidated fund was 48,597,157*l.* Interest upon the Irish sinking fund and unfunded debt, 2,300,219*l.*, making a total of 50,897,376*l.* This was the amount of the charges borne by the public, exclusive of the supplies for the service of the year, which he had before enumerated. The actual expense for the army, navy, and other services, made the total charge amount to 71,199,864*l.* Then, if the actual income were deducted from the above amount of public expenditure, the latter would be found to exceed the revenue by 16,559,176*l.* But if the sinking fund were applied to this, amounting to 17,509,773*l.*, in point of fact it would appear that there was a surplus of income over the expenditure, amounting to 950 597*l.* But this was not a fair way of viewing the subject, because the interest of the unfunded debt was charged 2,300,000*l.* Now, the actual amount of the interest of the unfunded debt outstanding, did not exceed 1,000,000*l.*, and the amount of the sinking fund 400,000*l.* But then there had been a large arrear of Exchequer bills unsatisfied, to the amount of 900,000*l.*, which had been

met; and this was to be added to the debt liquidated in the last year, making a total of from 1,700,000*l.* to 4,800,000*l.* In the course of the year 1820, the situation of the country had improved to that amount, clear of every thing.

He would now proceed to state what he thought would probably be the amount of the revenue of the present year In the first instance, he would assume the general revenue to be the same as the last, and he would presently state the grounds upon which he made this calculation He would take it then at 54 022,714*l* The lottery at 200,000*l.* Old stores, 163,400*l* French indemnity, 500,000*l* Repayment of Exchequer bills for public works, 125,000*l* Total, 55,011,114*l* The amount charged to the consolidated fund would be short of what it was last year by about 100,000*l* He would take it in round numbers at 48,500,000*l* The interest of the unfunded debt, including Exchequer bills, and some arrears due to the Bank of England, 1,700,000*l* Total, 50,200,000*l* Without going through the particulars of the supplies he had before enumerated, it would be sufficient to state, that these added to the sum he had just named, made the total expense of the present year 68,221,000*l* being 3 000 000*l*, all but 100,000*l* less than the expenditure of last year Deducting the amount of the revenue from this, there would remain a sum of 13,209,868*l* of expenditure beyond the revenue But, as the sinking fund amounted to 16,800,000*l*, there would be an actual reduction of debt to the amount of 3,590,000*l* As he before remarked, there was 400,000*l.* for the interest of Exchequer bills in arrear. This sum was to be added to the excess of income in the present year, which would thus be made to amount to about 4,000,000*l* It would be recollected, that if it was the object of the House to obtain a clear sinking fund of 5,000,000*l* It was not likely that a sinking fund to that amount would be obtained in the course of the present year, unless the revenue experienced a very considerable increase But there was every reason to hope that they would so nearly approach the accomplishment of the object the House had in view, as in the proportion of four to five. He conceived himself justified in expecting that the revenue of the present year would be at least equal to that of the last All the returns on this head hitherto received were favourable There had been a most sudden revival of the industry of the country, which was now displaying its immense inherent resources A happy proof was given in the large amount paid into the Bank of England on account of savings' banks Since 5th April, it had been from 19,000*l* to 20,000*l* per week. When this was considered, from the view which it gave of the condition of the middling and of the lower classes—from the indications which it presented of the industry and wealth of the country—it might safely be assumed that there never was a period which furnished a more gratifying display of the safety of the country, and the stability of its resources He believed that England, compared with the other nations of Europe, would be found to have its full share of those blessings which peace might be expected to bring This country had undoubtedly submitted to a greater effort of finance than had been made in any other. But this was the only country that had lessened its debt since the termination of the war, and in which taxes to the amount of many millions had been repealed These circumstances were most gratifying subjects for reflection. Difficulties were still to be encountered, but greater diffi-

culties had been triumphantly surmounted than any of those with which we had now to contend.

This statement being, as usual, only a simple and general outline of our financial situation, did not afford room for any elaborate examination. A few passing criticisms were, however, made by Mr Maberly, Mr Calcraft, Mr Ricardo, Mr Hume, and some other members. It was contended that the supplies, by rigid economy and reduction, might have been brought still lower, and that the country was by no means in the prosperous and happy situation represented in the minister's speech

Mr Ricardo, though favourable to the plan of a sinking fund in the abstract, had no longer any hopes of its being persevered in to any effective extent, and therefore thought it might as well be at once given up

No division took place, unless on the lottery, which was opposed by Mr Bernal, but carried by a majority of 123 to 65

Before the close of the session, Mr Hume determined upon making one great final stand on the subject of economy and reduction On the 27th June, he laid before the House a vast mass of financial statements, which Mr Ricardo and he had been employed in preparing. He found it to be the general opinion of the country, that its expenditure was on too large a scale. The object of his motion was to enforce the necessity of retrenchment and economy in every department. He proposed, first, to lay before the House a comparative view of the revenue and expenditure of the country in 1792, and at present. In 1792, the expenditure of the country was considered large when it amounted only to 16,000,000*l.*, including the sinking fund It now amounted to 53,000,000*l.* without the sinking fund. In 1792, the interest and charge of the public debt,—he meant that part paid to the public, setting aside the sinking fund, was 9,577,972*l.*; and on the 5th January, 1821, it was 31;252,612*l* In 1792, the expenses of the civil government and its military establishments, (Ireland excluded,) were 5,391,206*l* In 1820, the expenses (Ireland included) were 22,087,507*l*, being upwards of four times the amount of 1792. He would take this opportunity of observing, that the public accounts were in such a state as to render it impossible for any man, whatever industry he might possess, to come to an undisputed conclusion upon them If one person made up an account from them, another might easily draw up a different one, upon the same authority, and challenge the preference for correctness. His honourable friend, the member for Portarlington, (Mr Ricardo,) whose unavoidable absence he regretted upon the present occasion, had assisted him in examining the various official accounts, in order to ascertain whether any, and what, progress had been made towards the reduction of the public debt within the last five or six years; or whether it continued the same in amount as at the union of the English and Irish Exchequers, in 1817. On so simple a matter as the deficiency of the consolidated fund, there were three public accounts, all signed by the same person, all relating to the same period, and all differing in amounts. Mr Hume conceived that the alleged reduction of 29,000,000*l.* in the national debt, could by no means be borne out. The question was, how matters stood as to the charge upon this debt, of which he gave the following statement.—

	1815	1816	1817.	1818	1819	1820
Interest paid on funded debt,	27,176,930	31 392 890	29 166,085	28,873,638	29,737,610	29,126,973
Charges of management,	259,970	265,400	284,589	277,699	274,395	276,419
Amount of interest and charges,	27,436,900	31 658 290	29,450,674	29,151,337	30,012,033	29,403,392
Interest on Exchequer and Irish Treasury bills,	3 014,003	2,496,178	1,815,927	2,200,114	779,992	1,849,220
Total charge for the debt,	30,450,903	33,854 468	31, 266,601	31,351,751	30,792,025	31,252,612

Mr Hume afterwards proceeded to give a comparative abstract of the expense of the army, navy, and ordnance of Great Britain and Ireland, in the years 1792 and 1820

1792

Great Britain, army ordinary		L 1,814,000
Ireland do do.		516,349
		2,330,349
Ordnance, Great Britain		422,001
Do Ireland		22,862
		2,775,212
Navy		1,985,482
Total charge in 1792		L 4,760,694

1820

Great Britain, army ordinary		7,941,513
Extra		984,911
		8,926 124
Ordnance, Great Britain		1,401,585
		10.328,009
Navy		6,387,399
		L 16,715,408
Total charge in 1792		4,760 694

Being more in 1820 L. 11,954,714 than in 1792.

It was but fair to add, that a large part of this amount arose from retired pensions and half pay. These amounted, in 1821, to 4,433,706*l.* 11*s.* The amount of military pay and pensions alone had risen from 458,247*l.* to 2,818,805*l.*, making a difference of 2,360,558*l.*

Mr Hume then gave a view of the comparative military force of the nation in 1792 and in 1821

1792.

Regular cavalry and infantry in Great Britain		15,919	
Do. do. Ireland		12,000	
Do. do. Colonies		17,323	
(Including the corps at New South Wales)			45,242
Royal artillery		3,730	
Do. marines		4,425	
			8,155
Total regulars			53,397
Militia of Great Britain disembodied		33,410	
Total irregulars			33,410
Total regular and irregular troops			86,807

1821.

Regular cavalry and infantry in Great Britain		27,852	
Do. do. Ireland		20,778	
Do do. Colonies		32,476	
		—	81,106
Royal artillery		7,872	
Do marines		8,000	
		—	15,872
Regular Colonial troops at the Cape of Good Hope		458	
Do. Do. Ceylon		3,606	
			4,064
Recruiting establishment			497
Total regulars			101,539
Militia of Great Britain disembodied in 89 regiments		55,092	
Do Ireland Do 38 regiments		22,472	
			77,564
Yeomanry in Great Britain, men and officers		36,294	
Do Ireland		30,786	
Volunteer infantry, in men and officers, Great Britain		6,934	
			74,014
East India Company's regiment			750
Veteran battalions disembodied and ready to be called			10,000
Total irregulars			162,328
Men in arms, or that may be in arms in a few hours or days.			
Total of regular and irregular, 1821			263,867
Do. Do. in 1792			86,807
More in 1821 than in 1792			177,060

The following table exhibited a view of the increase upon the naval establishment —

SHIPS of WAR in COMMISSION and in ORDINARY, in each of the following Years, as stated in Returns laid before Parliament

	Guns	1786		1792		1813		1814.		1819.		1821.	
		Com	Ordi	Com	Ordi	Com	Ordi	Com	Ordi	Com.	Ordi	Com	Ordi.
First Rates	100	—	5	1	4	7	7	8	6	2	14	2	23
Second Do	90 to 98	—	21	7	9	9	9	9	6	1	11	2	22
Third Do	74 to 80	17	103	15	89	102	106	111	100	11	69	14	97
Fourth Do.	50 to 60	6	11	5	10	8	13	10	15	9	5	7	29
Fifth Do	32 to 44	13	84	31	59	118	84	134	83	18	58	14	126
Sixth Do	12 to 28	12	31	12	30	38	27	43	35	19	3	65	137
		48	255	77	201	282	246	315	245	60	160	104	434
Sloops, Yachts, and Small Vessels		38	73	67	56	209	150	226	171	95	250	15	148
		86	331	144	257	491	396	541	416	115	410	119	582
Total in each Year		417		401		887		957		525		701	

Mr Hume then went over, in immense detail, all the different branches of naval and military expenditure, and pointed out the efforts made by different members, but chiefly by himself, to effect reductions upon them He finally condensed a view of the whole into the following statement.—

	L.	
To reduce 20,000 men, Household troops and troops in the Colonies	753,955	
Army extras, one-third of 934,911	300,000	
		L.1,053,955
By reducing 93 regiments of 650 men to 75 regiments of 800 each		211,000
Do. . Do. . Barracks (England)	80,000	
Do. . Do. . . Do (Ireland)	40,000	
		120,000
Do. . Do. Commissariat, England and Ireland		115,000
Military Staff, Great Britain, and Colonies	L.105,943	to reduce 10,943
Do. . Irish staff	26,538	6,538
Commander-in-Chief's Office	14,474	4,000
War Office	51,000	10,000
Adjutant-General's Office	6,844	1,500
Do. Do (Scotland)	900	351
Quartermaster-General	4,692	1,500
Do. . . in Scotland	922	622
Judge-Advocate General	5,180	2,180
Do (Scotland)	650	650
Comptroller's Office	12,642	4,600
Medical staff	5,614	2,200

Public departments (Ireland)		L 10,518	3,500
Volunteers and Yeomanry (England)		170,000	20,000
Do. Do (Ireland)		19,023	9,800
Military College		16,915	7,244
Do. Asylum		36,000	12,000
Foreign half-pay agency			2,025
Garrisons abroad and at home		34,000	12,449
Recruiting		50,000	20,000
Veteran battalion officers			18,870
Kilmainham and Chelsea Hospital establishments			10,000
Retired allowances		40,000	8,000
	Total for the Army		1,663,127
Navy establishments, L.1,225,629 of L 925,629		251,407	
Building ships 1,094,540		550,000	
Works in dock yard 424,648		357,136	
			1,108,543
Ordnance—Tower establishment, L 65,804 to reduce 15,818			
Sundries Total ordinary	547,766	139,191	
Extraordinary L 271,124		77,500	
			216,691
In the miscellaneous items of L.2,444,100 might be saved			250,000
To be saved in the collection of the revenue			1,050,000
	Total Reduction		L 4,288,361

The saving of this sum would enable government to reduce the duties on salt, leather, soap, candles, all those which pressed on the necessaries of life, and nearly a million more The honourable gentleman concluded amid cheers, by moving the following resolution:—

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, humbly to request, that, with a view of affording relief to the country from a part of its burdens, he will be graciously pleased to direct that a minute investigation be instituted into the mode and expense of the management and collection of the several branches of the revenue, that a careful revision be made of all salaries and allowances, especially of those which have been increased since 1797, in order that they may be adjusted with reference to the increased value of the currency, and to the distressed circumstances of the country; that a vigilant superintendence be exercised over the expenditure of the country, in all its departments, in order that every reduction may be made therein, which can be effected without detriment to the public interest, and in particular in the number of the army, and the expense of its establishments"

The Marquis of Tavistock, after highly complimenting Mr Hume on the zeal, ability, and perseverance displayed by him, lamented that he should have been under the necessity of bringing all these minute details of the estimates before the House. This was deviating from the ancient usage of Parliament, and making it assume, in some degree, the functions of the executive government It was rendered necessary, however, by ministers having lost the confidence of the country With such an immense patronage as they now possessed, it was vain

to expect any thing but a majority in their favour, or to see a House of Commons that would satisfy the people.

Mr Bankes thought the noble lord had assumed a tone of despondency and reproach which did not come very graciously from a member of that House, who was almost in the dawn of life. The honourable member for Aberdeen had pointed out a great number of points in which, as he contended, large savings might be made; but he appeared to have forgotten that the House had already, in most of those points, decided against him—(*Cheers from the Opposition.*)—He believed, that of those gentlemen who were now cheering, not one in ten had made himself master of the items on which the honourable member for Aberdeen had insisted, and of those who had, not one in ten really believed the proposed reductions to be practicable. It was holding out a false expectation to the country to say, that four millions might be saved. He thought it also objectionable that the honourable gentleman should have taken away the credit due to ministers for the reductions which they had made this year, as compared with the expenditure of the last It was true, he could have wished that they had advanced more rapidly in the process of reduction; but still they were entitled to credit for what they had done. Besides, the honourable gentleman, whose industry no one could doubt, must have been aware that a commission had been employed for a long while in inquiring into the department of the customs with a view to reduction. The recommendations of this committee had already effected a considerable saving to the public, which was likely to be followed up by more; so that no indisposition could be imputed to government to promote the objects of economy. Still, however, he thought it would not be right, under the present circumstances of the country, to rely upon the promises of any man, or set of men, and therefore he was of opinion, that the House ought to address his Majesty, praying for the adoption of such measures as, in their judgment, the situation of the country appeared to require. If the House should concur with him in the views he had taken of the subject, the honourable gentleman would probably relinquish his own motion, in order to meet the general feeling He would, therefore, conclude with moving, as an amendment; "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to assure his Majesty, that we have regarded with satisfaction the measures which have been taken by his Majesty's commands for a general revision of the department of the customs in Great Britain, and to entreat his Majesty to give directions that a similar investigation may be extended to all the other branches of the revenue, in order to render its collection more economical, and its management more efficient; that, for the purpose of affording a further relief to the country, his Majesty will be pleased to order a minute inquiry into the several departments of the civil government, as well with a view to reducing the number of persons employed, in those departments, which, from the great increase of business, were augmented during the late war, as with reference to the increased salaries granted to individuals since the year 1797, either in consideration of the additional labour thrown upon them during that period, or of the diminished value of money: and further, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that every possible saving which can be made, without detriment to the public interest, shall be effected in those more extended establishments which the country is obliged to maintain for the safety and defence of the united kingdom and its dependencies, and more espe-

cially in the military expenditure, by a reduction in the numbers of the army, and by a constant and vigilant superintendance over that and all the other departments connected with the application of the ample supplies granted by this House"

The Marquis of Londonderry, while he claimed for ministers a certain degree of constitutional confidence, would not for a moment deny the right to call upon administration to explain what they were doing, or meant to do, for the reduction of the public expenditure. He would be a hypocrite, however, if he expected any candour from the honourable gentlemen opposite in their estimate of these points They were accustomed to look with a jaundiced eye on every thing done by ministers. Their expectations must always keep in advance of any government, not ready to engage in attempting what was impracticable He had great respect for the honourable member for Aberdeen, he admired his industry, but unless the honourable gentleman were the Deity, instead of being but a laborious individual, it was physically impossible that he could have exercised a sober or sound judgment upon the mass of complicated details which he had in his speech presented to the consideration of the House In what he said, he did not wish to undervalue the labours of the honourable gentleman; they did him great credit as an individual, and no doubt, in course of time, he would become a valuable acquisition to that House. He believed, that the measures of reduction adopted by ministers would satisfy the country, in preference to the impracticable schemes held out by their opponents. He must say this on the behalf of the people of England, that he could not name one moment in their history of late times, in which the country was more tranquil than it was at present. In all the parts some time ago disturbed, there was now a repose and calmness; there was, he believed, more good humour and undivided comfort and happiness now prevailing throughout the country, than could be remembered almost at any former period On the subject of the address of the honourable member, he had no hesitation in saying, that he agreed to its principle; indeed, so far as the principle went, he saw no difference between the original address and the amended one But he thought it due to the intentions of his Majesty's government to call on the members of the agricultural committee in particular, to say whether there was any part of the report of that committee the necessity of which ministers pressed more strongly for adoption, or to which they wished to give so strong and decided a colour, as that which urged the necessity of adopting a sound, constitutional, and practical economy in the public expenditure Every successive year since the peace ministers had gone on adopting the utmost principles of reduction. He knew, indeed, there were some who thought it extremely easy to effect retrenchments at first sight—who, like the honourable member opposite, could reduce fancied savings to paper, and take the estimate of 1792 as the criterion of the public expenditure. The House knew that the estimates for the present year were 18,022,000*l*, and for the last year they were 19,673,000*l*, shewing a present reduction of 1,670,000*l*. The noble marquis was greatly in error if he supposed that ministers kept their places by the force of selfish patronage, or owed their influence to any other source than the general confidence of the country He never would, as a minister of the Crown, endeavour to satisfy any excited feelings of the country, by deluding the people with a show of impracticable retrenchment; he would never consent to break down the govern-

ment which his Sovereign intrusted to his charge, by risking its safety to seek popularity These were the principles on which his Majesty's government wished always to be judged; they desired to call for the opinion of Parliament, not upon their words, but their acts And they were prepared to labour during the recess in preparing for Parliament at its next meeting, that plan of retrenchment which could alone be safe, because it was the result of a practical survey of the state of the establishments of the country.

Mr Huskisson enforced these views, which were opposed by Lord Milton, the Marquis of Litchfield, Mr Creevey, and Mr Maberly. After a reply by Mr Hume, the House divided upon the two motions, when that of Mr Bankes was carried by a majority of 174 to 94.

The Session might thus be considered as having terminated triumphantly in favour of economy. On the 29th June, when the House went into a committee on the Appropriation Bill, Mr Hume again, in a good-humoured style, urged his various items of reduction The Marquis of Londonderry replied, that ministers would equally have acted on the principles of economy, if none of the addresses had been moved. By these, however, they had given a solemn pledge, which they would strictly fulfil.

In the House of Lords, on the 2d of July, Earl Darnley moved an address similar to that of Mr Hume, which was met from Lord Liverpool with an amendment similar to that of Mr Bankes. After a little discussion, the amendment was carried without a division.

CHAPTER III

FOREIGN POLICY

Motions by Earl Grey and Sir James Mackintosh, relative to the Congress and the Affairs of Naples—Motion by Sir Robert Wilson—By the Marquis of Lansdown—By Mr Hutchinson, on the State of Europe—By Mr Stuart Wortley, on the Declarations of the Congress—By Lord W. Bentinck, on the Affairs of Sicily

As soon as the termination of the proceedings against the Queen had tranquillized the nation upon that agitating question, the attention of British statesmen was powerfully directed to the great movements taking place on the continent, to the principles professed by the combination of the great powers, and above all, to the active measures which they were taking in furtherance of them On one side, it was urged, that Britain could never view with indifference events so deeply affecting the cause of liberty; that she ought not to regard tamely the measures in progress for putting down, by military force, every attempt to establish a representative government, and limit the monarchical power Ministers, on the other hand, represented, that having disavowed generally the principle of interference, and declared their determination to be no party to any measure founded upon it, they had done all that the circumstances either called for or admitted.

It has been seen how, at the very opening of Parliament, the discussion on the affairs of Foreign Europe formed a prominent feature After several preliminary motions and notices, the subject was brought into full consideration on the 19th February by Earl Grey in the House of Peers, and on the 21st, by Mr Tierney in the House of Commons The ostensible object in both, was a motion for the production of papers, but the actual purpose, to obtain for each party an opportunity of expressing their sentiments at full length on so interesting a topic

Earl Grey began with taking a view of previous proceedings He had on the first day of the session availed himself of the earliest opportunity afforded him, to direct the attention of their lordships to this important subject, and on a subsequent day he had inquired whether the representation issued by the allied courts on the subject of the Neapolitan revolution did correctly and truly state the dis

position and engagements of his Majesty's government with respect to such events as those which had taken place. The answer given on that occasion by the noble lord opposite appeared to be in a great degree satisfactory. He said that the document which had appeared in the public papers, though substantially true, was in some respects not correct He disclaimed the engagements to which it was therein stated that this government was a party, and he disclaimed the principle of interference with the internal arrangements of independent states—stating, what every one would admit, that circumstances might arise by which such interference would be justified The noble lord then proposed to lay before the House a document, containing a full explanation of the conduct pursued by his Majesty's government (This was the circular dispatch of Lord Castlereagh to British ministers at foreign courts, dated 19th January See Appendix) He could not consider it as satisfactory, yet it certainly contained a disclaimer, though cold and feeble, of the principle of interference. Notwithstanding this, he could not forbear animadverting on the circular of the allied powers. The claim set up was nothing less than the right of a general superintendence of the states of Europe, and of the suppression of all changes in their internal government, if those changes should be hostile to what the Holy Alliance called the legitimate principles of government. It mattered not how general the wish of the people for the change might be; it mattered not, however inoffensive that change might be to other states; it mattered not that every people were acknowledged to possess the right of correcting the abuses of their government, and rescuing themselves from political degradation Yet those monarchs who had assumed the censorship of Europe, and sat in judgment on the internal transactions of other states, took upon themselves to summon before them the monarch of an independent state, to pronounce judgment on a constitution which, in concert with his people, he had given to his country, and threatened to enforce their judgment by arms This was plainly declaring that all changes of government which did not square with their ideas of propriety, were to be put down. Nothing could be more unjust, nothing more atrocious, than this principle A number of other documents held the same language, particularly a paper in the Berlin Court Gazette of the 10th December, of whose official character there could be no doubt In that paper, the new constitution was declared to be the product of unlawful power, and it was distinctly stated that "the monarchical principle rejects every institution which is not determined upon and accomplished by the monarch himself of his own free will." Were this principle to be successfully maintained, the triumph of tyranny would be complete, and the chains of mankind would be riveted for ever Was there, then, to be no improvement in government except such as was granted as a matter of favour? Hopeless, indeed, was the condition of the human race, if they were to obtain no political rights, except such as sprung from the benevolence of sovereigns—of the monarchs who composed the Holy Alliance His lordship remarked on the date of the circular, so long after the principles of the allied powers had been clearly declared, and only a few days before the meeting of parliament, as if it had been with the express view of providing for that crisis. The conduct of ministers towards Naples, had consisted in a suspension of all am-

cable intercourse. They had refused to acknowledge the Neapolitan minister, and to accredit a minister to the court of Naples They had sent a squadron to the bay of Naples, one of the vessels of which bore the ensign of one of the powers which had summoned the King of Naples to their bar. The paper in question was involved in all the frosts, and chilled with all the fogs of winter. There was an evident bias in favour of the Holy Alliance, inconsistent even with the pretended system of cold neutrality Amicable relations were without scruple continued with the court of Spain, after Ferdinand had subverted that constitution which this country was bound to support There was no accounting for this distinction, but upon the supposition that ministers had one rule for revolutions in favour of liberty, and another for revolutions in favour of despotism The latter were by every means to be encouraged, and the former discountenanced, and, if possible, punished Ministers had thought it necessary to guard against nothing, except plans of territorial aggrandizement He did not mean to speak lightly of the propriety of preserving a balance of European power, but he contended that it was to be preserved only by an adherence to the principles of right and justice, and that it was to be secured, not by territorial arrangements, but by a system which would ensure to the weak, protection against the aggressions of the powerful. Even in a territorial view, however, what assurance had ministers, that Austria would fulfil her engagements? If she succeeded, as he feared would be the case, would she not make the very hostility of the people a pretext for continuing her occupation? He believed that no persons who had experience of the conduct of Austria would place much reliance on assurances of refraining from territorial aggrandizement, given by that power. Could any person in Europe believe that Austria was willing to relinquish her schemes of ambition with respect to Italy? Ministers had stated, that the general principle was against interference, but that there might arise exceptions He would then ask what was the exception, and on what ground was it justified? The exception was, "when the immediate security, or essential interests, of one state, are seriously endangered by the internal transactions of another" On what ground was the interference justified? On that of necessity Whence does that necessity arise? Out of a real, serious, and pressing danger, which leaves no choice, admits of no doubt, and can only be averted by an immediate appeal to force. This danger must not be either uncertain in its existence, or remote in its approach, but such a clear, intelligible, obvious danger, as cannot be denied, and admits of no other remedy than a departure from the general principles of international law. Such a state of things occurs when the government of one nation holds out encouragement to the subjects of another, to resist its authority, or offers assistance to rebellious projects. In illustration of this, he might allude to the decree of the French National Assembly of the 19th November, 1792, which, in his opinion, would have been a legitimate cause of war against the then government of France, had an explanation of the obnoxious measure been demanded and refused. But such a monstrous principle as that on which the Allied Powers professed to act with respect to Naples, had never been heard of in the history of the world. That a nation offering no encouragement to rebellion in other na-

tions, and announcing no projects of foreign aggression, but merely making improvements or operating changes in its own internal government, should present a fit subject of complaint, remonstrance, or interference, on the part of its neighbours, was such a monstrous principle as had never been maintained by any writer on public law, and never before avowed or acted upon by the most profligate ambition The Allied Sovereigns, acquainted with the conduct and circumstances of the Neapolitan revolution, had interfered on the general principle of a right to interfere, and had thus the merit of acting openly and without disguise, not aggravating the violence of injustice by the meanness of fraud. They endeavoured to justify their conduct, by alleging the revolution as the work of a sect, called the Carbonari. This charge would apply to every great political change Let their lordships look to the Revolution of 1688, and then he would ask them if it could have been carried into effect without the combinations of those great men, who restored and secured our religion, our laws, and our liberties, and without such mutual communications among them as would bring them under the description of a sect or party? These Carbonari, however, had been cherished and encouraged by the allies, and by the King of Naples, so long as their efforts had been directed against the usurpation of France Now, when they sought the internal improvement of the state, they were proclaimed rebels. But it was said, that the Neapolitan revolution had not only been the work of a sect, but that they had employed the army as the instrument in effecting their purpose. He did not see any more strength in this objection than in the former. If they were to have armies, they must reconcile themselves to the idea, that when a soldier enlisted into them he did not surrender the feelings of a man, that he remained a citizen when under arms, and must sympathize with his countrymen In a revolution, the army must always take one side or the other, it must support the sovereign against the people, or aid the people in demanding their rights of the sovereign. God forbid that it should always, and in all circumstances, take the side of arbitrary power! God forbid that tyranny, however monstrous or oppressive, should always be defended by the army! He rejoiced to consider that soldiers when enlisted did not cease to be men, and that sovereigns were sometimes taught by them taking an opposite side, that their best guards and protection were the confidence and love of the people God forbid that in all circumstances they should support arbitrary power against the just claims of liberty! It was also alleged, that the King of Naples, in 1815, had made a convention with Austria, not to introduce into the constitution any changes which were not founded on the high monarchical principle. He did not conceive that this treaty could be intended as a permanent guarantee; at all events, it was an immoral and unjust convention, inconsistent with the rights of nations, and beyond the power of being fulfilled. It made the Sovereign of Naples a party against his own subjects, and bound him not to consult their advantage, to which he was bound by the solemn duties of his office When he looked around, and saw that no changes were to be permitted but those which were inconsistent with the independence of states and the rights of mankind, when he saw Austria, because she had dominions in Italy, decla-

ring that no part of Italy should enjoy freedom, lest that freedom should become contagious, he could scarcely restrain his indignation. Of what nature was the government of Austria in Italy? It was the government of strangers in that country, it was founded on recent conquest, and had for its principle that every thing was to be done there for the benefit of Austria, and not for that of Italy. If any new law was to be enacted, it was to secure the interests of Austria, if any tax was to be levied, it was for Austria, if any conscription was to be raised, it was for defending the rights of Austria, and not of Italy Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, languished on account of the power exercised by Austria; even literature and the arts had felt the influence of foreign dominion No improvement could be expected in a state so governed; and was Naples to be restrained from attaining her rights, or establishing her freedom, because the dominion of the Emperor of Austria might be rendered less secure in the north of Italy by an improvement in the south?

The Earl of Liverpool had great satisfaction in the opportunity of entering into a full explanation of his views on this important subject. The circular of the 19th of January, he would contend, contained a clear, distinct, and intelligible exposition, of the views and sense of government on the matter to which it referred, and the principles on which the allies professed to act With regard to the period of issuing the circular, the document to which it alluded, had certainly been known to exist in the month of September, but then only as a project. At the time of its first official communication, an intention had been entertained and announced of answering it; this was rendered more necessary by the official publication of the document. Ministers, however, had frequently repeated last year the doctrines contained in the circular A noble baron (Lord Holland) had asked him a question respecting a document published at St Petersburgh, in which mention was made of the Spanish revolution. On that occasion he (Lord Liverpool) not only disclaimed the doctrines contained in that paper, but he distinctly stated to the House that the government of this country had clearly explained itself on the subject, and he further stated that the production and publication of the papers alluded to, would tend rather to prejudice than to benefit a cause which the noble baron wished to assist The paper published by this government did not contain any new doctrine, but merely set forth the doctrines which Great Britain had held from the beginning; and, with respect to Naples, referred to those great general principles which had been repeatedly promulgated In the first place, circumstances had assumed an entirely new shape, for some of the continental powers wished the right of one interfering in the internal concerns of another to be generally acknowledged, and the paper published by those powers actually went to propose a prospective league, with a view of deciding what were the cases in which different countries might interfere in the internal concerns of other states. They did not look to the modification of the general principle, more or less, but they endeavoured to give practical effect to those principles, looking to the necessity of any given communication There was no mystery, difficulty, or doubt, about the conduct of the English government No arrangement had been made with any foreign power, except those which were regularly laid before Parliament As to the principle expressed

in the first part of the note, there did not seem to be any difference of opinion Ministers condemned interference in the internal affairs of another state, and thought it justifiable, only upon some special case of self-defence, and necessary security. It must rest on some clear, decisive, and intelligible object, and not on the mere dread of example He conceived government to be fully justified in expressing a disapprobation of the manner in which the Neapolitan revolution had been effected In the first place, that revolution was effected by a military mutiny; and, in the next, the Spanish constitution was adopted under the most extraordinary circumstances He admitted that neither of these circumstances would afford just ground for an interference in the affairs of another country, since it was allowed that every state had a right to conduct its own affairs as it pleased, provided its transactions did not affect the tranquillity of other states. But still, if the military mutiny, or the adoption of the Spanish constitution, under such circumstances, appeared to be objectionable, he maintained that he had a right to express that opinion, while he, at the same time, stated that those two transactions did not afford a just ground for interference The case of Naples was entirely different from that of the Revolution in 1688 It was not that of a people demanding a redress of grievances, receiving a refusal, and the military standing up in order to assist them in procuring that redress Such, however, was the case in 1688, and with respect to other revolutions that had been effected in this country. At Naples the revolution was the effect of a military mutiny, carried on in secret by a sect whom he would presently notice, no statement of grievances having been previously made In the struggle for *Magna Charta*, in the Revolution of 1640, and in that of 1688, the distinct ground taken was a declaration of specific grievances to which practical remedies were to be applied, founded either on ancient rights, or on existing propositions But this was very different from the course pursued in Naples, where the revolution was effected without any declaration whatsoever, and a foreign constitution was adopted, of which those who thought fit to select it, knew nothing. He had heard, though he did not vouch for the truth of the story, that when a copy of the constitution was called for, not one could be found in Naples. This blind and headstrong mode of proceeding, though not sufficient to call for interference, could not be considered without exciting feelings of strong reprobation The noble lord could not help asking, what could be more iniquitous than the conduct of the Neapolitans to Sicily? Sicily was a distinct kingdom, though governed by the same king The Sicilians had distinct rights, privileges, and laws In short, Sicily possessed a distinct constitution of its own Such was the situation of Sicily; and could any man pretend to say, that if a large army at Naples chose to effect a revolution there, and chose also to adopt a Spanish constitution, the people of Sicily were to have no share in the modification of that constitution? What really took place on the occasion? When the event of the revolution at Naples was known, the strongest sentiment that could be conceived, was manifested in Sicily against the new constitution. He knew that a strong feeling was also said to have been displayed against the royal family. This, however, he denied, no feeling but that of the most devoted loyalty was manifested towards them. What did the government of Naples do? They sent a large military force to

Sicily to overawe public opinion, and to compel the Sicilians to submit. When that military force arrived at Palermo, they found the difficulties of the expedition greater than they had been led to suppose, and they were induced to enter into a capitulation with the inhabitants of Palermo, and the power stationed in that city—a requisition as reasonable, as fair, as just, and as equitable, as ever was concluded. It was signed and completely executed It stipulated that the two states should compose one kingdom They were to have the same sovereign, but it was left to the Sicilians to decide whether they would have a distinct and separate parliament, or whether their parliament was to be incorporated with that of Naples This being signed, and definitively agreed on, was sent to the revolutionary government of Naples, but that revolutionary government refused to ratify it, they broke the solemn agreement which their own officer had entered into The noble earl and his friends touched on nothing but what they denominated the conduct of despots They never complained of the conduct of usurpers, they never complained of the acts perpetrated by new dynasties—on these they looked with forbearance and tolerance—they only complained when the actions of legitimate monarchs were brought under consideration With regard to the Carbonari, he admitted, that if they had been a sect merely Neapolitan, there would have been no ground to interfere But was this the fact? Were the Carbonari a Neapolitan sect only? Were they all even Italians? Was it not known that this sect extended not only to every part of Italy, but to Switzerland and Germany? Were not their principles similar to those which had been set in motion to overturn that which was called a legitimate government? Were not their principles practically and theoretically the same with those which were known at the period of the French revolution? The distinction he drew was this—that there was a complete difference between a sect having for its object the new modelling of a government on constitutional principles, and one which extended into other countries, for the purpose, generally, of overturning existing governments In the latter case, it was no longer a national question, but one of a very distinct character. He, however, had not given any opinion—neither had his Majesty's government—whether the conduct of the sect of Carbonari did, under all the circumstances, justify the interference of the Emperor of Austria. He was not prepared to give an opinion that it did, but he certainly could not say that it did not, because the inference must depend on the nature of the circumstances taken together It was not the fact, that the diplomatic arrangements between this country and Naples had been dissolved. Sir W. A'Court was at present ambassador at the Court of Naples for the Court of Great Britain, while Count de Ludolf was the minister here, on the part of Naples, and, on a variety of occasions, communications had taken place between the two courts He had indeed stated, on a former night, that, under existing circumstances, no new powers or authorities would be granted But he, at the same time, specially and particularly pointed out the reason, namely, the situation in which Naples stood with respect to Sicily,—a circumstance which was conclusive on the subject, because this country could not have allowed those new powers, without at once deciding against the Sicilians altogether. With regard, however, to the diplomatic authorities existing, no al-

teration had been made, and no interruption of the ordinary intercourse had taken place. With regard to the King of Naples having gone on board a British ship, this was an accommodation fully due to an aged monarch, who had been so long the ally and friend of Britain. Nothing could be more different than the case of Naples, and that of the first revolution in Spain. The constitution formed by the latter was considered by the Duke of Wellington, and other enlightened characters, as unwise and impolitic, but it was the legitimate authority of the country, and, seconded by British valour, had effected the deliverance of Europe It would be satisfactory to our ambassador at that court to have it known, that when he met King Ferdinand at Valencia, on his road to Madrid, he advised him to adopt it, and to act constitutionally The monarch, however, when he reached his capital, was induced to adopt another course, but he adopted it in such a manner as was satisfactory to the great bulk of the nation, by issuing a proclamation for the immediate assembling of the Cortes. He afterwards prevented that body from assembling; and out of that event arose the late revolution in that country Lord Liverpool repeated, that he did not pronounce any judgment on the conduct of Austria It was but justice, however, to that much calumniated government to state, that it had shewn the utmost readiness to withdraw its forces from Naples, even before the period stipulated by treaty.

Lord Holland eagerly supported the opinions of Earl Grey He insisted that the allied powers had the better of ministers, when they insisted, that the latter had committed themselves by former treaties to an approval of their present policy. The publication of this circular on the 19th of January, in reply to a document, which had come under the eye of the British government in the September previous, could have no possible object but to strengthen the hands of ministers in the view of the approaching session of Parliament The noble lord was, no doubt, at liberty to state his disapprobation of the mode in which the revolution at Naples was effected; but then to whom—if he was such a lover of neutrality as he professed himself to be—to whom ought he to have expressed it? To the offending parties themselves, and not to their enemies. The noble lord, however, in his breathless haste to prejudge the case, reversed the whole matter, never said a word to the Neapolitans, but pointed out all their faults to their Austrian enemies, and yet this the noble lord called acting with impartiality! Lord Holland ridiculed the style of the circular, which appeared to him to bear strong marks of that hatred to learning which the Emperor of Austria so deeply cherished Lord Liverpool had said, that though there might be cases in which he should not disapprove of an army taking a part in the accomplishment of a revolution, he could never approve of one which originated with, and was entirely effected by, a military body He would not enter into a discussion of that principle at present, but would content himself with saying, that he hoped the recent events in Spain, Portugal, and Naples, where such glorious deeds had been achieved by the soldiery, would act as a warning to the great despots of the earth, or if they did not act as a warning to them, would act as an example to their subjects—teaching the former that it is better to rest their force upon the affections of their people than upon the bayonets of their soldiers, and the latter, that the power of tyranny, however formidable in the outset, cannot long resist the united

attacks of liberty and knowledge. Lord Liverpool had turned away to the affairs of Sicily, and had made assertions which appeared to be somewhat hasty. Allowing the facts to be as the noble lord had described them—and he would not then stop to examine whether they were so or not—it was a great imputation on the government of Naples. But, considering the doubts which at present hung over the subject, surely it was not too much to ask for further information with regard to Sicily He was ignorant of the principles of the sect of the Carbonari, but could see no justification which Austria could derive from the allegations with respect to them. Did history contain no mention of secret societies in other nations, and of secret societies producing ultimately great and glorious advantages to the country in which they existed? According to the noble lord, the change or revolution in the Neapolitan government was brought about by the Carbonari, or a sect which had no known or distinct character. Had noble lords forgotten, then, that the Protestant religion was first disseminated by means of secret societies? How was it that all human improvement sprung up? The establishment of the Protestant faith, the authority given to the doctrines of our national church all had their origin in those secret and confidential associations, the very name of which appeared to fill the noble lord with so much horror. It was not to be borne that the people of Europe, who had been induced to make efforts so great, and to tolerate privations so extraordinary, in order to re-establish a pacific system in Europe, should submit to the dictates of a tyrannical confederacy. If the freedom of political constitutions was to be objected to, surely the objections came but ungracefully from the reigning Emperor of Russia, from a prince reeking with the blood of his own father! (*Hear, hear.*) A prince on whom the crown of his dominions had devolved by an act of assassination was not to be regarded as an oracle of morality.

Lord Harrowby remonstrated against the use of such language towards a prince, with whom this country was in terms of amity

Lord Holland justified his expressions as what he was entitled to use, by virtue of the privilege of Parliament This pretext of secret societies had equally been used to justify the combination against France, the invasion of Naples originated in the same spirit, and was the offspring of the same policy What their lordships had to consider at present was the question, whether the British government had openly avowed to the world, or clearly intimated to the King of Naples, the principles on which it was determined to act? Had the British government, or had it not, made known to Europe in time for any useful or practical purpose, that it would lend no countenance or sanction to the enterprize of the northern powers? Might not an earlier declaration of the views of England have had some influence with other states? That it was a supposed countenance on our part which encouraged the confederacy, was, he thought, as evident as it could be made in the jargon or unintelligible stuff that had issued from the Foreign-office on this subject In treating of the war in Spain, Lord Liverpool had often dwelt on the energy accompanying the efforts of a free people, and had made this an argument for resisting the usurpation of Buonaparte That usurpation was one of the most unjustifiable aggressions ever committed; it had been deservedly condemned; and most readily did he join upon this point in the verdict of condemnation,

passed as it was upon one whom he must still regard as a great man, and to whom in his adversity he was the more willing to pay the tribute due to his talents and virtues But the noble lord (Liverpool) himself had said, that from the period of the occupation of Spain the French power began to lose its stability. In this opinion he (Lord Holland) fully agreed with the noble earl. By the violent usurpation of the Spanish throne the ruler of France destroyed himself—*eo ictu sese confecit*—from that moment general opinion became arrayed against the French government, and that general opinion was the cause of the ultimate success of the allied armies. In the course of this struggle, the sovereigns of Europe had encouraged the Carbonari, and similar institutions; they had all, with the exception of Austria, promised free constitutions to their subjects, and all violated their promises. He admitted, that the example of Naples might be dangerous to the neighbouring despotisms. He would not give five years' purchase for the stability of a despotism in any territory near the place where freedom was fairly established He agreed with the noble earl that there was danger, and he rejoiced exceedingly that there was danger, to a despotic government, from the mere vicinity of freedom But the mode of meeting the danger was, not by attacking the free government, but by improving their own He was sure, and he wished that truth could be conveyed to the ears of the monarchs who were allied against national liberty—he was sure, whatever differences might exist on questions of policy and measures of state, there was not a man within the walls of that House who could lay his hand on his heart and say that the motive of the Austrians was not this monstrous desire of preserving its own rottenness by destroying the purity of a neighbouring state. He concluded with expressing his belief, that this government had not duly exerted its influence to prevent this unlawful interference with the affairs of Naples.

Lord Ellenborough approved of the circular, and considered that this government had gone as far as it could do with propriety and effect. At the same time, he agreed with Earl Grey in condemning the principles of the allies as odious, and inconsistent with the independence of any state.

Lord Calthorpe was of opinion, that every possible effort ought to have been used to prevent the interference

Earl Grey replied, but the question was not pressed to any division

Two days after, the question was brought forward with equal energy by Sir James Mackintosh, in the House of Commons The attack upon the independence of Naples he should ever consider as the most unprovoked and unrighteous aggression ever committed by a vicious government. Since he had given notice of this motion, the anticipated event had, as he perceived, taken place Perhaps, before this time, the ruin of Naples was completed But the great question which he had to submit to them upon this subject, depended not upon the course of events, nor upon the chance of war. No; though the whole Neapolitan territories should be once more overrun by the barbarous hordes of the north—though the modern tyrants of regions, which were in former ages the cradle of those rude warriors who desolated Italy, should once more pour their countless forces up to the Faro of Messina, neither circumstance would alter for one moment the motion he had to submit, nor throw one obstacle in

his way while he explained its principles. On the contrary, the more the principles of national independence were trampled upon elsewhere, the more strenuously they ought to be asserted in this country He would not venture to predict the issue of this contest Undoubtedly, and he said it with a melancholy reluctance, upon all principles of human calculation, the chances were against that devoted country. They were in the favour of a political alliance and a disciplined army; and though our age had furnished, perhaps, the most illustrious examples recorded in history of the success of nations against armies, of popular enthusiasm against military power, yet the ordinary career of human events would not justify us in supposing any other issue, but that the fields, the forts, the towns, of Naples, would be too soon occupied by the army of the triple alliance The circular of the allied powers would save him a great deal of argument, as it clearly explained the terms on which these imperial commissioners for exercising the office of dictator of Europe, chose that their future vassals, whether under the name of emperors, kings, landgraves, or other denominations, were to wear their crowns. These three sovereigns, who took upon themselves the lordship paramount of the whole of Europe—who treated monarchs as their vassals, and nations as their slaves, had arrived at a conclusion founded on that ancient and equitable maxim, that "might is right" Happily, however, there were still those who had some freedom left, and who could still boast of a Constitution memorable in the eyes of the world, and formidable, it would seem, to the Congress at Troppau Sir J Mackintosh admitted, that the first paragraph in the British circular, had expressed a reprobation of these principles, as strong as could be contained in language. But there was one point which required to be explained. If he was rightly informed, from the face of the document itself, the intention of this article of impeachment against Prince Metternich was, that he had proposed to the ministers of England a system of interference which, "if reciprocally acted upon," would require his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, or rather his Majesty's ministers, to admit into this country foreign armies, with or without the consent of the Parliament, and the people. He begged if he was wrong, that dissent might be expressed; but ministers making no reply, he took it for granted he was right The case stood thus Prince Metternich, and the other ministers of the allied powers, had proposed to the government of Great Britain a system of measures, which would enable the present, or any future, administration, to invite into this country an army, for instance, of 100,000 Cossacks, Croats, and Austrians (*Laughter, and cries of "hear."*) It was, in effect, a proposition for encamping a whole horde of Cossacks in Hyde-park, and for protecting the free and unbiassed deliberations of that House, by an army of Germans and Russians Now, he should be ashamed of himself, and of those whom he had the honour of addressing—he should blush for his country, and her Parliament, he should disdain even the character of that honourable House itself, if he could imagine that there was a single Englishman among them whose blood did not boil with resentment at the bare suggestion of a single foreign power interposing in our domestic government, or a single foreign bayonet interfering in our private quarrels. The speaker dwelt for some time on the monstrous nature of this proposition. He then remarked on the declaration

of the Allied Circular, that they had reason to expect the co-operation of Britain in their designs Was it not likely, that they should have had some reason or other for making this assertion? He begged to ask, whether the solemn public declaration of the three greatest powers of continental Europe formed no *prima facie* ground for inquiring into the conduct of administration? Or, supposing they had not made any such promise of assent, for inquiring into the history of so flagitious a falsehood as the ministers of the allies must, in that case, have published to the world The only way to ascertain whether the British ministers had been guilty of the greatest of all crimes to their country, or those of the allied powers of the greatest of all falsehoods, was to produce all communications that had taken place on the subject; and this, in brief, was the object of his motion This government had refused to receive and entertain Prince Cimitelli, the Neapolitan ambassador this was as much as the governments of Russia and Prussia had done, it was more than had been done in regard to M. Chauvelin, who had been received as ambassador of Louis XVI after the revolution As to the part taken by this country in the present unwarrantable proceeding of Austria, it had been already described with more humiliating eloquence than he could command, but what he inferred from the speeches made on that occasion, in another place, was, that we were to stand aloof from the strife —that we were to refuse that assistance which our strict neutrality required us to withhold, to the suffering and the weaker party, but that we were ready to give as much moral, or as he should call it, immoral, encouragement to the aggressor, as could be conveyed in the mysterious phraseology of diplomatic pedantry However abominable he considered the principles of the Holy Alliance to be—however destructive of all principles of human happiness —however subversive of private and public rights, and however injurious to the progress of human society; yet still they must be acknowledged to have acted at least consistently with themselves, and with those execrable principles. But this country had acted in a very different manner The ambassadors of Sweden and Denmark had been received without hesitation, immediately after the monarchs of those countries had subverted the liberties of their people, but the voice of power was raised only when it was to denounce the presence of liberty The conduct of Naples towards Sicily was admitted to be blameable, and a stain upon the revolution, but it was not the object of the revolution, and foreign nations had nothing to do with it It was the same conduct which William III had pursued towards Ireland We were not called to express an opinion on it, more than we would, if the Emperor of Russia had committed acts of injustice against the Calmucs and Tonguses If the Neapolitans, obliged to fix upon some model for a constitution, had chosen a worse than the English, it might be in a great measure ascribed to the conduct of England towards Genoa, Lucca, Ragusa, and Parga. That conduct it was that had alienated Italy, and obliged the Neapolitans to take a far worse model for their political improvements That conduct it was that had alienated the nations of Europe from us, and compelled them to regard our constitution no longer as a pattern for political amelioration, and as a model of liberty for mankind It was objected, that the revolution had originated in secret societies This was not objected, however, when these societies directed their operations against Murat He hoped, if there were any

members of secret societies in Great Britain—if there were any who kept up what ought to be kept up in secret —who commemorated a battle which gained a victory certainly over the strength of a brave nation, but which he thought glorious—if any commemorated the Protestant hero of religious liberty, he hoped they would consider and take warning But ministers cared not how secret societies against liberty might be held, the only societies whose secrecy incurred their censure, were societies for promoting the liberty of a nation No one could reprobate more than he did, the interference of the army in a free state, but was a revolution to be censured merely because it received the support of the army, without which it could not have succeeded? Ministers then said, it was just to attack Naples, because the Carbonari extended to the neighbouring States The Carbonari existed in Lombardy, in Etruria, in all parts of Italy, looking chiefly to England for encouragement From England it was that they had derived their spirit; to England it was that they had looked for countenance and support. They had been encouraged legitimately and wisely, for, in such a war, such resistance was legitimate and wise, encouraged they had been to revolt against the common enemy of Europe, encouraged they had been by this country—he did not say as Carbonari, but as partizans for liberty What, then, was the meaning of this complaint, so mysteriously let out? If there are Carbonari in Lombardy, Etruria, and the Venetian States, were the Neapolitans answerable? Had the Neapolitans formed the Carbonari there? Did they now encourage them? The Neapolitans had not petitioned, but could it be supposed that the subjects of a despotic government durst have met, and prayed the sovereign to impose restrictions upon himself? Ministers in ascribing the proceedings of the allies merely to the dread of local danger, had put a brief into their hands, which they were not using for themselves. None who heard the debates—the splendid debates which distinguished the commencement of that, in his opinion, fatal war, could fail to remark the widely different pretences for that war, and the war against Naples There had been, in 1792, one overt act stated against France—it was the decree of the 19th November 1792, encouraging states to change their government, a decree of fraternity with all subjects who rebelled against their sovereigns The conception of chimerical ambition—of power run mad (*Cheers*)—of despotism become drunk, which originated with the allies at Troppau, had never been dreamt of then There had been in 1792, at least specious grounds of quarrel, there was here but open violation of every principle. He would be bold to affirm, that the declaration of Laybach proceeded from the same malignant, dark, and dangerous principles, as the decree of the 19th of November The moral language now held by the allies, was exactly similar to that used on occasion of the partition of Poland In 1795, it was found that the principles of political philanthropy could not be supported without the annihilation of the republics The neighbouring sovereigns were obliged to divide Poland into three parts, and to leave none to the abuse of the Poles The diet of Poland assembled at Grodno, and, protected by 100,000 Russian soldiers, subscribed their names to the surrender of their existence as a nation—a deed which no force should have compelled them to do if they had had a thousand lives. The execration of mankind was due to them, but to the authors of the force, applied to

them, and of the partition of their country, terms were due which he could not venture to use in that House Principles like those adopted by the allied powers, could not be sanctioned without the most fatal consequences. He would say at once, that Europe could not retain its civilization, nor the different members of it their independence, in security, one hour, if such a system were introduced. Prince Metternich himself could not be rendered so insensible to the natural operation of moral causes as not to see that, should the success of the allied armies be as complete as their own predictions would represent it to be certain, there must still remain a sense of indignation whence subsequent results must be yet apprehended, and that after they should have degraded a sovereign into a vassal, the empty decoration of the kingly title would scarcely serve to accomplish him as the instrument of their purposes. He wished to know what it was the Neapolitans had done to render themselves unworthy of the freedom to which they aspired Did the authors of the Revolution in 1688, or those who provided for the Protestant succession, ever entertain a fear that ministers of the House of Brunswick would brand similar events in other countries with the title of popular usurpation? He condemned these meetings of sovereigns to divide the world amongst them, in the giddiness and extravagance of their power. He condemned them still more, when they designated themselves as a Holy Alliance. Had these professors of theology and ethics clearly understood the sacred obligations by which they bound themselves to regulate their future policy? The Christian religion was not a religion of slavery, but a faith that embodied in it the principles of morality and freedom Its doctrines were preached originally to the poor and humble, nor would any modern confederacy of tyrants find in it a fit instrument for debasing them Queen Elizabeth and William III by placing themselves at the head of the cause of freedom and Protestantism, had secured the liberties of their country, and raised her to the utmost height of glory He congratulated himself on the unanimity which prevailed in the British public; but still considered, that this sentiment had been, if not concealed, yet softened, in the official language employed

Lord Castlereagh entirely concurred in many of the sentiments and general principles expressed by the honourable and learned gentleman He did not see, however, that the House was called upon to express any opinion on the subject, nor was it fair to demand, that ministers should disclose the particulars of a pending negotiation, in which we were not principals. He would merely make a few general observations, with the view of stripping the main question of the colouring thrown over it by the brilliant talents of the last speaker. The honourable gentleman and his friends, when we were recently engaged in war with a great military despotism that had overrun every smaller state, and threatened the independence of the greatest, were perpetually recommending that England should rest upon its oars Ministers were then asked why they persevered in a fruitless contest, and were told that our only chance of safety consisted in husbanding our resources. Was it for them now to contend that our resources were to be exposed for the sake of our moral duties? It was too much, after all that he had heard from them on former occasions, after all that he had recently heard of the distressed state of the country, although he, for one, did not

believe that our condition was such as not to enable us to support any just or necessary burdens; yet, when reduction of every kind, and especially of our army, had been called for again and again, it was too much, he repeated, to be told that the British government ought to dictate moral lessons to Europe. The national resources were, he was persuaded, equal to any emergency that might arise, or in which our own honour and interests might be involved, but they ought not, therefore to be rashly sacrificed. He would say, that no sovereigns were less deserving of any indecent attack than the two princes who had been subjected to it in another place. No sovereign, ruling over such extensive dominions as one of those illustrious persons, had ever gained a stronger title to estimation and respect He would not shrink from the defence of the alliance, and conceived that the hostility with which it was viewed by the honourable gentlemen opposite, arose chiefly from its splendid success, which had so wofully disappointed all their predictions It was but an act of justice to others to say, and he said it with the utmost solemnity, that as far as his own knowledge extended, and as far as his means, which were derived from personal and confidential communications, enabled him to judge, there had not been, since the year 1814, the slightest indication on the part of any of the allied powers, of a wish for territorial aggrandizement. If Austria had entertained any view of that nature, at the expense of Naples, she would have been completely checked by the other powers The expedition against Naples was therefore most improperly compared to that against Poland. The paper to which the British government had replied, could by no means be considered as the final decision of the allied powers, on the difficult question of foreign interference The English government, however, would have abandoned a duty which it owed to itself, to the country, and to the world, if it had not, when those principles were submitted to its notice, explicitly declared its dissent from them The House would also be doing as gross an act of injustice towards ministers, if it did not give them credit for being sincere in that declaration, as it would be doing to the allied sovereigns, in assuming that the paper which had caused that declaration, was the final manifesto of their intentions He certainly was of opinion, that if the principle were once admitted, that one government had a right to interfere in the domestic economy of another, whenever a revolution was effected displeasing to it, the principle must certainly apply to this country as well as to any other, and as he could not admit the right of any foreign country to interfere with the administration of this country, or to express its satisfaction or dissatisfaction at any of its internal changes or arrangements, and as, in addition to that, he could not for one moment contemplate the possibility of any foreign potentate claiming a right to land his troops in this country without the permission of parliament, he apprehended that the principle asserted in the paper of the allied sovereigns, was carried further than was consistent with sound policy The noble lord then ridiculed the idea, that a mere representation on our part would have a talismanic effect in compelling all the great military powers of the continent to bow before us Nothing could more degrade the character of this nation, than to become a mere reader of moral essays, or to remonstrate when we did not mean to act. Prince Cimitelli had been received with every attention due to his rank and character,

though the British government had rated its resolution to know more of the Neapolitan revolution before giving to it the formal seal of its sanction Government had decided, that they had not a right to interfere, but not that the Austrian government had a right. Honourable members were not to suppose that it was in contemplation to quarter an Austrian garrison for a perpetuity in Naples, far from it, those who did so, laboured under very erroneous impressions, and did great injustice to the allied sovereigns, who were acting in this transaction, under the most painful circumstances, for the general benefit of mankind He was ready to admit, that great difficulty would arise after the occupation of Naples, with regard to the manner in which it was hereafter to be governed, and that being his view of the case, nothing could be more impolitic in a British minister than to involve himself and his country in it. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that Austria had a right to go to war, still he had never given her any intimation that he wished that she should go to war On the contrary, he had always held out to the allied sovereigns that Great Britain was not at all interested in the transaction, and had so far separated himself from it, as to be no party to it whatsoever The government of Naples had been represented as of a nature so horrible, that the people, in self-defence, were called upon to destroy it. This was an unfounded and cruel misrepresentation. Naples stood, in this respect, in a very different situation from Spain. For the Spanish revolution there were several plausible grounds The Spaniards had formerly been in possession of a free constitution, and by their exertions during the late war, had again shewn themselves worthy to enjoy it They had obtained one by their blood and treasure, and Ferdinand had just promised to maintain it, and then, after destroying it, held out hopes to the nation that he would give them another This he failed to do. The army, that was instrumental in Spain to the revolution, was extremely ill paid, was discontented, and, for some time previous to it, had been in a state of open mutiny The case in Naples was very different. As far as he was acquainted with that country, it enjoyed all the blessings of a free country, though it was not in the possession of a representative government. He deprecated, however, the doctrine, that the subjects of governments which did not possess a representative system, were justified in throwing off their allegiance, and resorting to arms in order to obtain one Even admitting that the change was desirable, he must look upon the introduction of it by an armed force as most injurious. To hold any other doctrine, was to patronize principles pregnant with danger, and calculated to loosen all the connexions of society, and to destroy all the security of social existence The fact with regard to the late government of Naples was, that it had introduced many improvements, and granted many new privileges. The privileges granted to the communes, of fixing among themselves their quota of taxes, the annual departmental assemblies for the purpose of remonstrating against grievances, and pointing out such measures as were necessary to the good of the state—this was a direct organ through which public opinion might express itself—"the abolition of the feudal system and all its concomitant abuses" —it was no small improvement in the government to deliver its subjects from the thraldom of feudality—"the rendering of all men equal in the eye of the law—the establishment of a new code, and the reformation of the tri-

bunals—all these were considered as the first steps to liberal opinions, and as the foundation on which something better might be built, when the nation had become prepared for the benefits of a free constitution" He declared the proclamation said to be issued by the King of Naples, to be a false document, for he had obtained a copy of the real one issued, and which was not in the strain of the other; and he ought, in justice to that sovereign, to say, that from all he had heard of his character, he did not believe there was any sovereign more anxious to do justice to the sentiments which reigned in the breasts of his people. With regard to Sicily, so long as England acted as the protector of that country, she had been compelled to interfere in its internal affairs, but whenever she withdrew her armies, she withdrew her counsels also He must say, in justice to the King of Naples, that, from 1816 to the present period, he never heard a complaint from a single Sicilian against the government of that sovereign. That monarch had shewn, so far as he was concerned, the most liberal anxiety to promote the good of his people He had done nothing which could justify a desire to have his government put down by force, and by a sudden and violent act of an armed body; and were he to name any one government more than another which appeared to be more calmly consulting the liberties of its people, it was that of the King of Naples, whose government had been so abruptly and violently put down. When the gentlemen opposite reproached ministers with having subverted the free states of Italy, they forgot that they had found Italy not in possession of those free states, but without them These gentlemen had been silent, when France put down the free states of Venice and Genoa Then, all their anxiety was to sue for peace with the great Napoleon, the grand subverter of the independence of states. His lordship conceived that Austria was certainly in danger from the power of the Carbonari. The Carbonari were a sect, whose operations were not confined to Naples alone, but which extended to other parts of Europe. They did not confine their efforts within the borders of any native boundaries, but extended them, with philanthropic charity to other and distant parties The cause of revolution was not with them local, but it was the cause of Europe They dictated to the Prince Regent of Naples, as well as to the parliament, they controlled both It was idle to say they only required a free constitution for Naples; their aim was not Naples, but the consolidation of all Italy under some form of government which they had not yet modelled, and was not a conspiracy, having such an object in view, hatched within the territory of Austria, and acting with others in concert out of it, a very natural ground of apprehension, against which an Austrian minister might feel himself justly called upon, in behalf of his own government, to interfere? It was in vain then to urge that England should interpose to prevent Austria from guarding herself against the machinations of the Carbonari, whose designs were evidently calculated to the overthrow of the existing frame of government in Italy The revolution against which Austria had now armed, had been brought about by fraud and secrecy, upon an organized plan between the military and the Carbonari, got up in the style of the worst period of the French Revolution. It was so completely managed by these means, that it succeeded, although its commencement

was by the act of one hundred and fifty dragoons, three lieutenants, and one priest He conceived it was not too much for the British government to pause in acknowledging such a revolution The noble lord concluded with strongly reprobating the inconsistency and tyranny of the late proceedings of Naples towards Sicily.

Sir Robert Wilson said, Lord Castlereagh had unjustly accused his honourable and learned friend of wishing to precipitate the country into war On the contrary, he wished to recommend such a firm but amicable interposition of ministers, as might prevent the ultimate recurrence of war under disadvantageous circumstances He asked, whether the language used by ministers was that of men who sought to restrain the power of Austria from crushing the infant liberties of Naples The necessity of a constitution for that country had been long admitted The present King had declared to Sir Robert himself his intention to give one in case of his being restored The late King (Murat) had also expressed a similar anxiety, but was withheld by the fear of incurring the displeasure of France or of Austria Sir Robert lamented the fate of that monarch, and wished to know if, as he had heard from high authority, a British accredited agent took part in the commission by which he was condemned to death, and witnessed the execution (Contradicted by Lord Castlereagh) Sir Robert urged the inconsistency of the allied sovereigns, in objecting to a military revolution The present Emperor of Russia had ascended the throne by the means of a secret military revolution, and yet no complaint was made of his accession under such circumstances Had not another of these sovereigns promoted the defection of General Yorck from his allegiance? and did not Austria induce the Saxon army to desert the colours of their sovereign in the battle of Leipsic? It was singular that these sovereigns, who had all in their turn promoted disaffection, should now threaten to decimate troops which only followed their own example — The Neapolitans, he conceived, must ultimately succeed. They began the contest with many advantages, and they had with them in the struggle the cordial feelings of the generous and the brave in every corner of the earth

Mr Wilberforce said, Lord Castlereagh had very properly divided the question into two parts, the general principle, and its particular application in the present instance, and had confined himself chiefly to the latter subject. The first part bore on his mind as infinitely more important. That the three greatest military powers of Europe should assume to themselves the right of saying to other states—"You shall form no constitution, except that which we please to sanction," was a principle hostile to every idea of liberty He could scarcely conceive any principle in itself so unjust or so abominable. He felt obliged to the honourable and learned mover for bringing the subject under consideration, in order that it might receive the utter reprobation of the House They had reason to think that Europe would be a scene of trouble for some time to come. They knew that some monarchs, who, in their time of distress and danger, had held out to their subjects the expectation of a free constitution, had not effected that object Now, when such a principle as this was publicly stated to their people—when it was said that no constitution should exist but that which they sanctioned, was it not likely that those people would begin to take the alarm, and feel their high

spirits excited to action, by the exertions of individuals in other countries to obtain their liberties? This undoubtedly might be the case, and war being once commenced, they all knew how easy it was to continue it In such a state of things, it became the more necessary to object to such a principle, because the public acts of monarchs so powerful were in the highest degree important, and the promulgation by them of such a doctrine was calculated to fill with terror the mind of every man who cherished the love of national liberty. The liberties of England itself were not safe, if such a doctrine were admitted Neither could true morality nor true religion flourish, where the people were not allowed, in the strongest manner, to express their dissent from it He would be unjust and ungrateful, however, if he did not acknowledge the benefits which England had derived from the alliance with these monarchs He did not conceive that there was any thing calling for our active interference, and, after the explanation which had been given, he would not vote for the motion

Mr S Wortley expressed sentiments nearly similar

Mr Tierney conceived that it was impossible for the House to pass a judgment on the circular without further information Ministers spoke of their remonstrances, but he wished to see the remonstrances themselves, because there did not appear to him in their professed neutrality to be over much of sincerity. They would do nothing themselves, but were very willing to sanction what Austria was doing. The ministers of France and Great Britain appeared to him in a very humble situation, when they merely went to this Congress without powers to enable them to prevent or to accelerate the performance of this act. It appeared, that they had only a seat in the gallery, to be spectators of what passed below, and the moment it was settled that the army should march, "strangers were ordered to withdraw" Was that the dignified attitude of Great Britain? There was nothing Mr T dreaded more than war He was more and more convinced, that almost under any circumstances we should endeavour to preserve peace But peace was not peace, without honour, peace was not peace, if purchased by the degradation of England, peace was not peace, if they did not hold the commanding station they ought to hold, should it be necessary to go to war

Mr Robinson defended the conduct of Lord Castlereagh

Mr John Ward, from his confidence in ministers, would vote against the motion At the same time, the march of the Austrian army towards Naples, and the steps preceding that movement, he looked upon as the most alarming circumstances that had occurred in Europe for a long period of time He did not deny that cases might arise to justify the interference of one state with the internal government of another, but in such cases, if they ever occurred, the most urgent necessity must exist non-interference was the principle; interference, the exception It was truly an awful phenomenon that Europe was at present called on to contemplate—a tribunal of sovereigns instituted for the avowed purpose of controlling the conduct of other states, and that not occasionally, or on any particular emergency, but permanently and systematically He appealed to all who now heard him, if this was not a novelty in the history of the world. If the tyranny of the holy alliance was thus to be planted over all Europe, the European nations had no reason

to congratulate themselves on their escape from the French Revolution or from Napoleon Buonaparte His honourable and learned friend had, with great justice, compared the principles of the Jacobins in 1792 with those of the sovereigns at Troppau, The French at that time attempted to proscribe monarchy, which we considered, and which he hoped would ever be considered, a valuable part of our constitution' But what were the allied sovereigns doing? They were endeavouring to proscribe liberty, which he trusted was a part not less dear to us. This was not the hasty act of revolutionary demagogues, but the stern and deliberate act of statesmen who had publicly proclaimed a crusade against the liberty of Europe, and whose purpose was as immutable as it had been deliberate.

Mr Brougham made a short speech in favour of the motion, and expressed his satisfaction at the unanimous sentiment which prevailed in the House.

Sir James Mackintosh then replied, and the House divided, when the motion was negatived by 194 to 125,—making a majority of 69

On the 3d March, in consequence of the arrival of the declaration of the allied powers against Naples, the Marquis of Lansdowne brought the question again before the House What he chiefly wished to remark upon, was the expectation which still appeared to prevail in the allies of the co-operation of Britain It appeared by the latest accounts from the Congress at Laybach, that up to the very last date, the most extraordinary delusion prevailed as to the sentiments of the government of this country He must say, that the delusion was most extraordinary, for, notwithstanding the disavowal which their lordships had heard made in that House by the noble earl opposite, and notwithstanding what was stated in the circular of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, it appeared from a paper published as the declaration of the allied powers, and recently arrived—the authenticity of which he had a right to assume, and which he indeed understood would not be disputed,—that, up to the latest moment in the month of February, in which it was issued, a most remarkable delusion prevailed regarding the sentiments and principles of his Majesty's government He had, therefore, considered himself bound once more to call their lordships' attention to this matter, in order to place beyond all doubt and cavil the opinion of the government and of that House Whatever surprise he might feel that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, with whose habits of clearness and despatch in public business the ministers of the allied powers must be well acquainted, should not, during the period of six months, have been able to make those ministers comprehend the views of the government of this country, but, on the contrary, had left them under a total misapprehension, however much he lamented that this had been the case on a question of such vital importance, the only use he meant to make of this circumstance was to refer to it, in order to impress more strongly on their lordships the duty of making known the sentiments of the government to the world, and of recording the opinion of that House on the journals. His lordship then took an elaborate view of all the grounds upon which the allied powers attempted to justify the course they were pursuing, and finally moved an address to his Majesty, expressing the satisfaction of the House that he had declined to be any party to these proceedings, and a hope that his Majesty would exert all his influence to prevent the tranquillity of Europe

from being disturbed by their operation

Lord Liverpool, upon the only point of this question which ore any character of novelty, observed, that he could not put the same construction on the manifesto of Austria as the noble marquis had done. He did not mean to defend it, either in whole or in part, but in his conscience he did not believe that it meant what was supposed by the noble lord. He was convinced, that by "the allied powers" were meant Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and that Great Britain was not alluded to These were, in fact, the only parties assembled at Troppau, for though we had a representative at that place, he was no party either to the conferences or to the protocols He came now to the second question Was this country in a fair state of neutrality? If he was not misinformed, his Majesty's minister residing at Naples had made a declaration of the neutrality of this country, which had been deemed perfectly satisfactory by the Neapolitans, and had removed all doubt whatever respecting the disposition and situation of Great Britain He had further the satisfaction of knowing the sentiments entertained throughout Europe of the paper now upon their lordships' table. He knew that all the states on the continent were gratified by it, and were convinced, from the principles it contained, of the neutrality of this country.

The question was debated at great length, and on the old grounds, by the above speakers, and by Earl Bathurst, Lord Holland, and Lord Ellenborough The last speaker dwelt with great force on the impolicy of the system now pursued by Austria. If his noble friend would look upon that movement with the eye of a statesman, he could not fail to observe the danger with which it was pregnant to the interests of England, to the interests of France, to the interests of every country in Europe, and more particularly to the interests of Austria herself. If his noble friend would look at the situation of Austria, if he would recollect that she stood insulated among powers hostile to her, both from position and from prejudice, if he would consider that her defence rested on her movable mass of military force, drawn indeed from the subjects of her hereditary dominions, but paid by the treasures wrung from her Italian and Polish provinces, he would reflect that she was in possession of no military frontier, and that, except on the side of Saxony, she had no fortresses; if he would remember that she relied entirely on the army which she could march into the field, if he took these circumstances into his consideration, as also the manner in which her policy was regarded by surrounding nations, if he would recur to her history, and observe the fatal consequences which had attended every irruption which she had made into the south of Italy, if he would review the dangers which she had incurred on former occasions, by withdrawing her forces so far from the centre of her power, he (Lord Ellenborough) was convinced that his noble friend would see that no movement could be more false or more fatal than that which Austria had just made upon Naples.

The marquis divided the House upon the motion, when it was negatived by 84 to 37

On the 20th March, the affairs of Naples were again brought before the House on a different footing by Sir Robert Wilson. He took his ground upon the letter addressed by Sir W A'Court to the Count de Gallo, in which he stated the determination of

Britain not to interfere, unless in the case of personal insult and danger to the royal family of Naples. It was hereby implied, that in such a case she claimed the right of interference. The assertion of such a power was incompatible with the rights of independent nations, and most injurious and hazardous to our own, for it ought to be recollected, that we could apply no principle of public law to the foreigner, that he, in turn, might not apply to ourselves He would inform the noble lord of a fact, for the truth of which he might venture to pledge himself. Subsequently to the conferences at Troppau, the directing minister of the confederacy against Naples had held a conversation with some other distinguished persons, which turned on a possible change of administration in this country, by the introduction to office of some members who usually sat on the opposition side of the House, that directing minister had not scrupled then to say, that if such a change did take place, it was the determination of the allied powers to treat England as they were resolved to treat Naples It was hinted to this minister, that Buonaparte had found the road to London long and impracticable "True," he rejoined, "but even then we can put England upon the footing of an infected nation, (*nation pestiferée,*) and cut off all communication"—(*hear*) He was prepared to assert, that this was not a loose unguarded conversation, but expressly intended to prove to those who heard it the determined and extensive character of the confederacy against Naples If the principle laid down by Sir W A Court could be maintained—if it were to go forth to Europe that such was to be the ground on which a war might be commenced—he put it to the noble lord (Castlereagh) whether pretexts would be wanting to involve Great Britain in hostilities. Did he think that the machinations that had disturbed other nations—that had agitated Spain—that had distressed France—that had suspended the Habeas Corpus act in England, would be wanting in Naples to compel this country to take part in the war already commenced? Mr Pitt had never advanced such a doctrine He had merely, in 1792, instructed Lord Gower to declare, that, notwithstanding the principles of neutrality maintained by his Majesty relative to the internal government of France, he did not thereby abandon that solicitude which he must ever feel for the personal safety of the king and royal family of France. Such was not the language of war, but of sensibility, of generous sympathy; and the proof of it was, that a war did not take place in consequence. It was the more necessary now to come to a decision upon this point, because the circular of the noble lord which was to explain every thing, had explained nothing, and because it had been so far mistaken, that the allies had asserted, that though Great Britain did not engage in the war, she acted with an uniformity of principle, and an identity of views The allies ought now, though late, to be told that Great Britain would not act upon any such gross misunderstanding, but held in abhorrence the doctrines so newly promulgated as the law of nations

Lord Castlereagh said, there was much in the speech of the gallant officer on which he did not deem it necessary to enter into any discussion He would not, for instance, make any observations on the correctness of his various statements, nor would he refer to the rich repast of private conversation which the gallant officer had thought proper to retail to the House, and which undoubtedly boasted of

all the charms of novelty. He would not apply himself to a review of those circumstances, which, in the idea of the gallant officer and his friends, might come within the pale of possibility; neither would he advert to the prophetic visions with which the gallant officer had that night favoured the House; nor to those visions with which gentlemen opposite so frequently amused themselves, and which, with all due deference to them, he was not bound to consider as gospel. With regard to Mr Pitt having abstained from interfering on the occasion referred to, it had been solely on the principle that such interference would rather endanger than benefit the royal family of France. Though he quite agreed in the opinion of Mr Pitt, that, considering the situation of affairs, such an exertion would probably be attended with evil consequences, still he could not recognize it as a general proposition applicable to all times. It undoubtedly was consistent with the principles of humanity, as well as of policy, to extend relief, if it could be extended, to those who were placed in a situation similar to that of the royal family of France; and certainly, so far from the principle of interference in such a case having been discountenanced in the proceedings of the period to which the gallant officer had adverted, the direct contrary was the fact It was by the expression of the generous feelings of all sides of that House, and by that alone, that good could be effected. That was the only effectual mode by which the country could at any time interfere with any prospect of success But one feeling pervaded the House on this subject; and no man felt that feeling more intensely than Mr Fox. No man pushed his moral indignation at the scene which was about to be acted farther than he did;—no man was more anxious to save France from that foul and impious deed, which would ever disgrace the cause she had undertaken, which would ever be viewed as a stain upon the whole of her proceedings, and which had plunged her in a moral warfare with Europe. The extinction of the royal power would go to the dissolution of all ties and treaties, commercial and political, between this country and that state By such a measure, all the great interests of the country would be prejudiced and compromised The Neapolitans, he conceived, were highly indebted to the British government for the course they had taken. If there were any persons on earth who, more than others, ought to oppose the calamity of overstrained power visiting the royal family with insult, the people of Naples were the individuals the most interested And he was happy to state, that the people of Naples were more enlightened on that point than the gallant general, judging from the speech he delivered that night, appeared to be. So far from any ill feeling having been excited by the conduct of Sir W. A'Court, he had received the thanks of the people of Naples, who considered the order he had received as a protective order, meant to shield the royal family from the danger incident to any sudden tumult That order was, in fact, considered as a guarantee of that neutrality which Great Britain had all along professed and acted upon In defending the general policy of Austria, Lord C. remarked on the readiness with which she withdrew the army, with which, at the end of the last war, she had occupied the Neapolitan territory No inducement whatsoever had produced that abandonment, but a letter from the King of Naples to the minister of Austria, which he had seen. The answer to

that letter was,—"My army remains at Naples for your service; take care what you are doing; you are surrounded by troops who were lately opposed to you. I hope your mild sway has reformed them, if so, my general has orders to leave your territories in ten days" Was it likely she should do this merely to return and seize that territory now, when all the great powers were watching her, and, he would assert, determined not to let her remain there?

This debate was distinguished by the first appearance of Mr Canning on this great question Though no longer a member of administration, he declared himself ready to justify the note of Sir W A'Court before the House, before the country, and before the world With the most determined disposition to preserve a strict neutrality, a neutrality perfect both in deed and word, still he should have held himself the basest of mankind could he have failed to have qualified that system with one condition—could he have failed to provide, as far as instructions could provide, for the perfect security of the royal family of Naples; to fling herself into that vortex of political agitation which must evidently remain after the withdrawal of the royal family should be effected, was neither the duty of England, nor the intention of government; but to effect that withdrawal, if necessary, was the policy which had distinctly been avowed from the commencement of the contest. If Paris had stood upon the ocean instead of upon the Seine, and if assent to the proposition could have carried with it the means of putting the proposition into effect, then, he would ask the assembly which he was addressing, would not the same instructions have been issued to France, which, in the present case, had been given and complained of with respect to Naples? With this exception, the system of government was an entire neutrality, an absence from the counsels, and even from a knowledge of the counsels, of the allies Whatever ground might be taken by the honourable gentlemen opposite, their real object was to involve the country in war, the division of the night was peace or war; his vote was for peace, and the true mode of preserving it—neutrality Mr C. insisted, that no half or constructive support could be given, either with honour to England, or with benefit to the country invaded. Suppose such a constructive promise to be given to Naples, and suppose Naples, upon the faith of it, to embark herself in a contest, which perhaps otherwise she would not have undertaken, what disgrace, what eternal infamy would be cast upon England should she fail to fight the cause, as though she contended for her own existence, with all the strength and means which exertion could command. But was it not romantic to talk of embarking the country, not on account of duty, alliance, or obligation, but merely as matter of sentiment and feeling, in a war in which she had neither interest nor concern? What instance was to be found in English history in which the country had embarked in a war of such extent, and yet come out of it with honour? There was one instance, it was in the case of Spain. If there was any part of his political life in which he gloried, it was, that, in the face of every difficulty, of every discouragement and prophecy of failure, his had been the hand which had committed England to an alliance with Spain—to an alliance with a country robbed of her government, and writhing, for the time, in the clutches of the conqueror But could it be said that he had ever named or argued that alliance as other than an

alliance, for better for worse? as an alliance which knit together the fates of the two nations so closely, that neither could break from it with honour? He had viewed it as an alliance for life or for death, England furnishing the necessary supplies, Spain the theatre upon which British means, valour, and money, could most effectually and most successfully be exerted. Had he ever been seen to flinch from the contest? Had he ever consented to that compromise which had been spoken of—the going a little way and seeing what could be done, and then, if convenient, giving up the cause? The example of Elizabeth had been quoted, but Mr Canning endeavoured to shew, from the authentic history of that great queen, that she had made a rule of interfering only where the interest of her kingdom was concerned. Whatever the House might think of the paper put forth by the allied powers—and no man abjured its principles more fully than he did—whatever the House might think of the condition of Naples, he did believe that in taking either one side or the other of that great quarrel, in which the allies were one party, and in which Naples represented, rather than was, the other—in engaging in such a war, the country embarked in no short or trifling contest. Would to God that the British constitution were capable of being transplanted into other countries, and of taking root in their soil! but the idea of establishing it in other countries by the force of the sword, was too chimerical to be entertained. Let us not suppose, highly blessed as we were in the enjoyment of our envied constitution, that there was no salvation without its pale. Whatever might be the result of the present portentous struggle, it was not in our power to lead the parties to the point we wished, either by persuasion, remonstrance, or force. The course we had to pursue was on a plank which lay across a roaring stream; and though attempts might be made to bear us down on the one side or the other, yet we were bound to preserve an undeviating path.

Sir James Mackintosh, and Mr J. W. Ward supported on this day the same views which they had urged on a former occasion.

Sir R. Wilson finally stated, that, as the letter of Sir W. A'Court was written merely for the purpose of informing the Neapolitan government that the British fleet would only be employed in case of any personal outrage being offered to the royal family of Naples, he should not press his motion to a division, but should ask leave of the House to withdraw it.

On the 23d March, the same subject was brought before the House of Lords by Lord Lansdowne. A similar explanation was given by Lord Liverpool, and was considered so satisfactory, as to induce the motion to be withdrawn.

On the 27th, Lord Ellenborough moved an address to his Majesty, praying that he should interpose his mediation between Austria and Naples. The motion was resisted by the Earl of Aberdeen, and was negatived without a division.

In the course of the following month, the destinies of Italy came to a crisis, and Naples yielded to the first shock of the Austrian army. It was also understood, that, upon the breaking out of the insurrection in Piedmont, the Emperor of Russia had ordered his army stationed in the south of Poland to advance into Italy.

Under these circumstances, Mr Hutchinson, on the 4th May, made a motion for the House to form itself into a committee on the state of the nation, as connected with the events now passing in Europe. He repre-

sented the enormous accession of power which Russia and Austria would gain by being allowed to make themselves uncontrolled masters of the continent. As the affairs of It were now come to a period, march of the Russian troops could have no object but against Spain, and after they had put down the liberties of that country, what could England expect but to become the next victim. This country, therefore, should lose no time in assuming a commanding position, and opposing her power as a barrier to the progress of this tyrannical confederacy.

Lord Castlereagh replied, that the circumstances under which the march of the Russian army commenced, were simply these. While the campaign against Naples was still undecided, the insurrection in Piedmont broke out; and the first act of the revolutionary government was to declare war against Austria. The latter having the greater part of her forces employed in the south of Italy, felt herself under the necessity of applying for aid to her ally; and this had been the sole cause of the march of the Russian troops. There was nothing in this movement which had the least hostile intention towards Spain, and he would confidently assert, that neither of these monarchs had any view to territorial aggrandizement.

On the 7th May, Lord Castlereagh rose and said, he was able officially to state, that the Russian army had received orders to stop, and would not pass its own frontier. This fact would be sufficient to prove how improperly and illiberally these two great powers had been treated in the House.

Lord Milton and Mr Warre, while they expressed satisfaction at the intelligence, observed, that, though Russia might thus be acquitted of any plans of territorial acquisition, it was impossible not deeply to reprobate a system so hostile to the liberties of mankind, as that on which they were acting.

The final discussion on this subject during the session took place on the 21st June, in comment upon the official declarations which the assembled monarchs had issued from Laybach at the close of the Congress.

Mr Stuart Wortley moved, that these papers should be laid officially before Parliament. It was now evidently upon the principles contained in them, and not upon any of the grounds formerly stated by the ministers, that the invasion of Naples had been founded. It was time, therefore, he thought, for the House to express its opinion with regard to these principles.

Lord Castlereagh concurred with the general reasoning of the honourable gentleman, but did not conceive it regular for Parliament to call for a paper, without some practical object in view, nor that a mere exposition of general principles demanded any counter-declaration. He did not scruple to declare his disapprobation of the principles advocated in the documents which had been brought under the notice of the House. He could not recognize the principle, that one state was entitled to interfere with another, because changes might be effected in its government in a way which the former state disapproved. For certain states to erect themselves into a tribunal, to judge of the internal affairs of others, was to arrogate to themselves a power which could only be assumed in defiance of the law of nations, and the principles of common sense. He thought that the illustrious monarchs had been ill advised in adopting principles which were not consistent with sound policy; but he believed they had been guided by no other motive

than a real desire to preserve the peace of Europe—that they had had no view to aggrandize themselves by the acquisition of territory. There was now a conspiracy abroad which menaced the existence of every regular government. When that was the case, he was not prepared to say how far general principles like those contained in the declarations of the sovereigns might not be defended, as the means of preventing evils with which all governments were threatened.

Sir James Mackintosh rejoiced to hear the condemnation which the noble lord had passed upon the principles contained in the declarations of the sovereigns. He was no admirer of revolutions as such, but he was an admirer of those who created a system of order out of a system of abuse He could not admit that a revolution was the greatest of all evils. The greatest of evils was to be a perpetual slave. The declarations of the sovereigns made no distinction between the most justifiable rebellion against a cruel and bloody tyranny, and a wanton mutiny against a mild and well regulated government. Was it not true, by the description which the noble marquis applied to the principles on which the invasion of Italy was justified, that the allied sovereigns had entered into a conspiracy against the laws of nations? Was it not true, that the attack on Naples was an attack on all states that attempted a reformation of the abuses of government? Could there, in the whole range of history, be found conspirators against the peace, the repose, and the rights of nations, if these military despots were not? He thought the allied monarchs had not consulted their own interests in their late conduct By denouncing all popular principles, they might provoke retaliation from those not well affected to their power. If kings held out that liberty could not be established without destroying monarchy, the people might, in their turn, declare monarchy inconsistent with liberty. It was, then, the duty of England, which had so long experienced the union of freedom with monarchical institutions, to interfere on this occasion, and shew to the world how much of national happiness and security would be lost by either extreme.

On the same day Lord W Bentinck brought forward his motion respecting the affairs of Sicily Peculiar interest was attached to it in the House, from the length of time and the distinguished ability with which the noble lord had commanded the British force by which that island was defended against France. It was in consequence of the interest thus inspired, his lordship observed, that he had been enabled to overcome the reluctance felt by him to present himself for the first time before the House. He who had an opportunity of seeing the progressive improvement of Sicily, and had had the mortification of seeing all the best rights and privileges of the people taken away—their prospects blasted, and themselves, after the promises held out to them, placed in a worse situation than they were in before the British were among them,—he who had seen all these things, must be supposed to feel deeply upon such an occasion Liberty had been granted to this people on principles not inconsistent with those of the Holy Alliance. It had been legally pledged, and upon authority legitimately sacred When he quitted Sicily, there were two conditions solemnly stipulated for on the part of the people One was, that no individual should be molested for his connexion with the British while they administered the affairs of the island; the other, that their rights and privileges should not be impaired by the

transfer of their administration. So far from these stipulations having been fulfilled, there never was a more complete annihilation of all rights and privileges than that which followed. Sicily, during the first six years of its occupation, when it was subjected to the yoke of absolute power, had afforded no co-operation in its own defence. Upon the representation, however, of the Marquis Wellesley, and under the auspices of the Hereditary Prince, the old free constitution of Sicily was restored, with some important improvements In 1812, the three Houses unanimously agreed on the basis of a new form of constitution. On that occasion, the Barons of Sicily presented one of the most glorious spectacles that the world ever beheld they came forward with the voluntary surrender of their own feudal rights. It was determined to adopt, as far as possible, the form of the British constitution. The three Chambers were reduced to two, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal formed one, and the Commons the other The parliament met in the years 1813, 1814, and 1815. In 1814, the king resumed the reins of government, and renewed his oath to observe inviolably the form of government that had been established. In 1815 his majesty went to Naples At that time a series of instructions were sent out to our ambassador, Sir W. A'Court. He was free to confess, that if he had had the framing of them, he did not think he could have drawn up any thing better calculated to satisfy the deep interest he felt in the welfare of Sicily But what efforts were made to give effect to them?—None whatever They were received with joy in Sicily, but they were immediately followed by the decree of the king which united the two countries This act of union not only did not support the Sicilian constitution, but, in fact, destroyed it altogether, and made Sicily a province of Naples. The king had assumed the right of arbitrarily fixing the amount of the taxes,—a condition manifestly inconsistent with national prosperity. With regard to the abolition of feudal rights, it had been the voluntary act of the barons, and had now no effect but to render the sovereign power more absolute than before. His lordship concluded with moving an address to his Majesty, praying that he would interfere to restore, if possible, that freedom and happiness to Sicily, which this country stood pledged to secure to her

The Marquis of Londonderry complimented the noble lord on the calm, intelligent, and candid manner, in which he had treated the subject He had, at all events, however, been too late of introducing it The circumstances alluded to took place in 1816. It was at that period, when the circumstances had recently occurred, that parliament should have been called on to vindicate the national honour. It was a little too late to come to parliament now, in order to criminate the court of Naples on account of circumstances that happened five years ago, more particularly when they were told that Sicily was about to undergo another organization, but of what nature he was ignorant. He certainly did not know the nature of the contemplated change, but it was supposed that it would partake of the character which the noble lord so highly prized, that of a separate and independent nation It was to possess a government wholly distinguishable from the government of the kingdom of Naples He was doubtful, however, as to the benefits of this separation. They all knew with what reluctance Scotland gave up what it deemed its independence, and yet, he believed, the learned gentleman

opposite, (Sir J. Mackintosh,) who certainly had the love of freedom as much at heart as any man, would not willingly go back to that palladium of liberty—to that invaluable blessing —Scottish independence The same opinion, in regard to Ireland, was becoming daily more prevalent among many of those who had most strenuously opposed the union with that country The interposition of the British in the constitution of Sicily had been solely with the view of fitting that island for a military station. It must, however, have been unpleasing to the people, and its result had not been happy. As far as he could judge, he never knew a constitution less suited to the genius of a people, or which seemed less likely to work beneficially for them, than that which had been formed, and he believed there was no feeling more general when the British troops left the island, than that that constitution could not stand. Those who formed it affected to take the British constitution for their model, and he believed they took measure of the table on which he was then leaning, so determined were they to be correct, even in the most minute point of arrangement (*a laugh*), as far as the administration of government, the raising or the supporting an army, were concerned, no constitution could be more defective, and it was equally inefficient for securing the happiness of the people. At length all parties determined that a fundamental change should be made In 1814, Sir W A'Court was authorized to explain to the people of Sicily the reasons which compelled Great Britain to withdraw her troops from the island, and it was perfectly true, that in the memorial which he presented on that occasion, he expressed a hope, that whatever changes were made in the constitution, should be worked out by means of the constitution, and not effected, as modern alterations in government were, either by the army, or by secret associations However, after working for near twelve months in remodelling the constitution, the parties intrusted with that duty came to a dead stop The consequence was, that the two Houses addressed the Crown, and a royal commission was appointed to effect the desired object. This royal commission also failed, and then the king was called on to renew the constitution of 1812, which it had been found impracticable to carry into effect. This was referred to the council of state, under whose cognizance it was for several months, without any good being effected So that if it were wished to establish the reign of chaos in Italy, those individuals appeared to have pursued the most feasible means for the accomplishment of that object. He was not aware of there having been, during the six years that had elapsed since the period of our leaving Sicily, a single instance of a Sicilian alleging that he had been ill-used on account of his previous connexion with the British He did protest against the extravagant notion that the British government was to be held to an eternal interference in Sicilian affairs, for such was the effect of that principle of obligation which was contended for by the noble lord. It would be perfectly unjustifiable and impracticable, unless we had made a specific contract for such interference. He was not aware, therefore, of any circumstance by which it could now be justified.

Sir J Mackintosh strongly supported the motion With regard to the delay in bringing it forward, no man in Europe knew the pledge given by Britain, till the papers were laid on the table. The question, as replied to by the noble marquis, involved three propositions. First, there was no

evidence before them, or before Europe, of the impracticability of the political government established in Sicily under the auspices of the noble lord (Bentinck.) Secondly, he would submit to the House, that if the government were really found impracticable, and were proved to be so, instead of the ancient constitution being restored,—the constitution which we were obliged to restore, if the one which superseded it should be destroyed,—the whole of their ancient constitution had been overturned, all their privileges were abolished, and there was an entire establishment of despotism instead The third proposition for which he would contend was, that the change which was now made by the King of Naples re-opened the question, and entitled the Sicilians still to have their ancient system restored The ridicule against the Sicilians for their minute copying of the British constitution, was neither very becoming nor very generous No proof had been given of the impracticability of maintaining the constitution, and of correcting any defects which experience might shew to exist in it The real obstacle lay in the desire of restoring absolute power, and the obligation to do it, incurred by the flagitious agreement with Austria of the 12th June, 1815 Whatever opposition existed against the Sicilian constitution, had not been in the two Houses of Parliament, but in the court, in the councils, and, if Europe was not deceived, in the very family of the king. The only friends of England were the friends of the Sicilian constitution. The lovers of liberty naturally became attached to England The constitution of England had been the ancient standard, England, the classic ground of liberty — He asked, wherein the constitution now given to the Sicilians could be distinguished from the most absolute monarchy? It was a very fashionable topic, that certain nations were not fit for political liberty Where in the world had any nation become qualified to enjoy liberty, without the possession of it? The Italians were now in the same situation as the English three centuries ago They were now struggling, as we had done while laying the foundation of the noblest fabric of liberty the world ever saw, and, by the same struggles, they might yet be restored to their ancient splendour and glory The noble lord now proposed a motion, which called for no censure, and manifested no severity It only asked something more of their ancient privileges for the Sicilians, than the constitutions of 1821 or even 1816 had given He should rejoice if any improvement were derived by a defenceless people from the interference of Great Britain, who had offended deeply against them

On a division of the House, the motion was negatived by 69 to 35*

CHAPTER IV.

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

The Catholic Question—Mr Plunkett's Bill—Carried in the Commons'—Debates in the Lords'—Negatived—Disfranchisement of Grampound,—Transference of its Votes—Motion for Parliamentary Reform by Mr Lambton—By Lord John Russell—Sir J Mackintosh's Bill for Mitigation of Punishment in Cases of Forgery.

THE Catholic question, already debated so often, and in so many different shapes, made this session a nearer approach to a successful issue than it had done on any previous occasion. On the part of the ministry it was thrown entirely loose, being supported by several of the most leading members. It experienced opposition, therefore, chiefly from the alarms and prepossessions still cherished by the higher members of the political and ecclesiastical aristocracies.

The approach of the discussion was marked by the presentation of numerous petitions from the English clerical bodies, praying that the church should be deprived of none of those securities against popery, fixed to it at the glorious epoch of the Revolution. On the other hand, Lord Nugent, on the 28th February, presented a petition from the English Roman Catholics. This petition, his lordship observed, was signed by 8000 individuals Among these were the names of seven peers, fourteen baronets, seven of their own bishops, and a considerable body of their clergy Besides the increased claims of the Catholic body, he rested his hopes of present success, particularly on the declaration of the petitioners on the subject of foreign influence, hitherto the main object of jealousy One passage was expressed as follows — "Your petitioners have been accused of giving to a foreign potentate a part of that allegiance which is due only to their own sovereign; but they have repeatedly and solemnly denied the charge, and they now again beg leave to make the same denial," and they added, "to our sovereign lord the king we swear pure and undivided allegiance, in him alone we acknowledge the civil sword of the realm" (using the words of the 39 articles) "to be placed" The petitioners further stated, that they did not acknowledge that any foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, ought to have any authority in any matter civil, spiritual, or ecclesiastical, in this coun-

try. This main question being cleared away, there remained no longer any reasonable pretence for refusing to the Catholics an equal participation of civil rights The doctrine that Catholics did not consider the oaths made with Protestants binding, was long since swept away along with the rubbish of other prejudices; but let the House recollect how long they had suffered from the effects of such prejudices In vain had Catholic Europe disavowed the doctrines imputed to them, in vain had the opinions of the most learned universities been declared, in vain had the example of the amicable manner in which Catholics and Protestants lived together operated, the tests which had been created on the ground of such prejudices still continued How absurd was it to exact an oath, that no mental reservation was intended, and no dispensation expected from the Pope, when, if such were the case, no oath could be binding The Catholics, however, valued the sanctity of an oath too highly to make it an instrument of political power where they could not take it conscientiously It was therefore most fallacious and absurd to say, that Catholics did not regard the sanctity of an oath, and at the same time to place an oath as the only barrier to their power It was arguing in a circle His lordship quoted the sentiments of Bishop Hoadly and Archdeacon Paley, that though it might be necessary, from urgent political circumstances, to withhold for a time certain privileges from the Catholics, the first opportunity ought to be embraced of placing them on a level with their fellow-citizens The motion being seconded by Lord Glenorchy, the petition was laid upon the table. Mr Plunkett afterwards presented a petition, signed by several thousands of the Catholics of Ireland, and which, he could say, contained the sentiments of the great body of that persuasion

After these preliminaries, Mr Plunkett rose to bring forward his grand motion in favour of the Catholics He disclaimed employing any argument founded on supposed disaffection in the Irish Catholics. Such an argument their conduct had nobly refuted Determined as they were to persevere in their efforts to obtain redress of grievances and restoration of rights, they were equally determined never to seek them but as the result of wisdom and justice in the legislature, in which they knew that they could not be ultimately disappointed. He admitted that there existed an eager desire for redress, and somewhat of that sickness of heart, which arises from hope deferred He did not expect that the remedy would at once remove all discontent The waves were heard to roll for some time after the tempest had ceased The measure was objected to on account of the difficulty of settling the details, and some want of agreement in its friends Such a course was not fair, manly, nor candid. The Catholics called for concessions which justice required, which the constitution admitted, and which policy warranted If you showed the request to be unfounded in argument, he yielded the question, but if you objected to the form of the measure, or to the detail of the terms, he would say it was not fair, manly, nor candid, to meet the question so. What right have you, Mr Plunkett proceeded, what right have you to neutrality on such a question? Why don't you come forward to assist us? Why don't you remove the objections which you are so sensible of? Why don't you clear up the obscurities which mislead us? What right have you to wrap yourself up in neutrality on a question which, if not bad, is necessarily good? What

he was now to propose, was to refer the petitions which he had presented to a committee, for arranging the mode in which the desires expressed in them could be complied with This question would have been carried on a former occasion, but for the gross misconduct of its friends. That was, at a time when Europe was in a most critical and alarming state; and those who voted for it then, could not now withhold their support No portion of the people had been more distinguished for zeal and valour in the defence of the country than the Catholics They had fought our battles; they had shed their blood with a pertinacity of self-devotion for the liberties and privileges of the British constitution, which shewed that they were worthy to enjoy them He apprehended, then, nothing of hostility, certainly nothing of rancour, against his motion There might be something of prejudice opposed to him. When he said prejudice, he begged to be understood to mean nothing hurtful to the feelings of any individual or class of persons. The prejudices opposed to him were derived from an origin so noble, and connected themselves with feelings so intimately associated with the struggles of our ancestors, both for civil and religious liberty, that they claimed every respect and attention, but as they were honourable in their origin, he hoped they were in their nature accessible to truth and reason The learned gentleman endeavoured to show, that religious belief could never be a justifiable ground of political exclusion The requisitions, too, were entirely negative; nothing positive was called for A man might be an infidel, he might believe in Jupiter, in Osiris, in all the host of heaven, and all the creeping things of the earth, and be admitted to all the privileges of the state, for the statutory abhorrence was limited to those who believed all the great principles of religion. He endeavoured to shew, that the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation involved nothing so wholly absurd as was generally represented. In Queen Elizabeth's reign a great part of the nation believed in the real presence, and that politic princess caused the liturgy to be so drawn up, that it might not directly shock this belief. The restrictions under which the Catholics laboured had been imposed in consequence of circumstances which had now long ceased to exist The situation of Europe, the designs of Spain, might at one time render it necessary to impose some restraints on those who acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope Yet they did not attribute to him any absolute power, or temporal authority, but merely a spiritual supremacy A right reverend prelate, eminent for learning and ability, while expressing the most liberal sentiments on the subject of religious opinion, had named something which he called civil worth, from which it was expedient that the Catholics should be excluded Now by this principle of civil worth, it was very clear that a man might shut out persons of the highest merit, he might shut out all those who were most eminently deserving of admission; and he might let in those who were the most worthless and the most unfit. If this new-fangled phrase of "civil worth" was to be repeated, with a view to keep the Catholics out, it might be well to know what it meant. It did not include all that had immortalized the worthies of English history, neither did it include the little accidents of birth, education, and virtue, nor the mere immaterial requisites of justice, probity, and honour All these were shut out of civil worth. This principle of exclusion was an upstart, re-

publican principle, hostile to the very soul of the constitution; it wrested the sceptre from the hands of the King, to strike at the rights of the King's subjects The 30th of Charles II. was passed upon the principle, that the prince on the throne was strongly suspected of being a Catholic; it was a sort of substitute for a bill of exclusion It was continued in the Act of Union, only until parliament should otherwise provide. "Backed by these clear proofs of the original nature of our constitution—backed by the plain object and scope of the reformation—by the plain object and scope of the revolution—by the provisions of both the unions—by the subsequent declarations of parliament, that the Catholics are liege and loyal subjects, but, above all, backed by the practice of the last fifty years—by the whole course of the late reign—which, if the doctrines now maintained were true, would be an outrageous violation of the constitution, backed, too, by the declared opinions of all the great men who have lived since the agitation of this question—of Mr Dunning, Mr Pitt, Mr Fox, Mr Burke, Mr Sheridan, and Mr Windham, in short, by the authority of every man whose name has had buoyancy enough to float upon the stream of time, have I not then triumphantly accomplished what I set out with asserting, viz that the exclusion of the Catholics was no fundamental part of the constitution? Yet, why do I say triumphantly? When I miss so many of the ornaments that illustrated this House when the subject was formerly agitated, I should feel any thing but triumph. Where is Whitbread, the incorruptible and sleepless sentinel of the constitution? Where the more than dawning virtues of Horner?—the matured excellence of Romilly, that steady light that threw a lustre, not merely on his profession and his country, but on every thing connected with the interests of our nature? Where is my illustrious friend Ponsonby, the constitutional leader of the ranks of opposition, revering alike the privileges of the crown and the rights of its subjects? Where is the lamented Elliot, as noble in his nature as liberal in his sentiments,—the model of a true and unaffected aristocracy?—Where is the firm constitutional integrity of Pigot? But, above all, how shall I deplore that overwhelming and inestimable loss last sustained, and with which I dare not trust myself? Missing the presence of all these, can I feel any thing like triumph? Walking before the sacred images of these illustrious dead, as in a public and solemn procession, shall we not dismiss all party feeling, all angry passions, and unworthy prejudices?" Mr P would now particularly consider the speech formerly made by Mr Peel, than whom no man's opinion was likely to produce a stronger impression on the public mind Mr Peel urged, that in the present state of Ireland, and the disproportion which existed between the Protestants and the Catholics, it was impossible that the latter should be faithful to their oaths, and should not seek to establish the supremacy of their own faith "In that case," said Mr Plunkett, "Catholics and Protestants are in a state of interminable hostility, we are bound to support our establishment to our last gasp, and they to their latest breath bound to attempt its destruction. Thus are we lashed together, for ever struggling, and never in security If I could view the question as the right honourable member for Oxford looks at it, I would at once abandon all intention of legislation, not in the hope that I should bring back the freedom, the glory, and the security of our ancestors, but because I should think

they were doomed to perish. I should retire from the question, not like him to a state of rest, but of torpor—not to repose, but to that insensibility which is the prelude to dissolution." Mr P. would venture to assert, that the Catholics were wholly guiltless of such a frightful imputation, that they harboured no hostility to the establishment "Every rational Roman Catholic feels himself no more at liberty to attempt the subversion of our establishment, than to entertain the unworthy purpose of depriving an individual of his property He knows that the same principle gives him and us life, liberty, and property, and he wisely prefers the Protestant establishment in an unimpaired state, to a Roman Catholic establishment in a subverted one He is bound by the oath he takes, both as a man and a Christian, not only not to make the attempt, but to resist it, if made in any other quarter, and if, indeed, the oath were, as is contended, so contrary to the principles of his religion and his nature, it would be as unjustifiable in the legislature to impose it as it would be disgraceful in a Catholic to take it I ask the right honourable gentleman on what authority he takes upon him, in opposition to the assertions, to the oaths of the Catholics, to brand and burn this stigma upon their foreheads? I cannot find in the large volume of human nature any principle which calls upon Roman Catholics to subvert that state by whose laws he is protected, merely that the heads of his priests may be decorated with a mitre If, however, he is excluded from the privileges of the state merely on account of his religion,—if he is made an invidious exception in a country which permits the talents and virtues of all other men to advance them to the highest honours, and if this exception extend to the *filii natorum et qui nascentur ab illis*, they will indeed have a sufficient motive to aim at the destruction of that state which heaps upon them only so heavy a load of injustice." The Speaker proposed to require extensive securities from the Catholics, particularly in regard to the loyalty of their clergy, but the grand remedy, in comparison of which all others were vain and nugatory, "is," said he, "to incorporate the Roman Catholics with the state, that their interest shall be our security, to rivet them, as it were, to the state, and through the state to the establishment I would unite the Catholic by every affection and every good feeling of his nature—by every motive that can operate upon his heart and head—by every obligation that can bind his conscience, and every argument that can convince his understanding, not so much by adding to his power, as by removing every offensive exclusion—every unworthy distinction. I do not propose here to strike the shackle from his limbs, for he is free, but to remove the brand from his forehead, for he is stigmatized I would not have him a marked man and a plotting sectary, but would raise him to the proudest rank man can attain—to the rights and privileges of a free-born subject Do not, I entreat you, as sincere friends to the Protestant establishment, reject this appeal for justice and grace, do not drive your Roman Catholic brother from your bar a discontented sectary, do not tell him who wishes to be a friend that he is, and ought to be, an enemy" Could Mr Peel assert, that Ireland must ever remain as it now is, a moral jungle, only fit for the abode of beasts, and men like beasts? It might be said, that there was a point where concession must stop, but this was not the act of 1793, which placed them in the most strange and anomalous situation.—They were entitled to vote for every

office, from that of a member of parliament to the lowest in the corporation, but not to hold any of them Mr P particularly dwelt on the situation of the Catholic at the bar He was admitted as a member of that profession, but its power and honours were refused him, he was invited to display his talents and information in a public theatre, and every person bound to him by religion and affinity was gladdened at his progress, but, after advancing into honourable character in his profession, when his heart beat high with hope, and the prospect of success ought to have opened on his talents and attainments, he was obliged to stay short, his hopes were dashed to the ground, his manly and useful ambition was checked, he saw many of his friends who had started with him in the race, pass by him on the way, and he was left in a state of gloomy hopeless despondency at the outer door of the temple, not allowed to step over the threshold to acquire any of those honours which invited his more fortunate competitors, and thus his fate finally disheartened every person connected with him by affinity and religion, who had been delighted by the promise of his outset There might be a point where exclusion must begin, but this point must be fixed by necessity only, and it was to fix where that necessity lay that he now called for a committee of the House.

Mr Peel would not have risen so early in the debate, had he not been so pointedly attacked by an antagonist, always overpowering, and particularly when he employed his extraordinary powers of reasoning in tearing to pieces a speech made four years ago, and left unanswered till now. He begged leave to premise, that if any gentleman supposed he rose to express an unqualified satisfaction in the state of things as they now existed, or that he was ready to take a temporary advantage, not of argument but of prejudice, and, like a skilful disputant, to turn to his own account whatever, not reason but ingenuity, could call to his aid, he laboured under a great mistake. He had never viewed the question but as a choice of evils, nor had he been ever satisfied with the alternative proposed, but it had grown out of the anomalous state of society which he found pre-existing He had selected that which he thought the best mode of remedying the evil, under the actual circumstances, without, by any means, looking on it as perfectly satisfactory He had never thought the mode absolutely good in itself, but as a refuge from greater evils He could not admit the right of every subject to enjoy any office The various classes of dissenters were in the same situation with the Catholic, and whatever privileges were conferred on him could not be refused to them The Test and Corporation Acts must, in that case, be, not modified, but entirely repealed Such an opinion was contrary to that of Mr Pitt and Mr Burke, it was decidedly contrary to that of King William, as appeared by two extracts which he read from that prince's letter to Mr Howard He wanted no more than that declaration of King William to justify him in the vote which he intended to give that night upon the question then before the House There were other authorities to shew, that the principle contended for by Mr Plunkett had never formed part of the British constitution He would not dwell on the Toleration Act, as it had been passed under a strong fear of the French King and the Pope Afterwards, however, in the time of Queen Anne, when the Church of England was declared to be in a most safe and flourishing condition, there had been a

conference between the Lords and the Commons on the subject Yet the same principles were then maintained, and Lord Somers, particularly, held that all persons intrusted with high office or with legislation should give proof of their attachment to the established religion From Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne, at five different periods, and from fear of different dangers, the Exclusion Act had been found necessary How, then, could it be said, that other dangers might not hereafter arise? He trusted that the House would not consider him as acting upon any intolerant or bigoted prejudices He could assure the House that he was actuated by no such motive He opposed the present motion, because if it were granted and danger should originate from it, (as he conceived it to be likely that it would,) the evil done would be irremediable The present motion was to introduce into the statute book a new set of laws, conceding privileges and granting rights to those who did not now possess them, as such, it was entitled to, and would no doubt meet with, their most serious consideration The House should recollect that they were legislating for posterity, and he, in doing so, could not shut his eyes to the danger in which such a proposition as the present might possibly involve the country It had been asked, what had the state to do with religion, and why did it interfere with the direction of men's consciences? The state, he was ready to grant, had no concern with religion, when religion had no concern with the state But in making laws to govern this moral and religious country, was he to exclude from his notice all considerations of religion? Was he to be told that he was not to meddle with any measures that were calculated to affect men's consciences? Among the motives which influenced men in society, religion was certainly one, particularly in this country, and accordingly Mr Plunkett had thought it necessary, in bringing forward the present motion, to proclaim his attachment to the Church of England Was he to be told that he ought, on so momentous a question as the one then before the House, to neglect in his consideration the influence which religion was certain to exercise even upon affairs of a temporary nature? A great part of his speech in 1817 had been made with reference to the bill of 1813, and his opinion had been confirmed by the long train of securities demanded in that bill being rejected by the Catholics, notwithstanding the sanction granted by the Pope He was very far indeed from including the Catholics in one sweeping charge of disloyalty. Allowing them, however, to be as loyal as any of their Protestant countrymen, and to be equally as incapable of falsehood and perjury, he still must maintain the doctrine advocated by Lord Somers, that it was only reasonable that persons who were to be intrusted with high office, or with legislation, should give security for their attachment to the doctrines of the reformed religion He did not charge the Roman Catholics with being less able to discharge their social duties with propriety than other individuals, but he was sure that if he were to be acting upon the same principles as those for which he gave them credit, and to be placed in the same situation with regard to the established religion of the country as they now were placed, he could not feel an attachment to that religion which had displaced his own, or refrain from a wish to replace his church in the proud situation which it had formerly occupied After all, if he thought that this measure would serve as a panacea to heal the wounds

of Ireland, to restore to her concord and unanimity, all his fears for the church would give way, and he would be among the first to hail the success of the present motion But he believed these evils to arise from a deeper cause He could not review the past history of England and Ireland, he could not revert to the gallant struggle for mastery which had long been carried on between them, he could not recollect the perpetual transfers of power, the repeated confiscations of property, and the constant backerings between the Catholic and Protestant interests of the country, without thinking that they were sufficient to produce that degree of animosity between the contending parties, which the honourable and learned gentleman had attributed to the penal laws alone. He did not think that the repeal of the laws affecting Roman Catholics would harmonize contending and conflicting feelings. He did not wish to touch prospectively upon the consequences of intemperate struggles for power, he did not wish to use language which might be construed into a harsh interpretation of the acts and objects of men who pursued a career of ambition, but he must say this, that if parliament admitted an equal capacity for the possession of power between Protestant and Catholic in this empire, they would have no means, considering the state of the population, of securing that equal division of power, which was, in his opinion, essential to the stability of the existing form of government The struggle between the Protestant and Catholic would be violent, and the issue doubtful If they were to be sent forth together as rival candidates, with an equal capacity for direct parliamentary representation, so far from seeing any prospect of the alleviation of points of mutual difference, he could only anticipate the revival of animosities now happily extinct, and the continuance, in an aggravated form, of angry dissensions now happily gliding into decay and disuse Such were his sentiments, but he had given no encouragement to the petitions which had been sent up against the measure He told the parties by whom he had been consulted, that he cared not for their petitions—he valued them not, for, in his view, the House of Commons were fully competent to decide upon the whole merits of the case, unaided by external assistance He thought they required no illumination from without to enable them to form a sound decision upon whatever question was submitted to their consideration He was, of course, bound to wish that the opinions which he honestly felt might prevail, but their prevalence must still be mingled with regret at the disappointment which he knew the success of such opinions must entail upon a great portion of his fellow-subjects If, however, on the contrary, the motion succeeded, there was no man who heard him would more cordially rejoice if his predictions proved unfounded, his arguments groundless and if the result should exemplify the sanguine expectations of the right honourable mover, and give an increased confidence to all classes of his Majesty's subjects in that interesting country, in which such union and harmony was most desirable

Sir James Mackintosh felt all the disadvantage he laboured under in coming forward after the subject had been exhausted with such a prodigious display of talent by the first speaker, who had often been admired for his commanding powers, never so greatly exercised as upon this night, when he shewed himself to be the greatest master of eloquence and rea-

soning now existing in public life Had it not been for some observations in the last speech, he should not perhaps have seized this his first opportunity of delivering his sentiments in behalf of the great cause of religion, of liberality, wise policy, national unanimity, and, indeed, national security Mr Peel had talked of successive dangers arising from the admission of Catholics to power, but, in fact, they were all one continued danger, arising from a Catholic party at home, acting under the instigation of foreigners With regard to the 30th Charles II, no law which had ever been promulgated sprung from a more infamous origin, no law ever flowed from so foul and impure a source, never had a law been passed under circumstances of so detestable and infamous a nature as those which attended the enactment of that statute, which the right honourable gentleman seemed to revere, as if it were the great charter of the constitution He had taken pains to refer to the journals for the history of this statute It had been introduced on the 28th of October 1678, and it was curious to see how the House had been occupied just before it adopted that act—to see in what manner it had prepared itself for grave deliberation—with what equanimity and temper it commenced the work of legislating for the exclusion of a great portion of the subjects of this kingdom Would the House believe, that, during the whole of the day preceding the enactment of this bill, the House had been busily occupied in the examination of Titus Oates? It was after this preparation that the bill so praised had passed, when the minds of members were intoxicated with the flagitious perjury of that detestable and atrocious miscreant, whose shocking crimes had not only brought disgrace upon the country which he had duped, but also sacrificed the lives of so many innocent and deserving characters He conceived it very singular that the authority of King William should be arrayed upon this occasion, and quoted several passages proving that monarch to have been always favourable to the Catholics, and by no means decided on the question of exclusion. It had been far from his intention, and that of Lord Somers, to enact a perpetual exclusion bill It was shamefully declared in the petition of the archdeaconry of Leicester, that the Catholics hold a mental reservation by which they could annul their tests He was shocked at this imputation upon a religion which had been that of Christendom for ten centuries—which had been professed and believed by Sir Thomas More, by Fenelon; and yet it was the religion which could boast of such names that was pronounced by the clergy of Leicester to be capable of tolerating such immoral evasion Such an imputation he believed to be a gross outrage upon any set of Christians, and subversive of all society, it was a libel upon the Christian religion, and one which, he repeated, was calumnious when coming from any set of persons professing the principles of Christianity If he had been present when the petition from Leicester was brought up, he should, if he had stood singly, have divided the House against the reception of so gross a libel With his consent, that petition should never have remained upon the table, for it was a disgrace to the country, and to the age in which they lived It had been the misfortune of Ireland, from the first moment of her intimacy with this country, to be goaded and tormented by perpetual distinctions and divisions among her people First, there was the distinction, unavoidable, but not therefore less painful between the conquerors and the con-

quered, then came the distinction between old proprietors and new proprietors, next, the distinction of Englishmen and Irishmen, but the great distinction of all, the distinction which had served to keep alive every other contention, which had produced the dreadful insurrection in the reign of Elizabeth, and which had prolonged the miseries and retarded the civilization of Ireland, even to the present hour—that distinction was the distinction of Protestant and Papist,—a distinction which animated political differences with that burning hatred peculiar to religious fanaticism The laws from which the present motion sought relief had impeded the progress of Ireland's civilization, had condemned her brilliant and valuable talent to obscurity, and had reduced her to that state of civil dissension which ever had been, and must ever be, a state of weakness. The laws which the House was now called upon to abolish—those laws were the trophies which one body of the people of Ireland had erected over the defeat and degradation of another body, they were the brands which, for a long course of ages, had been imprinted upon the foreheads of an immense mass of population, and those marks of degradation parliament was now once more called upon to efface The epoch of his Majesty's approaching visit to Ireland would be most favourable for granting such a boon; it would enable him to enter that country as its benefactor

Lord Castlereagh felt pain in differing from some of those friends with whom he usually agreed, and also because he saw little prospect of a more favourable issue to the question than formerly, but still he would state his opinion candidly. The importance of the measure appeared to him greatly exaggerated, both as to its advantage on the one side, and danger on the other Still he did not think that the measure proposed could bring to the Catholics any accession of power, or, consequently, threaten the constitution; and he did not think the question ought to be allowed to hang about parliament in so unsettled a state He believed that we were the only power in Europe at present which acted upon this principle of exclusion from office on religious grounds France did not act upon such a principle, and he believed that the only one question upon which the Congress of Vienna were unanimous, was that of doing away with distinctions and preferences on account of religion With respect to the making a provision for the Catholic clergy of Ireland, he would say, that if that had been done before now, the internal situation of that country would have been very different from what it was at the present day He had submitted a proposition of this kind to the heads of the Catholic clergy, under the administration of Lord Sidmouth, (then Mr Addington,) and he was informed, that, however liberal the offers which were made might be, the measure could not be carried, the lay part of that religion remained excluded from the privileges which they so earnestly hoped for. He thought they acted wisely on that occasion Nothing, he conceived, would contribute more to improve the state of Ireland than such an arrangement He did not mean that the clergy should be placed in a state of subserviency to the government, but no measure could be more calculated to improve the internal state of the country—to advance the progress of education, than the connexion of the Catholic clergy with the government of the country, but it was impossible that it should be effected whilst the great body of the Catholics re-

mained in their present state of exclusion.

Several other members spoke, chiefly in favour of the motion for going into a committee, which was carried, in a very crowded house, by the narrow majority of 227 to 221.

On the 16th, Mr Plunkett, in moving the second reading of the bill, entered into some explanation of its nature. It proposed to admit the Roman Catholic to all political rights and privileges, with the following exception—"That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to enable any person, being a Roman Catholic, to hold and enjoy the office of lord high chancellor, lord keeper, or lord commissioner of the great seal of Great Britain, or of lord lieutenant or lord deputy, or other the chief governor or governors of Ireland." The oath of supremacy was to be modelled in such a manner as merely to deny all right of the Pope to interfere with the civil duty and obedience owing to the sovereign.—The following oath was also to be taken by every Catholic clergyman, previous to his entrance into holy orders.—

"I, A. B, do swear that I will never concur in or consent to the appointment or consecration of any Roman Catholic bishop, or dean, or vicar apostolic, in the Roman Catholic church in the united kingdom, but such as I shall conscientiously deem to be of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct, and I do swear that I have not and will not have any correspondence or communication with the Pope or See of Rome, or with any court or tribunal established or to be established by the Pope or See of Rome, or by the authority of the same, or with any person or persons authorised or pretending to be authorised by the Pope or See of Rome, tending directly or indirectly to overthrow or disturb the Protestant Government, or the Protestant Church, of Great Britain and Ireland, or the Protestant Church of Scotland, as by law established, and that I will not correspond or communicate with the Pope or See of Rome, or with any tribunal established or to be established by the Pope or See of Rome, or by the authority of the same, or with any person or persons authorised or pretending to be authorised by the Pope or See of Rome, or with any other foreign ecclesiastical authority, on any matter or thing which may interfere with or affect the civil duty and allegiance which is due to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, from all his subjects."

Here Mr Plunkett observed that with respect to the appointment of the Roman Catholic bishops by the Pope, the nomination was formally made in that manner, but to all intents and purposes not practically. In no instance did the Pope, in point of fact, practically exercise this right, so that in making any provision respecting the appointment of the Catholic bishops by the Pope, he was providing a theoretical remedy against a theoretical danger. Although there was no practical evil to be guarded against, there was yet that sort of apprehension upon which the Protestant mind had a right to be satisfied. As to the actual nomination of the Catholic bishops in Ireland, there had been a series of disputes, and a variety of claims. It was first among the Catholics contended that the bishops of the province should elect one to fill the vacant see, then, that the dean and chapter should; and, lastly, the parish priests put in a claim to the right of election. But, in all these instances, the nomination by the Pope was practically excluded. The Pope had, therefore, practically, as little to do with originating the nomina-

tion of the Catholic bishops in Ireland, as he had with the nomination of the Protestant bishops in England

The same speakers were on the field upon this as upon the former occasion, but we can only introduce those features which possess the character of novelty

Mr Bankes gave his decided opinion against the motion The principle of the measure conceded the right of admissibility to every office in the country as belonging to every person of every sect This was a principle somewhat similar to that which was held by individuals who contended for the radical doctrines of universal suffrage and annual parliaments—doctrines which he was convinced his right honourable friend held in as much detestation as he himself did Now, he knew no state that would admit to its dearest privileges, persons who, to be consistent with themselves, must desire the destruction of an important portion of that state. The Catholic church would allow no communion with any other church, it held, that no toleration should be granted to any other church, it declared that there could be no salvation out of the pale of that church As to a communion with a different church, it would be considered, as the Pope himself had said, "like the communion between Christ and Belial" Persons professing this belief could, in his opinion, have no other desire than that the Protestant establishment should not be suffered to remain as it at present stood It was said, that the number of commoners who would obtain seats in parliament, in all probability would not exceed 100—and that, from so small a body, no danger could reasonably be apprehended The number, however, did not at all affect the principle of the measure But he would go further, and contend, that even so small a number as 100 members—nay, less than that number—when leagued together in that House for any specific purpose, might, within no very long time, have an opportunity of causing themselves to be effectually heard in parliament. Let the House consider, when they were legislating, how weak and feeble any such clause must be, when opposed to new circumstances, and advanced against all those occurrences which time might roll on them" There was nothing so foolish as to think of legislating for futurity If this bill were read a second time, he would move that a provision should be made by government for the Catholic clergy The right honourable gentleman deprecated this measure as premature, but he allowed that the time would come when it would be proper to make such a provision He, however, would tell the two honourable members that they need not give themselves any trouble on the subject, because, if they once put the power into the hands of the Catholic church, they would be able and willing to help themselves With regard to granting the elective franchise originally, he would say that it was a concession in contradiction to all sound policy, considering the way in which it was conferred It should have been granted, either in a more full latitude, or else those who proposed it should have stopped short If it had been possible for that measure, which was passed in the year 1793, to have come before the British parliament, he for one would never have consented to it But it might be said, why not repeal it if it be so absurd? The right honourable gentleman, however, knew that there were many things which, if once passed into a law, could not be repealed To repeal the elective franchise granted to the Irish Catholics was impossible,

that measure was in this respect similar to the Union, of which he at the time expressed his disapprobation, and with regard to which he stated that it was an experiment that, if once made, could never be undone, whatever might be its consequences.

Mr Wilberforce expressed his regret at differing from a gentleman with whom he generally agreed, but he conceived, that if they had gone too far in granting the elective franchise, the only safety now was in advancing further. Undoubtedly one of the discoveries reserved for late times, and to be made by those who were little respected for their worldly wisdom, was, that persecution for religious opinions was not only one of the wickedest, but one of the most foolish things in the world The treatment which Ireland had experienced was enough to wake every generous sympathy of the human mind. At the time when Ireland, as had been truly said, was called "the mother of the saints," and possessed more pure religion than any other country in Europe, she was made a prey to lawless oppression At a subsequent period, when the liberties of this country were established by the glorious Revolution, she was still oppressed, and those who governed England acted the part of a step-mother to Ireland He recollected that Mr Pitt, in bringing about the Union, considered the incorporation of the parliaments into one as an arrangement by which the rights of the Catholics might be granted with more safety If there was any Catholic who had bad feelings towards that House, he (Mr Wilberforce) would the rather on that account bring him into the House, and thus give him an opportunity of correcting his errors The Catholics had not known the constitution in its dignifying, enlarging, and liberalizing influence, but in that House they would be enlightened in the principles and practical influence of the British constitution If they owed any servile obedience to the dictates of their spiritual pastors, in that House they would have an opportunity of removing such prejudices They would thus come to learn the true dignity of their circumstances, and would no longer be the narrow-minded bigots which they had formerly been represented to be It was also fair to state that the Roman Catholic religion had been professed by men whose characters reflected honour on Christianity and mankind. He might instance Pascal and Fenelon, of the latter of whom he would say, that he had been sent from Heaven to bless mankind with the mildness of his wisdom and the efficacy of his example. If there was anything peculiarly distinguishing this country, it was its being a country of law, and the meanest of its inhabitants felt proud in submitting to that law In Ireland, on the contrary, the lowest of the inhabitants might be said to be remarkable rather for an habitual abhorrence, than for an accustomed observance, of the law Let not Englishmen suppose, under such a state of circumstances, that when the Irish Catholics were admitted into a participation of the blessings derived from the British constitution, they would not be improved in character, ameliorated in condition, and their irrational habits and prejudices softened and assuaged He would, therefore, in conclusion, only state, that with whatever apprehension he approached the subject—a feeling which the conviction of its great importance could not fail to impress him with—a feeling, which from his heart he certainly did entertain, (for

there were many who knew with what tenderness and caution he had at length come to a conclusion, which was somewhat in contrariety to his former opinion on this matter,) yet he thought that he had now ascertained from all which he had heard, and from much reflection on the subject, that the object of his right honourable friend was calculated to insure the ultimate security of the country.

Mr Canning came forward on this occasion, in strenuous support of Catholic concession In ridicule of the declaration against transubstantiation, he employed the following comparison A murder had been advertised by a magistrate who had heard that a murder had been committed, and that the murderer wore a wig and spectacles The magistrates afterwards found that no murder had been committed, but a man had been apprehended who wore a wig and spectacles, and he must be hanged, not for murder, but for wearing the wig and spectacles So it was with the Roman Catholic, he had been formerly the object of penal laws, because, believing in transubstantiation, he had been attached to an exiled family, that family no longer existing, he was now punished for believing in transubstantiation. The Protestants, in the time of William III, had most severely retaliated the laws enacted by the Papists against them From that parliament emanated a series of laws, such as had not previously existed in the records of legislation—laws which were of such a nature as rendered it probable that the framer of them had taxed his imagination to find out the sore points of human nature to which he might apply them as corrosives—laws which set the son against the father, the wife against the husband, and thus counteracted all the feelings of nature—laws which destroyed all the comforts of domestic life so long as they existed, and exist they did until the 14th of George III., all in full force and undiminished vigour By them the conforming son could seize upon the property of the nonconforming father, by them the treacherous wife could array herself in the riches of her unsuspecting husband, by them the orphan heretic could be robbed by any plunderer of his patrimony, by them there was no faith in families, no feeling of security, no permanency of security, no domestic life In 1774, began the relaxation of this accursed system, which might be said to be completed in 1792, when the elective franchise was granted to the Catholic, for after that it was absurd and inconsistent not to allow him to sit in parliament For three centuries we had been erecting mounds, not to assert or improve, but to thwart nature, we had raised them high above the waters, and they had stood for many a year frowning proud defiance upon all that attempted to cross them, in the course of ages they had been nearly broken down, and the narrow isthmus which they now formed stood between two kindred seas, the fountains saw each other, and fain would meet. Shall we fortify the mounds which are now almost in ruins, or shall we leave them to moulder away by time and accident—an event which, though distant, was certain to happen, and which, when it did happen, would only confer a thankless favour? Or shall we, as has been advised, cut away at once the isthmus that remains, and float upon the mingling wave the ark of our common constitution?

This vote was carried by the still narrow majority of 254 to 243 On

the bill going into a committee, a long series of debates ensued upon its successive clauses The most important amendment moved was by Mr Bankes, on the 26th of March, which went to expunge the clause, admitting Catholic members to sit in Parliament The amendment was supported by the Speaker, who, on this occasion, was exempted from his usual necessity of not speaking He conceived it a more serious question whether the Catholics should be admitted to the making of laws than to the administering of them Mal-administration was an evil, but a far inferior evil to unjust legislation Laws were said to be passed permanently, but why was that language used? He knew no permanency that belonged to laws in this country any longer than this—that they were in force as long as it might please Parliament not to alter them An honourable member, he believed the member for Bramber (Mr Wilberforce) had said, that the admitted members, being in a great minority, might be expected to relinquish their faith and to become Protestants The honourable member would permit him to remark, that he (Mr Wilberforce) being, for aught he knew, himself a very good Protestant, might hope that such a conversion might take place, but a good Catholic, on the other hand, would say—"Give us free admission into Parliament, and all its members will turn Catholics." Believing, then, that it was a proper jealousy which excluded Roman Catholics from the administration of certain laws, he must confess that he could not see how the same principle of exclusion should not apply to the present case The honourable gentleman, at the same time, admitted the conduct of the Roman Catholics had been not only good, but highly meritorious, and the excellence of their conduct and patriotism had conferred lasting benefits on their country, and entitled them to every concession and favour which could be granted without affecting the security of the constitution

Mr Canning considered the admission of Catholics to Parliament as forming the most important point, if not the whole of the bill. It was that of which, if refused, the refusal would take much from the value of such concessions, and of which, if conceded, the concession, if other concessions of great public importance were also granted, would enhance greatly their importance It was a point, the granting of which, in addition to other matters to which other members and the right honourable person who had last spoken had alluded, would form the key-stone of that arch which they were erecting, and complete that incorporation of interests which was the object of those who took part in promoting this bill. He would grant, for the argument, that one hundred Catholic members should be returned, partly from Ireland and partly from England, he would grant that they would combine, he would grant that they would combine for overturning the ecclesiastical establishment; but, granting all this, he asked how they were to go about it? It must be—1st, By force of reasoning, 2d, By force of numbers, or, 3d, By force alone Was it then to be gravely stated, that the eloquence of the one hundred members would succeed in persuading gentlemen attached to the Protestant establishment to join them in destroying it, in order to make way for the magnificent edifice of mitred popery?

Mr Bankes's amendment was negatived by 223 against 211

The third reading of the bill took place on the 2d of April, when a warm and lengthened debate again

ensued, but it was passed with a somewhat greater majority than before, (216 to 197)

After the bill had been dragged through the Lower House with such difficulty, and by such narrow majorities, it was easy to foresee its fate in that upper region, where the aristocracies, both of church and state, were in high predominance Here too, however, it had zealous and powerful advocates, and was subjected to a discussion still more elaborate and extended.

The subject was first introduced by Earl Grey, on the 16th of April, with the presentation of two petitions, one from the English Catholics in general, the other from six Catholic peers, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Arundel, Lord Petre, Lord Clifford, and Lord Stourton There did not exist men more distinguished for the exemplary discharge of their public and private duties through all the various walks of life This would be acknowledged even by those who felt themselves under the painful necessity of opposing their claims. Earl Grey would not, unless called upon by unforeseen circumstances, take part in the approaching discussion, as he could offer only an irksome repetition of what he had often said before He referred, in general, to his former opinions, and with a full conviction, that every motive of justice and policy, of Christian charity and true religion, and he would add, of national gratitude, was in their favour, he could not avoid anxiously entreating the attention of the House to these petitions

On the motion for the second reading, made on the same day, the lead was taken by the Earl of Donoughmore, the staunch and established advocate of Catholic claims After a survey of the successive steps taken in furtherance of them, he called the particular attention of the House to a voluntary act which had emanated from the Papal See. The following were the important alterations made by the college of the *Propaganda Fide* at Rome, in the oath appointed to be taken by the vicars Apostolic in England, and the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, according to which the following words, which have caused so much misrepresentation at all times, were omitted, viz —"*Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro potestate persequar et impugnabo.*" And with the addition of the following words at the conclusion of the oath —"*Hæc omnia et singula eo inviolabilius observabo, quo certior sum, nihil in iis contineri, quod juramento fidelitatis meæ erga serenissimum N. Regem, ejusque ad thronum successores, debite adversari possit*" He pointed out also the new character under which the measure stood, coming as a bill passed by the other House, after the most deliberate consideration He believed no measure ever passed through Parliament that was more completely considered in all its parts. And what gave greater weight to the manner in which it passed through the other House was, that it was not examined in the heat of passion, but was considered with the utmost moderation and temperance The bill effected two objects of extreme importance It took away the necessity of making that declaration which branded a man for professing that religion which was professed by the greater portion of Europe The remodelling the oath of supremacy he approved of as one of the greatest beauties of the bill. This was a very great object, because it shewed, that that oath, which was the great oath of fidelity to the state, could be taken

by the Roman Catholic as well as by any other subject, without violating his religious feelings.

While Lord D thus highly approved of the privileges granted by the bill, he could not but decidedly object to the demand of securities appended to it He looked upon the Roman Catholic to be in no respect whatever a suspicious subject He had proved himself to be any thing but a suspicious subject Having been for twenty-eight years admitted to the exercise of the elective franchise, they ought not now to impose on him what was called an additional security, but which, in fact, was no security If he were a Roman Catholic, he would say, "Take back your securities, I will not have them, and with them also take back the proffered boon." He said this, because he felt that they wanted no additional securities, and they ought not to insult individuals whom they were about to restore to political privileges. Did they not grossly insult the Roman Catholics by demanding those securities? Did they not say, speaking to the Roman Catholic clergy, "It is on your account we have kept the laity so long out of the possession of those good things which other subjects have enjoyed?" Did they not declare to the laity, "We have taken from you all your rights and privileges, because you have a disaffected body of clergy?" He knew, and he could state, from his own personal observation, that the very reverse of this was the truth, with respect to the Roman Catholic clergy in that part of the united kingdom from which he came, and, as he believed the reflection cast on the character of that body was a most unjust one, he should be ashamed if he could for a moment amuse their lordships with a notion that any shackles ought to be fastened on the Roman Catholic clergy as the price of concessions that were to be made to the laity He did not like the principle of compulsory oaths There was a compulsory oath, and one also imposed on the Catholic clergy, at the commencement of the French revolution, which they were obliged to take under the pain of deportation But, thank God, that was not the act of a regular established government The present oath was not compulsory on those persons who were to derive benefit from the bill, but on the clergy, whose situation would not be ameliorated by it This oath must be taken by every Roman Catholic clergyman, though he had been in orders for half a century, under the penalty of a misdemeanour There was nothing in the oath which any man need be unwilling to swear, but he objected to it on principle, as a compulsory oath The Catholic clergy asked for nothing. They only requested to exercise their functions as they did at present They desired no stipend from government, they called for no extension of privilege All they wished for was, to be allowed to perform their duties as heretofore Their lordships were not entering into a treaty with their Catholic fellow-subjects It was for their lordships to decide, and it was for them to receive that decision with deference and respect The noble earl, in conclusion, repeated, in the strongest manner, his objections to anything like a negative, or veto, upon the appointment of the bishops

The Earl of Mansfield opposed the bill in the strongest terms, and had been confirmed in his objections by his long residence in Catholic countries It would break down all the securities of the Protestant religion, without satisfying the Catholics If any one supposed that the Catholics would ever be satisfied without having their laity admitted to all offices,

without exception or restriction, and without obtaining for their clergy the restoration of all benefices and property of the church, and a recognition (in principle at least) of the right of that family to reign in this country, which had been set aside by the Bill of Rights, he was much deceived Inordinate and reprehensible as his presumption might be thought, he would venture to say, that, in his judgment, those who expected the Catholics would be content with less than this, shewed little foresight, little knowledge of mankind in general, and of the Roman Catholics in particular. It was plain, that the desire of controul remained unchanged in the church of Rome, though the manner in which that controul was exercised was changed according to circumstances He was ready to believe that the present Pope would not instigate a massacre of St Bartholomew, but when had the church of Rome condemned that massacre? He perhaps would not recommend an edict of Nantes, but was that edict ever blamed by the church of Rome? The present Pope, he would admit, might grant concessions, but zealots might rise to the head of the church, and a future Pope reverse what the present did The Pope was regarded as omnipotent, and no arrangement could now be obtained which might not be afterwards subject to reversion Catholics might at one time be directed to submit to their lawful sovereign, and afterwards be absolved from their allegiance The House ought never to forget the fact, that with the existing form of government was inseparably interwoven the Protestant church, the one could not be affected without the other. Tyranny was the great characteristic of an unlimited monarchy—caprice and uncertainty, of a republic, and with the same unerring certainty could they trace, in the principles of catholicity, a predilection for arbitrary power, in those of Presbyterians a democratical tendency, while in the Protestant government of this country, the great distinguishing feature had ever been a practical demonstration of all the principles of rational liberty, of justice, of order, of equal laws, and steady moderation Was the glorious bulwark which exhibited such a spectacle to an admiring world, and which their ancestors had cemented with their blood, to be now re-modelled? Was that to be done, too, at a moment when the church establishment was assailed by open foes, and undermined by secret ones? He gave the bill his decided opposition

The Bishop of London felt it his duty not, as on former occasions, to give a silent vote against the bill, but to state his conscientious objections to it In taking this course, he begged to disclaim all hostile or illiberal feelings towards the Catholic body, for such he had never entertained, on the contrary, his feelings and principles were ever to grant to all classes of his fellow-subjects the full exercise of their religion, without molestation or insult, while that religion contained nothing repugnant to morals or decency To the Catholics he was always ready to grant the unfettered enjoyment of their form of worship, the free disposition of their property, the fullest personal protection, and an equal security under the laws Beyond these was political power, and if he could not grant that, it was from a sincere apprehension for the safety of the Protestant establishment His great objection was, to the religious principle of the Catholics—to that which required, on their part, unlimited submission to a foreign authority—an authority which assumed unlimited dominion over the consciences, excluding from them all

exercise of their own reason regarding all matters of religion It was a principle of that religion to regard all dissent in spiritual matters as rebellious contumacy, and to require of its votaries the uniform advocacy of her interest and power That was the genuine doctrine of the Catholic church, as avowed by her orthodox sons. If such, then, was its character it followed that no oath or contract clashing with that spirit of discipline, could be deemed by a Catholic as lawful or valid; and certainly none could be understood as being taken without a reservation of the nature he had alluded to Hence it followed, not that the Catholic, as had been invidiously stated, was not to be believed upon his oath, but that, when he took the obligation, he always kept in view a reservation for the rights and interests of his church The great predominating evil of this bill was, that it divested the established church of the friendly and direct countenance and support of a Protestant government He hoped their lordships would never give their consent to a measure so vitally altering the controlling principle of every branch of government at home and abroad The bill conceded everything to the laity unaccompanied with restriction, and it affixed securities to ecclesiastical regulations, which, it was quite clear, from the language used by the Catholic clergy, that if carried, they must eventually be compelled to abandon. This being his view of the case, it was impossible he could countenance such a bill. It furnished no adequate securities for the safety of the Protestant government, while it proposed at once to withdraw from the church and the state those barriers with which their ancestors had fenced round the glorious constitution they had reared

The Duke of Sussex felt strongly the duty of arguing this great question calmly and dispassionately. In judging on such a subject, it was necessary to examine very carefully the origin of the penal laws against the Catholics, and the changes in the state of society since their enactment. His historical knowledge led him to form a conclusion very different from that which had been formed upon the same subject by the noble earl who had preceded him, for not only did past events prove that the Pope could have no influence in this country, but also that he never had any power in any country, except such as the king of that country had lent himself to support In this country it was not likely that the king would lend himself to the support of such power, for in it the king must be a Protestant And whilst he was on that subject he begged to remind the House, that the sovereign in England was not to be considered as an individual, but as a corporate body, surrounded and attended by many high officers of state, responsible, each and all, for the line of conduct which he pursued Therefore, not only the sovereign himself, but all his ministers must be Catholics, before any support could be given to the Pope—a circumstance so improbable, that he considered the argument founded upon it as dying away of itself, and therefore unworthy of farther attention The Pope was reduced to that state of insignificance, or, if he had not had a reluctance to trample upon the fallen, he would have said, to that feeble, ridiculous, and despicable state, which Sir W. Blackstone had described as the fit time for reviewing and softening those rigorous edicts against Roman Catholics which nothing but the most apparent state necessity could for a moment justify Feeling that to be the case, and having an earnest de-

sure that his fellow Catholic subjects should be admitted to a full participation of the blessings of the constitution, he should give his vote in favour of the present bill, especially as he considered the securities which it demanded from the Catholics to be sufficient to preserve the country from those dangers which some noble lords feared from the passing of it

The Marquis of Buckingham, in strongly supporting the cause of emancipation, complained that its supporters were embarrassed, not by any increase of talent in their opponents, but by the perpetual variation of the arguments to which they were driven They took refuge continually behind some new intolerance, which was always found as untenable as the one they had abandoned He was ready to prove, by historical argument, that the Catholic, as a Catholic, had never been excluded from office in England At the Reformation, did Edward VI exclude Catholics from his council-board? Certainly not, his first council consisted of Catholics as well as of Protestants. He was excommunicated by the Pope for the share which he took in promoting the Reformation Did he therefore exclude Catholics from offices of power and dignity? certainly not A rebellion broke out in the north in consequence of that excommunication. Who was sent to quell it? the Lord of the Marches, Lord de Clifford, a Catholic. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the Spanish Armada was hovering around the coasts of England, whom did she appoint to the command of the fleet to oppose it? Lord Howard, of Effingham, a Catholic Whom did she appoint to the defence of Dover Castle, at that time the most important fortress in the country? a nobleman that was a Catholic. Whom, also, did she intrust with the office of Lord High Admiral of England, an office of such power and importance, that succeeding ages have considered it dangerous to intrust it to any subject, and have therefore placed it in the hands of a commission? Lord Howard, of Effingham, a Catholic nobleman The lion-hearted daughter of Henry VIII did, indeed, alter the form of the oath of supremacy as administered to the Commons, but, from a well-founded confidence in their loyalty, she did not compel the peers to submit to that alteration She would not, as had been well expressed by lord Bacon, place windows in a man's breast to discover what was passing within, and therefore never excluded the Catholics from power James I., though the gunpowder plot had been devised to destroy him, shewed towards them the same forbearance. In the reign of the second Charles, the Catholics were excluded from power. And why? because they had been busily engaged, or were supposed to have been busily engaged, in plots to overthrow the government But did that measure of exclusion extend to the Catholics of Ireland? by no means Did William III exclude the Catholics merely because they were Catholics? No The preamble of the penal acts passed in his reign all recited some positive conspiracy in which the Catholics were engaged, and unsuccessfully engaged, to overthrow the government.

The Bishop of Chester was prepared decidedly to vote against the bill Disclaiming all reflection against the Catholics as a body, he yet conceived that their tenets, excluding the members of all other churches from the pale of salvation, formed a wide line of separation, and were such as made them consider all bargains made against the interests of the church to be *ipso facto* a nullity The British constitution, as settled at the Revo-

lution, was, in all its parts, Anti-Catholic; the King must be Anti-Catholic, both Houses of Parliament, Anti-Catholic; almost every oath for admission to office was in its nature Anti-Catholic, every Peer, and every Member of Parliament, were obliged to take an oath which was Anti-Catholic, every clergyman, before his appointment to a benefice, was obliged to declare, upon oath, that no foreign prince had any jurisdiction in this realm If this bill should pass, how could a clergyman take that oath? Protestantism was the foundation upon which the British constitution was raised, but if Catholic emancipation should be granted, all which had been done at the Revolution would be undone, and all for which their lordships' ancestors had sacrificed their lives would be lost to their posterity

The Bishop of Norwich, an exception to his brethren, gave a cordial support to the bill He would ask, what was the church which it was proposed to secure by disabilities and penalties? No one could venture to say that it was not that church of which the lawgiver and head had declared that his kingdom "was not of this world" Christianity prohibited every harsh, severe, and uncharitable opinion If no other passage of the New Testament enforced this liberality, it would be sufficient to refer to the terms in which the Divine Founder of Christianity reprimanded his disciples, who had falsely imagined that their religion was to be supported by judicial interposition even from Heaven; when he told them that they knew not what manner of spirit they were of

Lord Redesdale took the opposite side Exclusion was the security, and the only security, on which they could rely The Roman Catholic religion allowed no man complete possession of his own conscience. The bill professedly proceeded on the principle of giving security to a Protestant succession to the throne, and to the Protestant churches of England and Scotland, but went on to enact what would certainly undermine the only foundations on which that security rested The noble earl who moved the second reading, disclaimed any wish on the part of the Catholic clergy of Ireland, or any disposition to interfere with the emoluments of the established church He said they would rest content with the alms and free offerings of those of their communion When he was in Ireland a very different sentiment prevailed among some of the most respectable of the Catholic body He was invited to a house where there were present many distinguished persons, he was the only Protestant among them The conversation turned on a provision for the Roman Catholic clergy The proposal was, he believed, 100*l* a-year for parish-priests, 2000*l* for archbishops, 1000*l* for bishops, 500*l* for deans, and so on, the whole amounting to about 290,000*l* a-year He asked how it was to be paid? and the answer was, out of the possessions of the church, that the Protestant clergy must consent to give up sufficient for that purpose, that a provision, in the shape of a *regium donum*, would not be accepted, as it would make the Catholic clergy dependant on the crown, and lessen the influence they possessed over their flocks

An opposite side was taken by the Earl of Harrowby, who observed, that one right reverend prelate had touched upon the intolerant doctrines of the Catholics, such as, that theirs was the only true church, and that out of its pale there was no salvation But, was that the only church that entertained such doctrines? Was not

the Presbyterian church of Scotland equally intolerant? In 1616, it had been seen requiring the Parliament to put down and extirpate all heretics, and accordingly, the Parliament had passed an ordinance against heresy. He did not wish to revive unpleasant feelings against that church, but could any authentic document be produced in which this intolerance was disavowed? Nevertheless, within sixty years, on the accession of King William, an attempt was made at an union with Scotland, it was renewed in the opening of the reign of Anne, but it was not until some time afterwards, that it was completed. What took place during those discussions? The kirk of Scotland solemnly warned the Parliament not to concur in the toleration of episcopacy, yet, with this dreadful threat and imminent danger, the Parliament of England consented to take into its bosom 16 Peers and 45 Commoners belonging to that intolerant kirk. Could any man now contend that that union had not proved one of the strongest and firmest supports of the church establishment of this country?

The Bishop of St David's opposed, and the Earl of Darnley strongly supported the bill, but particular attention was drawn by the sentiments of the Duke of York, equally distinguished by his present illustrious rank, and by his situation as heir-presumptive to the crown. His Royal Highness rose, he said, with the utmost reluctance, to oppose the second reading of the bill, but there were occasions on which it became an individual not to step aside, but to come forward and boldly avow the sentiments which he entertained. The present he considered to be one of those occasions, for, were not their lordships called upon to sanction a measure, which, it was admitted even by its advocates, would effect a great change in the constitution as established at the Revolution of 1688, and in the system which had seated his Majesty's family on the throne? When measures similar to the present had been proposed by a statesman, who had rendered the most eminent services to his country, his Royal Highness said, he had strenuously opposed them, on a thorough conviction of their dangerous tendency. The more he had since heard the subject discussed, the more he had been confirmed in the opinion which he had then expressed. He had always understood that the church of England was an integral part of the constitution. Long might it remain so! But let not their lordships imagine that he was an enemy to toleration. He should always be happy that every sect should have the full exercise of its religion, as long as it did not affect the security of the established church, and as long as its members remained loyal subjects. But there was a great difference between allowing the free exercise of religion, and granting political power. As he felt himself inadequate to the task of entering into the details of the question, and wished not to detain those noble lords who were better qualified to take an expansive view of the subject, he should only repeat, that his opposition to the bill arose from principles which he had embraced ever since he had been able to judge for himself, and which, he hoped, he should cherish to the last day of his life.

The Lord Chancellor made an elaborate speech in opposition to the bill. As the only lay servant of the crown, necessarily a Protestant, he felt himself peculiarly called upon to support the Protestant interest, and would do it through evil and through good report. He objected to the committal of the bill, being averse to its principle, and conceiving that no

amendment could make it good. Holding in the highest veneration the talents, virtues, and wisdom of Mr Pitt, he felt it his unbending duty not to surrender his own opinions He had always felt that it was one of his first duties to maintain the established religion of the country Fortunately for the country, it had adopted the purest system of Christian faith in its established religion, by connecting with the laws which established its church, laws securing a liberal and enlightened toleration as to those who dissented from its church, it had probably placed upon the best and surest foundations, the civil and religious liberties of all who lived in the kingdom But they were told that all this was wrong, and that they should allow every body of Christians to take its chance in the world He was of a different opinion He should ever assert, that an established religion was a great benefit to a people —that the object of such an establishment was not to make the church political, but to make the state religious Such was his firm persuasion—a persuasion so strongly entertained, that he would much rather see a less pure system of Christian faith established, with a liberal and enlightened toleration of those who differed from it, under which toleration, we, who adhere to the doctrines of our present established church, might enjoy shelter and security without power, political power, than see this country without any established church It was impossible that the supremacy of the crown could be divided with that of the Pope To see what sort of supremacy the latter claimed, he wished their lordships to read the statute of the first Philip and Mary, cap 8 Few had read it, but a more humiliating, a more degrading, a more debasing national record, he believed, did not exist in the annals of the world No man who would read it, could fail to feel alive and tremble lest we should ever again open a door for the entrance of that lion which had nearly devoured us The oath now proposed appeared to him very inadequate It renounced all authority interfering with the allegiance due to the crown, "but it is obvious, that this leaves it entirely with the party taking the oath to determine for himself what does or does not so conflict or interfere with such allegiance, duty, and obedience It has also the singular effect, that the Protestant is now to be required to take a stronger oath in support of that which his conscience would lead him, without taking any oath, to support, than the Roman Catholic is to take, whose conscience might lead him, if not bound by oath to support it, to disturb or weaken it The Protestant is to swear, that the foreign prince or prelate has no jurisdiction whatever The Roman Catholic, that he has all the jurisdiction which he, the Roman Catholic, thinks does not conflict or interfere with allegiance, civil duty, and obedience, as he understands them"

The noble and learned lord then went over the history of England to prove the anxious precautions which had always been taken against popery, and that if these were less at an early period, it was merely because the Protestant power was not then fully established "Without meaning to impute, and disavowing the intention to impute, to the Roman Catholics of this day some of the tenets which some in former times were said to entertain, their opinions, and those of their church are yet such as make it seem to be altogether inconsistent in a government, settled as essentially Protestant, with a Protestant established church, to grant them political power The churches of England

and Ireland are now one united Protestant church What endangers the one must endanger the other If the concessions proposed to be granted by this bill, are granted, and without securities, (and what securities, that will be given has the wisdom of man yet devised?) is it possible to believe that the Irish Roman Catholics will make this bill of concessions a resting point? Demand has followed from time to time upon demand, and demand will follow from time to time upon demand, till nothing more can be asked, for till toleration of the Roman Catholics in Ireland gives way to Roman Catholic establishment, and Protestant establishment shall be succeeded by such a portion of toleration of Protestants, as the Roman Catholics may be disposed to allow them The times, it is said, are changed, and the Catholics, it is said, are changed,—be it so, but such change does not affect the soundness of the principles upon which this kingdom has established itself as a "Protestant kingdom,' with the powers of the state in Protestant hands, and with a Protestant church establishment, and toleration,—toleration from time to time enlarged to the utmost extent the public welfare will admit—but toleration only—for those who dissent from it. It may be that the church of Rome itself has changed some of its tenets Its Protestant advocates tell us so,—its Roman Catholic defenders deny it But we are led not to doubt that the present Pope has re-established the order of the Jesuits,—that the Inquisition was revived,—we have heard of bulls against Protestant societies distributing the Scriptures,—we have heard of transactions respecting bishops in Belgium,—we hear of the establishment at Stonyhurst,—we hear of Jesuits there, though we are told the Pope does not consent to their establishment in countries which are not willing to receive them, and we might ask where the person at the head of the Stonyhurst establishment now is, and for what purpose he is where he is said to be?" The noble lord finally quoted the opinions of Blackstone, Clare, and Hardwick, in support of his own

Lord Grenville came forward in decided support of the bill Much as he had considered the subject since the time when he had last the honour of addressing their lordships, he was but the more strengthened in his firm conviction, that there was no way in which it was possible for Parliament to convey so great a benefit to the people of this united realm, as by giving effect to the principle of the proposition before them Such a measure, tending to such a purpose, and brought before them in such a manner, he had never expected to see met by a discussion in which the question of the principle of the bill was evaded by verbal objections to its clauses The learned lord on the woolsack had endeavoured, by pointing out inaccuracies in language, or some inconsistencies in the clauses, to induce their lordships not to read the bill a second time, which was a necessary preliminary to the committee, in which those inaccuracies could be corrected, and those inconsistencies obviated In all that the learned lord had said on the subject of religious belief, in all he had advanced with respect to the importance of religion, in every point of view that could be imagined, on the prosperity and happiness of every nation, he, for one, was perfectly prepared to agree In all that the learned lord had uttered respecting his attachment to the Protestant religion, as being, according to his conscientious feeling, the purest church in doctrine, and the best in discipline,

that ever appeared in the Christian world, he entirely concurred. He admitted the superiority of the doctrines of that church, over what he considered, with the learned lord, to be the gross errors of the church of Rome No man could be impressed with a more deep and decided conviction of the truth of the grounds on which that belief was built, or of the firmness of the principles on which it rested He was as anxious as the learned lord, or any other individual, could be, to preserve the Protestant church in all its purity —No person could feel more strongly the necessity of upholding the establishment under which that faith was administered to the subjects of this kingdom, and which form of ecclesiastical hierarchy he considered, as the learned lord had done, to be inseparably connected with the civil government of the country On these points no man living held more decided opinions And if the question were to be decided, whether it was possible to unite in one faith, and to rule under one ecclesiastical establishment, and that the ecclesiastical establishment of the church of England, every heart and soul that owed allegiance and duty to the government of this realm —Nothing could be more grateful to his mind—nothing could be more in unison with his feelings, than to assist in such an effort But did reason teach their lordships that a moral revolution of this nature could be effected? Did experience give them any encouragement to hope it? And if not, would they waste in ineffectual wishes for that which they knew to be unattainable, that time, that labour, and that exertion, which ought to be applied to the consideration of the means of rendering the difference which did unfortunately exist, and which it was not possible to remove, less susceptible of evil to the inhabitants of both parts of this united kingdom, than at this hour it was unhappily found to be? It was unhappily the policy of this country, for a long course of years, to endeavour, by oppression, by severity, by confiscation, by punishment of every description, either to reduce or to annihilate the religious opinions that prevailed in Ireland, or, at all events, to destroy any facilities that existed for disseminating them To the success of that experiment he need not call the attention of their lordships So far from accomplishing the intended purpose —so far from putting down opinions, no method could be more successfully employed by those who wished to produce a contrary effect than the method of oppression and persecution The noble lord then went over, at great length, the arguments which he had before repeatedly urged in favour of this measure

The Earl of Liverpool would have been willing to make some addition to the concessions of 1793, but the bill went so far, and, in order to make it possible for him to vote for it, must be so completely cut down in the committee, that he did not think it possible for him to vote for its going into one Without prejudging the question, whether certain minor points might or might not be granted, his opinion was this,—that the great direct influence of the state in parliament, and in the privy council, ought to be kept where it was, and so thinking, the more honest and manly course was, to take his stand upon the principle of the bill, and not to disappoint expectation by suffering it to go into a committee. Among other arguments, he represented that, though they set out with a declaration to maintain the Established Church and the Protestant succession, he was satisfied, if the bill should pass, that the principle of a Protestant succession could not be

maintained in this country. If the presumptive heir to the throne should be of the Catholic religion, might he not say, "Am I to be the only man in the kingdom, with the exception of the Lord Chancellor, who is to be prohibited from worshipping his God according to the dictates of his conscience? You have the President of the Council a Catholic, you have the Secretary of State a Roman Catholic, and the Judges of the King's Bench Roman Catholics, and I am not more hostile than they are to the support of the Established Church" What answer could be given, and what, on the other hand, would be the feeling of those of the same religion with the heir to the crown, if a punishment were inflicted for that belief? If the bill passed, and the securities were refused or rejected by the Catholics, the country might hereafter be exposed to all the dangers of religious persecution This bill, which was called a measure of grace and favour, how was it received—how was it looked at in Ireland? Was there more than one opinion respecting it among the clergy of that country? The more he reflected on the subject, the more he was convinced that, by this measure, they were sapping the foundation of all the great establishments of the country, both of church and state

The Marquis of Lansdowne warmly supported the cause of the Catholics He challenged the learned lord, or the noble earl, to adduce a single instance in which the Catholics had not shewn themselves the promoters of the good fortunes of the country, and participators in its bad fortunes. To the tried fidelity of the Catholics the learned lord owed his seat at present on the woolsack, and the learned prelates their mitred dignity But for the Catholic population of the kingdom, whose faith their lordships had laboured to exterminate, they would never have come with safety out of that struggle through which they had passed, and in the course of which, during a period of twenty years, there had been no instance of Catholic treason, Catholic cowardice, or Catholic infidelity It had been said by an eminent divine, that the Catholics had a leaning to arbitrary power, and the Presbyterians to republicanism Both assertions were, perhaps, equally unfounded, and, for a contradiction of one of them, he might appeal to the conduct of the Peers of Scotland who had sat in that House since the Union, of whom it could be said, that the breath of calumny durst not accuse them of advocating republican principles.

Lord Sidmouth, on the contrary, stated the painful feelings with which he felt himself called upon to oppose the bill, chiefly on the ground, that the Catholic religion was hostile to civil and religious liberty On the other hand, Viscount Melville, Lord Ashburton, and Lord Somers, gave their voices in favour of the Catholics

After this long and elaborate debate, which had occupied two successive nights, the vote was at length called for The issue, as had been foreseen, was such as to terminate the measure for this session, the second reading being negatived, only, however, by the moderate majority of 39, (159 to 120)

The present session presented a crisis in a constitutional question of still more vital importance,—that of parliamentary reform A step was taken which came pretty decidedly under that description. It was, however, of that specious nature, and attended with such unquestionable benefits, that only the most decided alarmists could apprehend danger from it.

The disfranchisement of Grampound had been already determined, and this measure had at once punished a signal example of corruption, and cleared the representation of one of its most unquestionable blemishes The question arose next, what was to be made of the extinguished votes? The proposal, first made by the high advocates of establishment, that they should be transferred to the neighbouring hundreds, had gradually died away This went only to maintain that bloated excess of representation, for which Cornwall was notorious, while it withheld representation from a number of districts to which a great modern growth of prosperity and population had given a natural claim to it

On the 12th February, Lord John Russell moved the order of the day for the House resolving itself into a committee on the subject He represented, that out of twelve of the largest towns in England, five were totally without representation in that House The county of York contained, he believed, 6,000 square miles, and 1,000,000 of inhabitants, and was represented by only 30 members, while the county of Cornwall, which was in every respect comparatively inferior, had 44 members in that House He was decidedly of opinion that Leeds was the more proper place to fix upon

Mr Grenfell supported the proposition, although he had been accustomed to resist all general undefined and visionary plans of reform

Mr R Martin was determined to oppose the bill at every stage. It was known that the two or three last elections which had intervened since the acts of bribery were committed, were conducted in an unexceptionable manner, and the two members returned were most honourable men, and those whom, perhaps, the House would first select for any of the important business of their committees Whatever, therefore, might have been the former transgressions of any of the electors of Grampound, they had been since amply redeemed by their subsequent conduct They ought first to supply the existing remedy, by administering the bribery oath

Mr Lockhart defended the bill, conceiving that a writ sent to Grampound was considered there as a writ of *venditioni exponas* He objected, however, to the admission of the principle of scot and lot, which would make, he thought, too serious a change in the mixed monarchical form of the British government

Mr Davies Gilbert also thought the fine and well tempered equipoise would be overturned, if they added to the scot and lot right of voting in the country Popular opinion had been well described to have had its due operation in that House Indeed he thought they were rather more disposed than otherwise to adopt the temporary opinions of the people out of doors He revived the plan of taking in the adjoining hundreds, which was strongly reprobated by Mr Phillips and Mr H Gurney

Mr J W Ward supported the measure, conceiving it to be in no degree one of general parliamentary reform. Leeds had been suggested, upon the principle of thus giving an increase to the representation of the commercial interest Undoubtedly country gentlemen were among the most respectable classes in that House, and yet—(and he might say so without offering any, even the slightest, disrespect to them)—they were not the persons who were best calculated by their habits, or by their inclinations the best disposed, to enter into all those complicated but important commercial details and inquiries which formed so large and so necessary a portion of the business of Parliament.

What was the great defect in our constitution? This,—that our extensive manufacturing towns were not represented What had been the subject of some complaint against that House, was, that they would do nothing in the shape of a reform or an improvement For his own part, attached as he was to the constitution, even in its present shape, he would not go out of his way to effect any change in it, but when so salutary a measure might be adopted without the slightest disadvantage, but with a tendency to remedy a defect, on all hands acknowledged (as in the case of the corruption of this borough) to exist, he must give it his support If he lived in an old and venerable house, where he had been accustomed to reside from his infancy, and a part of that house ill-built and ruinous fell down, he should not, in rebuilding or repairing it, feel himself bound to adhere to its original inconvenience and ugliness.

Mr C Wynn took a different view of the subject. He certainly preferred transferring the franchise to York, because, by that means, they would get rid of another great inconvenience—and that he would explain He had no hesitation in saying, that the number of freeholders in the county of York was so great that they could not conveniently exercise their elective franchise in one place within the usual time. By the accounts which they had of the last election contested there, it appeared that the booths to the latest moment were quite full, and that even to the close there were many individuals who could not poll At that election no fewer than 26,000 freeholders polled He did feel that the subdivision of those votes would be a great convenience, in the way which had been proposed by the honourable mover of that clause

Mr I. Robinson and Mr B Bathurst supported Mr D Gilbert's amendment of transference to the hundreds, while Mr Wilmot, Mr Lennard, and Mr Littleton, defended the original motion

After a reply from Lord John Russell, Mr D Gilbert's amendment was negatived without a division. Then, however, Mr Beaumont, member for Yorkshire, rose, and following up Mr Wynn's views, proposed the transference to the county of York, which would thus have two votes for each of its two ridings

Mr Stuart Wortley, however, rose in decided opposition to this motion, urging, that in giving two additional members to the county of York, nothing was done for the improvement of the representation Every freeholder in that county had some one present in the House of Commons to speak for him, and to protect his interests, but in Leeds, as in other great towns, there was an immense body of persons in the habit of thinking upon political subjects, who had no organ whatever in that House whereby to express themselves It was a most considerable advantage to the House to have within it the immediate representative of a large body of men, and particularly of a large body of manufacturers Yorkshire was accustomed to meet as a whole county, and it was the boast of its inhabitants that it carried with it more weight, from its great extent, than any county in England True, there were separate ridings, and each riding had its separate lord-lieutenant, and its separate clerk of the peace, but there were no meetings of ridings The gentlemen met at the assizes, and upon grand juries, and everywhere it was a meeting of the county of York, not of a separate riding It was a mistake to suppose that York, as a county, had a very great number of voters. Upon that point, York-

shire was far exceeded by Lancashire —Lancashire having 60,000 voters, and York, at the last election, only 26,000

This amendment was negatived by the large majority of 70, (136 to 66)

It still remained, in a town of 70,000 inhabitants, to fix the number and qualifications of the voters The original mover had fixed the payment of a rent of 10*l* a-year Mr Stuart Wortley, on the 2d March, proposed an amendment, making the amount 20*l*, which Mr Peel observed, would still leave two or three thousand voters. Lord Milton proposed the general admission of all householders After some discussion, Lord Milton's amendment was negatived by 116, (182 to 66) Mr Stuart Wortley's was then carried by a majority of 148 to 94

After this change, the bill was thrown up by the original mover, as presenting an aspect which no longer fitted it to receive his countenance and support It was taken up, however, by Mr Stuart Wortley, under whose auspices it passed through its different stages in the Commons.

The bill was now carried to the Lords, where it had naturally to apprehend a much more serious opposition Accordingly, when, on the 10th of May, the Earl of Carnarvon moved the second reading—an opinion hostile to it was intimated by the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Westmoreland, and even by the Earl of Lauderdale The Earl of Liverpool, however, supported it. He considered the right of election as a public trust, granted, not for the benefit of the individual, but for the public good The elective franchise had no analogy to the right of property, though it had some to the rights of their lordships as peers, because they sat in that House, not for their own benefit, but for that of the public. At the same time, as the power of voting was attended with great benefit to the individual, he would not vote it away upon mere grounds of expediency; but if a case of abuse were proved, he would then give his vote without hesitation Now, he certainly conceived, that if ever corruption had been exposed, it was in the present instance The usual practice had hitherto been not to transfer the elective franchise, but to extend it to the hundred In the cases in which that had been done, he had highly approved of the enactment; and if he should adopt a different course on this occasion, it should be only because he did not think that the same remedy would apply. The situation of Grampound made it impossible to throw that borough open to the hundred without great inconvenience It was well known that Cornwall abounded with boroughs; but, though there were more boroughs in Cornwall than in any other county, there were not more Cornish members in the House. To throw open those boroughs to the hundreds, would be to make that which was only an evil in theory, one in reality; for it would make the representation more local, and exclude persons from other parts of the country from a participation in it. At the same time, he had a great objection to one part of the remedy proposed He objected to the transfer to Leeds upon an arbitrary qualification, which would either admit too great a number of electors, or give rise to discontent He thought it would, therefore, be better to have recourse at once to broad and fixed principles, which could be done by giving two additional members to the populous county of York So many difficulties attended the transfer of the elective franchise to Leeds, that he did not see his way out of them, but if two

members were added to the representation of Yorkshire, the House would then take and transfer the right of election as it found it, without the necessity of creating any fresh rules or qualifications But, should their lordships object both to Leeds and to Yorkshire, there was another course which might be still more beneficial. Parliament might, after disfranchising Grampound, authorize his Majesty, through the exercise of his prerogative, to order that two members should be returned for any place which he might think proper, or to revive an old borough

Lord Lansdowne protested against the last suggestion of the noble lord, but, though he would prefer Leeds, would not object to the transference to York, if it should appear to be the sense of the House

The second reading took place without opposition, but Lord Lauderdale, from whom very different views might have been expected, persevered in his opposition On the 14th of May, he brought forward a motion, that a committee should be appointed to report the names of the mayor, aldermen, and freemen of the corporation of Grampound, distinguishing those against whom evidence of bribery had been given, from those against whom no evidence had been given He thought if their lordships had fairly considered the case, they never could have been induced to vote for the second reading of this bill, which appeared to him one of the most unjustifiable measures ever assented to by Parliament He would not dwell on the singularity of the case. The bill did not act on any case of corruption which had taken place at the last election, or at the one previous to the last, but it went as far back as the 1st of February, 1816 He was ready to admit, that all those electors who had been proved to have received money ought to be considered as corrupt. But, according to the evidence on which the bill professed to proceed, it appeared that, of the persons against whom evidence had been given, only nineteen possessed the right of voting, whilst there remained twenty-five electors against whom not a tittle of evidence had been given.

The Lord Chancellor also expressed the strongest hostility to the measure, which he considered completely irreconcilable to the laws and constitution of this country It was both a bill of pains and penalties, and an *ex post facto* law What was a bill of pains and penalties, if the present, which inflicted on innocent men the punishment due only to the guilty, was not one? and a severer punishment too than the law had provided even for the guilty

Earl Bathurst also contended for the throwing into the hundred, and Lord Redesdale objected to making population the scale for representation, which would renew the system of the French convention The motion, however, which had evidently in view to defeat the object of the bill, was opposed by Lord Liverpool, and negatived

On the 21st of May, the final discussion came on The Lord Chancellor moved the transference of the right of election to those burgesses who had not been convicted of bribery After a short debate, however, in which Lord Harrowby and Lord Melville defended the bill, it was carried by a majority of 60 to 26

Lord Liverpool then moved the transference to York, which, notwithstanding some objection, was carried without a division

The bill thus altered, on being carried back to the House of Commons, met with a cold reception Lord Milton, however, though he would have thought it much better that the franchise should have been

transferred to Leeds, did not deem it advisable on this account to hazard the loss of the bill

Mr Stuart Wortley, on the other hand, thought that the Lords had placed them in a cruel situation, and had exceeded their powers by making so great a change on the bill. He conceived that the county of York would be more injured than benefited by having two additional members, and proposed to reject this bill, to agree to a second, for the disfranchisement simply, and afterwards consider to what place the franchise should be transferred

Lord Castlereagh however, without giving any opinion on the alteration, defended the right of the Upper House to make it, and Lord John Russell concurring in Lord Milton's view of the subject, the Lords' amendment was agreed to without a division

This partial success of the principle of parliamentary reform encouraged its supporters to bring forward propositions to that effect, of a more general nature The first and most sweeping was introduced by Mr Lambton, on the 17th of April He began with representing, that the increased intelligence of the lower orders, and the attention now bestowed by them on political subjects, called loudly for an extension of the right of voting To enforce the necessity of this, he drew a gloomy picture of the state of the nation "We have," said he, "a national debt of more than 850,000,000*l*—an annual expenditure of 53,000,000*l*—a taxation the most burthensome and oppressive in the known world, and yearly decreasing in productiveness, in the same proportion that it increases in severity—a sinking fund, which is the veriest delusion that ever was attempted to be practised on a country—our commerce in a state of the greatest depression—an agricultural interest petitioning from all quarters, and declaring its inability to exist without a protection which, if afforded, would irritate, perhaps greatly injure, a manufacturing interest already exposed to the greatest difficulties in its higher quarters, and whose working classes are nearly reduced to starvation

"We have, besides, a standing army of more than 80,000 men, an object always of the most constitutional jealousy to our ancestors, although it seems of none to us, the existence of which was even assigned as one of the reasons for deposing James II. We have a system of corruption in the greatest activity, by which seats in this Assembly are publicly advertised for sale, and as publicly and notoriously bought and sold—and, to complete our domestic picture, we are repeatedly alarmed by accounts of treasons and conspiracies, nay, it was but last night that we were told by a noble lord, the Secretary at War, that we were only in the first year of domestic peace! Our gaols are overflowing, and our eyes are shocked, and the better sympathies of our nature disgusted, by the most barbarous and unnecessary executions—the effect of the impolitic severity of our criminal laws

"If we turn our eyes outwards, we find no accession of national honour or character to make up for our bankrupt and miserable state at home. Repeated violations of public faith and solemn pledges, recorded to our eternal disgrace, in the transfer of Norway—the base abandonment of Genoa—the partition of Saxony—the surrender of Parga—A steady and undeviating support of all those feudal abuses and despotisms, which it is the object of the holy alliance to bolster up if possible, evinced, I say, most unequivocally, by our repeated

adoption of an act the most repugnant to the free principles, although not to the present practice, of the British constitution, I mean the Alien Bill—An utter indifference to the struggles of a people contending for constitutional liberty; when a firm remonstrance, breathing the genume spirit of English freedom, might have arrested the invading arms of Austrian barbarism, and prevented a war which has too unhappily succeeded, for the moment, in its sacrilegious aim, the repression of freedom, and the riveting again of chains which an effort of just and noble resistance had peacefully broken All these, and many other characteristics of our foreign policy, which I need not now mention, have degraded us in the eyes of the people of the continent, and rendered us with them objects of distrust, suspicion, and hatred"

This could not be wondered at, when the present state of the representation was considered, the general result of which was, that, by direct nomination—by the existence of boroughs, where some twenty, fifty, or one hundred voters are septennially bought and sold like cattle in a fair—by the influence of government, which, owing to the small number of electors, as compared with the population of the empire, can but rarely and partially, and then most expensively, be resisted—a majority is always to be procured for the administration of the day—a majority, forming a body, the most convenient, the most pliable, the most manageable, that the wit of man could invent, sanctioning measures solely on the principle of ministerial recommendation, without any reference to the expressed wishes of the people.

The general outline of his plan was expressed as follows —"In order that, the people may be fairly and adequately represented in the legislature, and the balance of the constitution thus restored, it is necessary, in my opinion, that there should be an extension of the elective franchise to the unrepresented classes contributing directly to taxation—copyholders, leaseholders, and householders that all venal, corrupt, and decayed boroughs, should be disfranchised, and that there should be a recurrence to triennial parliaments, accompanied by such restrictions on the expenses of elections, as could easily be accomplished under a reformed system, but which now it is quite impossible to effect, and useless to attempt"

From a survey of English history, Mr Lambton was convinced, that down to the 23d Henry VI, all freemen had been entitled to vote It was then that the treacherous and tyrannical measure had been adopted of requiring freehold property to the amount of 40s. a-year The principle of election, however, still preserved some degree of purity, but since that time, it had gradually fallen into its present lamentable state of decay and imperfection.

The honourable gentleman then stated the leading features of his bill, which were,—1st, To divide the county into districts, each of which should return one representative, for which *all* householders should vote, 2d, Adding copyholders and leaseholders to the county representation, and, 3d, Repealing the Septennial Act, and limiting the duration of Parliament to three years He then detailed all the processes according to which the nomination was to take place "With regard to eligibility," he observed, "all ambassadors, and persons accepting offices under his Majesty, the duties of which are to be executed abroad, will be deemed ineligible, and if previously elected, their seats will be vacated on such acceptance; as, under those circumstances, it would

be morally impossible for them properly to discharge their duties to the constituents I have not made any provision disabling other placemen or pensioners from sitting in Parliament; because, however much such a measure may be desirable and necessary in an unreformed, I do not think it required in a reformed, House of Commons An individual accepting a place or pension, will be immediately amenable to the judgment of his constituents, who, if they disapprove of his conduct, will have the opportunity of expressing that opinion in the most efficacious mode, by ceasing to return him as their representative."

This proposition gave rise to a very extended debate, which was continued for two nights It received the unqualified support of Mr Hobhouse, Sir Robert Wilson, Lord Bury, Mr W Williams, and Mr Bennett It was argued against, *in toto*, by Mr Wilmot, Mr Horace Twiss, Mr Stuart Wortley, Mr Martin of Galway, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer Other members, who conceived some reform to be necessary, declared themselves wholly unable to go the sweeping length proposed by the honourable mover.

Mr Abercromby said, there were two modes of reform for the country to adopt—one of them calculated to introduce into the government so many important alterations, that he could never consider it in any other light than that of a revolution, the other, of such a nature as would repair and improve, without demolishing, the fabric of the constitution Of this latter reform he professed himself a warm and steady advocate, at the same time, he felt it necessary to state, that he never could, under any circumstances, give his assent to the plan of reform proposed by his honourable friend, the member for Durham If carried into effect, he could view it in no other light than as tending to a complete revolution

Lord Milton believed, that the opinion of the great mass of the people was, that there ought not only to be a change of men, but of measures also. He nevertheless could not agree to the motion, which, however beautiful in theory, would be productive of as many difficulties as it would tend to remedy. The House ought to be the representation, and not the delegation, of the people

Captain Maberly strongly objected to the present bill, it started upon a wrong principle, by recognizing householders as competent to vote, it made property the basis of the right of voting, and if property was made the basis, the number of votes ought to be increased, on a scale graduated according to the value of that property, and in proportion as householders were taxed, but to make property the basis, and then proceed on a principle of equality, was an objection not to be overcome. He believed it expedient that both the Peers and the Crown ought to have some influence in that House He did not think it should too exactly represent the will of the people He could refer to historical facts to shew, that a House of Commons, wholly returned and influenced by the popular will, was not the best for promoting the prosperity of the country.

On the other hand, Mr Ricardo's only regret was, that his honourable friend did not propose the introduction of voting by ballot, which, he thought, would be a greater security for the full and fair representation of the people than any extension of the elective franchise The people would then vote for the man whom they should consider as best calculated to support their interest, without any fear of the overwhelming influence of their superiors

The Chancellor of the Exchequer

was almost tempted to allow the question to be decided by the honourable members on the other side, in the full confidence that it would be negatived, for certainly no two members on that side seemed to be of the same opinion with regard to the plan which had been detailed by the honourable member for Durham.

From the beginning of the debate, Mr Lambton had to complain of an indifference approaching to contempt, marked by the thin attendance, especially on the ministerial side The motion was lost by only 55 to 43; but the smallness of the majority was pretty evidently owing to the opposite side not having cared to muster their strength A singular incident attended this vote Mr Lambton himself, with two or three of his friends, having gone out, as he stated, to obtain some refreshment, which report stated to be obtained at a splendid dinner at Mr M A Taylor's, the vote took place before his return Mr Lambton observing a smile on the face of several members, complained to the House of the implied insult The Speaker admitted, that no member could receive any treatment inconsistent with decorum, but submitted, whether the circumstance was such as could be preferred as a charge.

After some discussion and apology, Mr Brougham declared, that the circumstance arose from pure accident, which might have happened to the most attentive member of that House Indeed, if there was one member more attentive than another, to whom such an accident might occur without raising a suspicion of neglect, it was to his honourable friend, the member for Durham.

On the 9th of May, Lord John Russell brought forward his more moderate and limited motion for reform. After taking a general view of the abuses and corruption which had prevailed in elections, and of the ineffectual nature of the remedies attempted, he propounded his own views What he had now to propose upon this part of the subject was, that a committee be appointed to devise some better method of inquiring into complaints that might be made of future corrupt practices in boroughs, than they at present possessed. Without laying down any positive plan on the subject, he was ready to state, that he should like to see a committee appointed, that should be enabled to take evidence upon oath, wherever a complaint should be made of the state of a borough, on sufficient authority to induce the House to institute inquiry Already the House had made a precedent of an inquiry without the report of a select committee, in the case of Grampound The noble lord opposite had stated, at the time, that it was a novelty, and had nevertheless agreed to establish the precedent There was another obstacle, however, to the prosecution of these inquiries, which was, that all their exertions might be defeated by subsequent proceedings in the other House Upon this part of the subject he would confess that he should wish to see a new tribunal constituted, capable of determining disputed questions of franchise, that should be equally independent of both Houses The noble lord, however, did not wish to confine his measure to the mere regulation of the mode of election He wished to call the attention of the House to another object—the propriety of giving representatives to places not at present returning members to Parliament. In making such a proposition, what he wished to impress upon the House was, that he was introducing nothing new, which was not clearly required by the new situation of the country—that he was proposing no innovation, where innovation had not already taken place. Let the House

look to the mighty increase of our manufacturing and unrepresented towns When his Majesty's ministers were proposing the peace establishment in 1816, he, and many of his friends, had objected to it as unnecessarily large What was the answer? His Majesty s ministers referred them to the prodigious extension of these towns, and the increase of their population In 1792, the whole of our military force of all descriptions, in Great Britain and Ireland, was 57,000 men, we had this year, in Great Britain and Ireland, including militia and yeomanry, an armed force of 210,000 men And why? It was but two or three days ago, that the prime minister of this country had assigned, as the only reason for maintaining this overwhelming force, the enlargement of those towns, and the increased numbers of their inhabitants He conceived it unfavourable to the repose of the country, that these large towns should have no municipal constitutions of their own; Manchester was under the direction of an officer called boroughreeve, who was, in fact, the steward of the lord of the soil; the town had no sessions of its own, but was included under the same superintendence as the adjoining hundred of Salford Birmingham was governed by a headborough and constables; and was in the eye of the law nothing more than a village In neither of these rich and populous communities were there individuals to whom, from their rank or official station, the people were accustomed to look for the tone and colour of their political opinions The course which he should recommend was, to widen the basis of their representative system, in proportion to the vast increase of our wealth and population In support of this principle he had the authority of all history and experience The noble lord concluded, by moving the following resolutions —

1. "That grievous complaints are made in the kingdom, and manifestly appear to be true, of undue elections of members to serve as burgesses in Parliament, by gross bribery and corruption, contrary to the laws, and in violation of the freedom due to the election of representatives for the Commons of England in Parliament, to the great scandal of the kingdom, dishonourable, and may be destructive, to the constitution of parliaments

2 "That, in order to strengthen and maintain the necessary connexion between the Commons of this kingdom and their representatives in Parliament, it is expedient to give to such places as are greatly increased in wealth and population, and are not at present adequately represented, the right of returning members to serve in Parliament

3. "That a select committee be appointed to consider to what places, according to the principle of the foregoing resolution, it may be advisable to extend the right of returning members to serve in Parliament, and of the best method of effecting that measure, without an inconvenient addition to the members of this House.

4 "That it be referred to the same committee, to consider further of a mode of proceeding with respect to any boroughs which may hereafter be charged with notorious bribery and corruption, in order that such charges may be regularly and effectually inquired into, and, if proved, that such boroughs may be disabled from sending burgesses to serve in Parliament for the future"

The motion was seconded by Mr Whitmore, and opposed by Mr Bathurst, but in short speeches, and very little, on the whole, was said upon the subject Yet the friends of reform mustered in very considerable force, being 124 against 155, thus leaving a majority of only 31

Another question, of considerable importance in a constitutional view, was the bill for mitigating the punishment against those convicted for forgery, by rendering it no longer capital. This proposition having been referred last year to a committee, and favourably reported on, Sir James Mackintosh introduced a bill, founded on that report, and on the 23d of May, moved that it should go into a committee

The Solicitor-General rose and stated, that, though with reluctance, he must oppose the motion of his honourable friend. The report itself was evidently drawn up in haste, as many inaccuracies appeared in it Thus, it was stated, that stealing in dwelling-houses to the amount of 40*s* was a capital offence by the law as it stood Now, he had no hesitation in saying, that there was no law respecting stealing in houses to the amount of 40*s*. In like manner, the report stated that stealing in ships and vessels on navigable rivers was a capital offence; there was no such offence known to the law of England In adverting to the bill before them, it appeared that the object of it was to take away, for the first offence, the punishment of death in cases of forgery of every description, save those of notes of the Bank of England It was necessary, therefore, to consider the cases to which the bill applied It applied to the forgery of wills—a crime easily committed, and by which families might be stript of their entire property It applied also to the forgery of marriage registers—a crime which went to destroy not merely the property of families, but to affect the legitimacy and character of its members. It also applied to the forgery of deeds of conveyance of property to any amount, and cases of the transfer of stock—cases so very important, and on which depended property to a great amount He recollected having been employed in one case where the party was charged with having committed forgery respecting the transfer of stock to the amount of 20,000*l*. When he looked at the preamble of the present bill, and found it stated therein, that the existing law was insufficient to repress the crime of forgery, he thought that the House had a right to be satisfied that the new punishment which it was called upon to inflict in the place of the old one, would not at least be less insufficient. The honourable mover did not intend to make transportation the only punishment, but in some cases he would have the offender imprisoned, and kept to hard labour Now, in reply to this argument, he would declare, that there was no such punishment for any great crime in this country, as imprisonment and hard labour. What there might be hereafter, he could not tell; neither could he know what might be effected by the benevolent and patriotic labours of the honourable gentlemen in that House; but at present it appeared as if hard labour had always been considered by the legislature as insufficient to deter from crime, especially when the crime was likely to be attended by great pecuniary advantages. He was well aware that in other countries the laws against forgery were not so severe as they were in England But other countries had means of prevention which this country had not, other countries had means of detection and conviction, through the agency of their police, which this country had not, and which he hoped to God it never would have. In France and in other countries private forgeries were not punished by death; but by the law of France, and by its system of police, which never could exist in a country with a constitution like our own, crimes could, in the first instance, be more effectually prevented than in England, and in the second, more easi-

ly detected; inasmuch as the individual charged with them was compelled, by a kind of cross-examination, to confess his own guilt, which was never the case in England—except when an individual was unfortunately called to the bar of that House. No inference, therefore, ought to be drawn in favour of the present bill from the practice of foreign countries

Mr Buxton now came forward, in an elaborate speech, as the champion of the bill In considering whether any substitute could be found for capital punishment, he was perfectly ready to admit, that transportation was not one. "But," said he, "how does the honourable and learned gentleman assume that there is no other mode of secondary punishment, when we have annual returns from the office of the Secretary of State, giving the most flattering account of the success of another species of secondary punishment, namely, the Hulks? I am not prepared to state that that mode of punishment is in a perfect state; on the contrary, I entirely distrust its efficiency. But I am prepared to declare, that imprisonment, with hard labour and occasional solitary confinement, and constant inspection, and rigid discipline, is, in fact, the punishment you require."

Mr Buxton conceived, as the punishment of death had been justified only on the ground of necessity, that it must be tried by its effect in the prevention of crime. He would then examine its present effect upon England. "It appears," said he, "by papers which are now on the table of the House, that there passed through the prisons of this country in the year 1808, no less than 107,000 individuals. Some very considerable deductions, I grant, must be made from that number—some additions also must be made But, without entering into minor details, making, for argument's sake, so extravagant an abatement as one-fourth —still, what an army of delinquents remains! What a mass of criminality does it display! But these are only a part, and comparatively a small part, of the number of criminals. These are the offenders detected in that year; and to these must be added, the still greater number who, in that year, escaped detection. Conjoin these, the comparatively few, who are seized by your law, with those the many, who evade it—and then what a bulk and mass of crime does it open to us! 'But, prevention of crime is our object,' says the Solicitor-General. And let me ask him—let me ask any one who views the question as the honourable and learned gentleman has invited us to view it; not as a matter of party, but fairly and impartially—whether he can pretend to see in that mighty mass of guilt and infamy—in that enormous concourse of persons who are ever ready to invade the peace, and who always live by preying on the industry and property of the community—any proof that crime has been prevented? In this metropolis alone there are from eight to ten thousand children, who earn their daily bread by their daily misdeeds—who now, indeed, live by petty pilfer, but who are growing in guilt more rapidly than they are growing in years—who are ripening into a greater capability of mischief—who are passing through an apprenticeship, which, as it will disqualify them from becoming useful members of society, will fit them to become, for a time, the terror, and then the disgrace of your country—and who have yet to revenge on society, its inattention and its carelessness. 'But, prevention of crime is our object' Then, I appeal to any man of competent judgment in the House, whether he can perceive, amidst these seeds of future delinquency—in this store and provision for the succession

of criminals—in this multitude of poor wretches, who are rearing for no other purpose than to supply your gaols, your penitentiaries, your hulks, your colonies, and, finally, the gibbets of your country with their victims—any thing like a proof of the efficiency of your law?" There was not a foreigner of distinction who had attended to the subject, who had not been shocked at the number and audacity of crimes in this country Such foreigners might well be supposed to ask, Has your law done that which you expected from your law? Are your houses safe? Certainly not Are your streets safe? Certainly not Are your gaols empty? Certainly not Is life more secure, and property less endangered here than elsewhere? Certainly not. Has crime decreased? Certainly not Has it remained stationary? Certainly not Has it increased? It certainly has—and in a prodigious rate.

Mr Buxton then went over the series of British history, the examples of foreign Europe, and of America, and the recent phenomena of crime and criminal legislation in this country, in order to shew, that a law which exceeded the just severity of the case, was always inefficient, and that a mitigation of penalty produced a diminution of crime. "Crime," said he, "has increased in England, as compared with every other country—as compared with itself at former periods. Now, what species of crime has increased? Those atrocious acts of violent robbery and murder, which, in all times and in all countries, have been punished with death? By no means These have decreased Where, then, has the augmentation taken place? Precisely in those lesser felonies which are capital now, but were not formerly—which are capital in England, but in no other country—that is, we differ from ourselves in former times, and from our neighbours at the present moment; first, by our peculiar treatment of certain offences; and, secondly, by the multiplication of those very offences under that very mode of treatment" He then animadverted on the careless and undistinguishing manner in which such laws had been accumulated "Though some records are handed down to us, of the discussions during the last century, in this House, upon a multitude of points of little significance, hardly a remnant remains upon the subject of criminal law—and yet, during that period, our penal code has been quadrupled Upon an average, every year of that period was marked by the enactment of a capital offence; besides those occasions in which the legislature, as if tired of the tedious retail method of confining one capital denunciation to one statute, had heaped together—and faggoted, for that is the only term which is applicable—fifteen or twenty of such enactments in one heterogeneous mass. I remember a case, in which, in the same paragraph, nineteen are thus bundled together; one of which is for a civil trespass to the value of sixpence, and another for the worst species of murder. All these acts, as far as I can learn, passed *sub silentio*, without debate, inquiry, examination, evidence, or any general interest." Mr B particularly urged, that under the present mode of administering English law, it was impossible to execute such a code as the present. "Either you must have a public prosecutor—(perhaps the greatest innovation on British jurisprudence that could be devised)—or you must reconcile those to whom the duty of prosecuting is now consigned, to the discharge of that duty; and this you can do only by reconciling this law to their feelings You must have that vexatious, meddling police, which the honourable and learned gentleman so solemnly deprecated, or you must revert to the good old English method

of repressing crime, which is to be found in the hearty disposition of the public to aid and invigorate the law The people of this country have strong feelings of humanity, and strong principles of justice; and, so long as the legislators keep within the bounds of moderation, so long the people will side with the law against the offender. But, when the bounds of reason and moderation are overstepped, as unquestionably they are in a multitude of your enactments, the feelings and the principles of the people, which ought to aid, withstand, and rebel against the operation of the law; and the very virtues of the people, their sense of true justice and humanity, which ought to be the strength of your law, go over to the enemy, investing the felon with chances of escape, and with hopes of deliverance, which would never have belonged to him, but for the severity of your law And, who are the auxiliaries whom you thus repel? The very persons whom, of all others, you ought to secure on your side—the just, the merciful, and the conscientious You depend upon the just man, but the just man sees, that his support is demanded to laws which violate all justice; which confound crimes the most venal and the most atrocious, by one terrible uniformity of punishment The just man sees this, and remains inactive You ask the merciful man to aid you But, how can any man who loves mercy contribute to the support of laws which set the common principles of humanity at defiance? And then, the religious man. I know that I am now upon delicate ground; and that this is neither the time nor the occasion, for entering very largely upon this subject; but I may say, that the number of persons in this country, who square their opinions by the tenor of the doctrines of their faith, is very great—that it has of late years much increased; and fervently do I desire, as I confidently trust, that every year will witness its augmentation. Can you afford to lose the religious man from your service? But, you do lose him. I hazard nothing when I say, that a very religious man cannot, in many cases, be a prosecutor. He deeply feels, that his own dearest hopes depend only on the pardon which he shall receive; and he knows, that the condition on which he asks forgiveness to his own trespasses, is the forgiveness he extends to the trespasses of others He cannot, therefore, for many crimes, call down upon his brother sinner the exterminating vengeance of the law The people have made enormous strides in all that tends to civilize and soften man, while the laws have contracted a ferocity, which did not belong to them in the most savage period of our history, and to such extremes of distance have they proceeded, that I do believe there never was a law so harsh as British law; or so merciful and humane a people as the British people And yet, to that mild and merciful people, is left the execution of that rigid and cruel law" Mr B. then went over the different items of the evidence, to prove that they tended to confirm all the conclusions which he had drawn He strongly called upon the House to exert themselves for the prevention of crime. "Let me not," said he, "be misunderstood, as I sometimes have been, as an advocate for the criminal, or the apologist of crimes No one views with more horror than I do the crimes which abound in this metropolis, but I may be excused, if I sometimes turn my attention from the effect to the cause—from the stream to its source—from guilt on the part of the criminal, to the neglect on our part, which occasions it Let no one imagine, that the picture which I have drawn, is rarely seen, or extravagantly coloured. I do believe, that if the real mysteries of crime could be developed—if the secrets which are

now hid in impenetrable darkness, by the united interests of police and criminal, could be faithfully unfolded to the eye of the public, scenes both of guilt and wretchedness would be disclosed, which would shame every man, who is not dead to every sense of shame—grieve every man, who is not insensible to all feelings of compassion—and rouse us all into ardent efforts for the prevention of crime." He had lately visited eight persons, and, if not deceived, he saw in those eight persons, eight victims to the cruelty of depending on ultimate punishment, instead of early prevention; each of them had begun with petty offences, had enjoyed a long career of unpunished crime, had been led, step by step, from one dark deed to a darker, till he had attained that degree and measure of wickedness, which called down the exterminating vengeance of the law. He finally characterized the system now acted on, as a system which, "having in its favour Mr Wyndham and Dr Paley, has against it, Johnson, Franklin, Pitt, Fox, More, Bacon, Coke, Blackstone, and a multitude of others—divines, moralists, statesmen, lawyers,—an unrivalled phalanx of the wise and good. A system which has against it the still stronger authority of practical men, who draw their conclusions from real life. A system which has against it the still stronger authority of the common law of England, which, if wrong now, is wrong for the first time. A system which has against it the still stronger authority of experience and experiment, in England, on the one side, in Tuscany, in America, and elsewhere, on the other. And, finally, a system, which, in its spirit and its temper, is against the temper and the spirit of that mild and merciful religion, which 'desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live'"

The motion was supported by Mr T. Smith, Mr R. Martin, Dr Lushington, Mr Nolan, Mr Wynn, Mr W Courtenay, Mr Wilberforce, and Sir James Mackintosh It was opposed by Mr Bright, the Marquis of Londonderry, and the Attorney General.

The committal of the bill was finally carried, by 118 to 74

On the 25th May, the report of the committee was received, and the amendments proposed by it agreed to.

On the 4th June, the third reading of the bill was moved, and, after some discussion, carried by 117 against 111 The Marquis of Londonderry, however, afterwards announced, that he meant to divide the House on the question, "that the bill do pass"

Sir James Mackintosh exclaimed against this, as a most unworthy manœuvre, after many of the friends of the bill had left the House, never expecting a division at so unusual a stage

Lord C however persisted, and the bill was then negatived by 121 against 115 It was thus lost for the present session

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL ECONOMY

State of the different Branches of National Industry—First Debate on the Subject—Mr Baring's Motion relative to the Currency—Mr Gooch's Motion relative to Agricultural Distress—The Timber Trade—Mr Wallace's Plan for a New Code of Navigation Laws.

THE condition of the country, in respect to the various branches of national industry, was still deeply marked by distress Manufactures had, indeed, experienced such a measure of improvement, that labourers, in all their different branches, found now employment, though at wages very barely sufficient to afford the necessaries of life, while the profits of their employers were, if possible, still more scanty The extreme cheapness of provisions, however, disastrous as it was to agriculture, afforded to the other classes the means of support upon even a slender income It was upon the landed interest, therefore, that the weight of public distress now peculiarly fell, and petitions for relief were poured in without number from this respectable and influential class of the community. They were not willing to admit, yet were scarcely able to deny, that everything had already been done for them which the circumstances of society admitted of, and that neither ministers nor the country were prepared to grant any more extensive monopoly than they now enjoyed.

The subject of national distress was first discussed at length, on occasion of a petition presented by Mr Dugdale, on the 9th February, from the merchants, inhabitants, and tradesmen of the town of Birmingham. The petitioners represented, that the present state of their trade, and consequently of those numerous classes who were dependant upon it, was deplorable In order to get more accurate information as to the state of Birmingham in this respect, a committee was appointed by the petitioners some time back to inquire into the consumption of meat, beer, and other necessaries, in the town, as compared with the year 1818; and the result was, that a most material diminution of the consumption of such articles was found to have taken place, and this, it was unnecessary to add, had existed principally among the lower classes Though there was some improvement in some articles, yet that, in the main branches of the trade, there had been a diminution of 25 per cent; the consequence was, that the capitalists were withdrawing their capital in the trade, and the workmen, in most instances, got employment only for three or four days in the week The

depression, he feared, arose more from general than local causes.

Mr Lawley seconded the motion. He had heard with pleasure, and was not disposed to contradict, the statement of ministers, as to the improvements in many parts of our trade, but, if he were to rest his opinion upon what he knew of the state of the trade of Birmingham, it was not such as would bear out those statements which had given him so much satisfaction

Mr Littleton observed, that if similar inquiries to those made in Birmingham had been instituted in the south-west of the county of Stafford, the same results would have been found He believed, though the petitioners only hinted at it, that if a committee should be appointed, it would be found that a great part of the distress complained of, would be found to have resulted from what had been, he would admit, very properly done by his Majesty's government with respect to the metallic currency. The petitioners did not attribute their distress to the cessation of the war, but, though unwilling to dissent from so respectable a body, when he considered the very great extent to which the trade, in articles of military furniture, had been carried on in Birmingham, the great quantity of swords, guns, stirrups, and other such articles, which were constantly in demand; when he considered the large armaments which were fitted out in every part of Europe, and the liberal assistance which was given by this country, when he considered the great bodies of militia which were kept up for so long a time, and when he recollected the increased demand which those circumstances must have created for articles in the Birmingham trade, he could not but conclude that it would require many years to fill up the chasm caused by the cessation of such a demand The dulness of the iron trade appeared also in a great measure owing to the depression of agriculture He considered it, therefore, of importance that something should be done to assist the agriculturists, as that would, no doubt, effect a material improvement in the business of the manufacturers Any improvement of the agricultural interest, however small, would be most important; and he sincerely hoped that the serious attention of government would be turned to it He thought that some relief might be afforded by a revision of our system of taxation.

Mr Curwen considered the depression of so important a branch as the iron trade as a clear proof of the general distress of the country Some kind of cheering hope had been held out, when it was stated that an improvement had taken place in some branches, but he would ask, was this of such a nature as to encourage a hope that a favourable change was about to take place in the state of the country? He believed not, and if his Majesty's ministers should consent to inquiry into the subject, he thought it would be found that there was more ground for alarm than for hope It was believed that the increase in our cotton manufactures was a proof of this growing improvement If, however, that were to be looked upon as an improvement, the workmen would, as on other occasions, have turned round and demanded an increase of wages, but surely that had not been the case He looked upon that increase as the result of a speculation from which no general benefit to the country would be derived. It was his fear that government had not taken the pains to make themselves acquainted with the real state of the country It had been said elsewhere, that 16,000,000*l.* of taxes had been remitted since the peace, but the fund from which these could have been paid had been reduced much more than in proportion. He had no expectation of benefit from return to a system of restriction upon cash payments. The

remedy which he thought would be an effectual one was this,—a decrease of the interest to the fundholder He said this was the only remedy, and the present was the time when the question could be fairly met His own situation as an agriculturist was this —He had been for a long series of years engaged in agricultural pursuits, and he thought he might say of himself, that he had never been considered a hard landlord; but, notwithstanding, he had almost all his farm lands offered to be given up to him In the dreadful situation of the country, it was the duty of every member, independently of all party feelings, to support any member, and to co operate in any measures, where any prospect of relief was presented. Some members were afraid of parliamentary reform — some of Catholic emancipation; he was afraid only of the period when the great majority of the people would have nothing to do, and therefore nothing to fear

Mr F Robinson was convinced, after the most deliberate consideration, that a repeal of the act for the resumption of cash payments would be highly inexpedient. The resource which had been alluded to by the honourable gentleman opposite, was one of fearful consideration It might be palatable to many, but it would be pregnant with the utmost danger, forcibly, by an act of legislation, to reduce the rate of interest on the national debt Such an expedient might give temporary relief, but it would create more evil than could be calculated. When they thought of its effects, not on the great fundholder, but on the small fundholder, who wrapped himself in perfect confidence, when he thought of the faith pledged for his income—when they thought of the infinite evils of breaking faith with the public creditor, they could not view such a project but with the utmost possible alarm. Great and pressing as the difficulties and distresses of the country were, he did hope that the House would not be hurried into rash measures that might produce incalculable and irreparable mischief.

Mr Baring complained that the last speaker had evaded the main question, by confining his notice to one single proposition of Mr Curwen. Upon that subject, indeed, he agreed with him, (Mr Robinson) He could see no honesty or honour in a measure that would—notwithstanding the great war carried on for so many years—notwithstanding the exertions made during the war—and notwithstanding that the country had been relieved from taxation during the war by borrowing—point out a fraud on the public creditor as the means of relief —Mr Curwen having interposed, and said that he proposed such a measure only under the impossibility of doing otherwise, Mr Baring declared, he knew no other inability to prevent keeping faith with the creditor but the debtor having paid all he had At the same time, Mr B considered the petition as applicable to the general state of the country. It was singular, that we were now in our sixth year of peace, without one of the great interests of the nation being in a settled state, and without anything like prosperity, except in the speech from the throne. How was it that things were in this state in the sixth year of peace? The effects of the transition from war to peace had subsided; yet every branch of trade, and manufacture, and agriculture, was carried on at a loss, and none could tell where this state of things would end A very considerable part of the distress, he was convinced, arose from the nature of the currency. He did not mean to say, that we ought therefore to return to an unlimited paper currency; he only wished to call attention to the danger of a departure from a proper standard. That departure had undoubtedly produced extravagance in the public expenditure for

which we were now suffering so severely, and increased the public debt to an amount so enormous, as to make a return to the right standard extremely difficult. Yet he was of opinion that the produce of the soil was not of much less value now, when the quarter of wheat was sold for sixty shillings, than it had been when the price was eighty It was less relatively to nominal pounds sterling; but a quarter of corn would now buy as much cloth, or as much iron, as when it sold for eighty shillings. If they supposed a man to have had no debt, and to have now an income of 60*l.* instead of 80*l.*, he was in the same relative situation. But unfortunately many farmers who have but small sums of capital, had been induced, by the rise in the prices of corn, to take farms under mortgages for a large portion of the price In consequence of having thus tampered with the currency, many honest farmers had not only lost all their property, but were themselves in jail. The Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to be very much puzzled to reconcile the diminution of revenue with the increased consumption of exciseable articles. For his part, he saw no difficulty at all in this apparent contradiction The fundholder, and all who had fixed incomes, found that every 100*l.* would now go as far as 150*l.* formerly. He thought, therefore, that the increased consumption of exciseable articles was entirely on the part of those who had fixed incomes. He meant not to cast any odium on particular classes as drones in society; he would only illustrate his argument:—The enjoyment of the drone in society had increased, while everything connected with agriculture and commerce was diminished in value He would now very shortly advert to the measures which he should be disposed to recommend in a committee. He would willingly give all that permanency to the currency as now established, or in a course of being established, which was requisite to the security of the public creditor It might hereafter be shewn, however, that perhaps, by the present system, the cord had been stretched a little too tight. It might even be shewn that the 1*l* sterling was now a little above its nominal or ordinary value This was manifest from the rise in the foreign exchanges; and he himself could entertain no doubt, as he said before, that the cord was a little too tight, and the obligations of the bank rather too peremptory When he said this, he hoped he should not be misunderstood, or supposed to be advising, with justice in his mouth, an act of injustice. If what he recommended could be shewn to be unjust, he should be one of the last men to press it upon the House; but his persuasion was, that by perpetuating the system of the honourable member, (Mr Ricardo), with a temporary relaxation, the present difficulty might be materially lessened, and that another obvious means of relief and increased facility would be, to enable the Bank to pay its notes either in silver or gold, at its own option

After a few words from Mr Western, vehemently calling for relief to the agriculturists, Mr Ricardo rose, and expressed his dissent from Mr Baring's opinion, that the fall of prices was general, and that the cause arose from changes in the currency. He believed that the fall in corn had been severe beyond measure, whilst there had been no fall with regard to many other articles, or at any rate, no fall in the least degree similar, or that could be readily traced to a similar cause. If the prices of bullion were referred to at former periods, it would be seen that the price of corn had altered to the amount of 25 per cent He was surprised to find his honourable friend making a statement, from which, if correct, it must be inferred that the

distresses began at the moment when the last change in the currency took place. Now, if he looked back to the price of bullion in the flourishing year of 1818, and compared it with the present price, it would be seen that the difference did not exceed 6 or 7 per cent. To this extent other prices might have since been affected, and he had no doubt, though without the means of ascertaining the fact, that there had been a considerable reduction of prices in other countries. Wine had fallen here, and so had cotton goods, but he believed that fall was not more than equal to that which had occurred in most parts of Europe. In the year 1816 the price of gold was at 4*l.* an ounce In the following year it was 4*l* and 6*d* In the year 1818 bullion still did not rise above 4*l* 2*s* and 4*l* 3*s*, and in the year 1819, when the plan which he had the honour to recommend was adopted by the House, it was at 4*l* 1*s* The question then before the House was, whether it was advisable to return to the old standard, or to take the existing market rate, which was then about 4 per cent above that standard, as the measure of value in future; but his honourable friend had argued on this subject as if bullion had been at that time, as it formerly was, at 5*l* or 5*l*. 10*s* an ounce If, instead of being at 4*l* 1*s*., bullion had been much higher, he should not have proposed a recurrence to the mint standard What he was anxious about was, not to restore the old, but to establish a fixed standard; for, however desirable it might be to a body of merchants or bankers to possess the power of raising or lowering a fourth or fifth the value of the currency, and to make 3*l* 17*s* 10½*d*. at one time, equivalent to 5*l* at another, it was a power destructive of every engagement, and finally ruinous to every interest With regard to the depression of agriculture, he believed it was a good deal owing to the laws which were enacted for the purpose of protecting it. It was certainly desirable that those engaged in the production of corn should have a vent when an excess of supply existed. When two or three good harvests followed in succession, we might, if prices were at all on a level with those on the continent, export it after a fall of three or four shillings a quarter; but at present there must be a destructive fall before it could be sent abroad Neither could he agree to the plan of allowing payments to be made in two metals, either in gold or silver. This appeared to him to be a complete departure from the true and sound principles of currency. No currency could be of the same value perpetually, any more than other articles could always retain the same price Gold bullion, however, was the commodity which varied the least, and if a contract was made to pay 100*l.* at a future period, the contract would be most faithfully performed by the payment of that sum in gold; but it might suit the purpose of the debtor to pay it in silver, whilst, by so doing, the creditor would sustain a loss. The two metals seldom maintained the same proportion to each other long. The price of the one might rise, while that of the other fell. So the Bank, being now under an obligation to pay 60 ounces of gold, would enable a person who received it to propose more, or a greater nominal amount of commodities, than he would if he paid in silver. The relative value of the two metals had varied since the act of Parliament, but what was the cause of that variation?—It was this:—the Bank, being a timid body, seldom clinging to the true principles of circulation, had taken alarm, and had made great and unnecessary purchases of gold, although they found, by experience, that no person applied to them for any

Mr Baring defended his views, ex-

pressing conviction that the recent change of currency had been much more than 6 or 7 per cent Every great commercial state on the continent had made a double tender, one of gold, the other of silver. The business of the great Banks of Amsterdam, Altona, &c was conducted on this principle One was undoubtedly a standard that might be more pleasing to the critical eye of his honourable friend, when he discussed those subjects mathematically in his closet. But for what useful purpose of life could they adhere to the single tender, when the double tender was evidently one that afforded much greater facilities, and answered the purpose of the public creditor equally well?

After a reply from Mr Ricardo, and a short remark from Mr Hume, the debate closed.

In pursuance of the views now announced, Mr Baring afterwards, on the 9th of April, brought forward a motion, "That a select Committee be appointed to consider the provisions of the act of the 59th of his late Majesty, c. 49, and to report their opinion to the House, whether it would be expedient to make any alteration in the said act, so as to alleviate the pressure which its operation is producing, and is likely to continue to produce, on the various branches of public industry.' After a debate of considerable length, however, it was negatived by a majority of 141 to 27

Although the agriculturists were unable to point out any specific or promising plan for their own relief, there still prevailed amongst them an anxiety to do something, or at least a reluctance to the idea of doing nothing Impelled by this feeling, Mr Gooch, as their organ, brought forward, on the 7th March, a proposition for the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the subject. He trusted that the honourable gentlemen who usually opposed the agricultural interest—and especially that individual amongst them who was so highly distinguished for his knowledge of political economy, (Mr Ricardo,) would permit the committee to see what good they could effect by their deliberations. Trade and agriculture were so interwoven with each other, that they appeared to him but as one interest; and he had always deemed it wicked to consider them as jarring with each other The petitions on the table were signed by more than 100,000 persons, and were not got up in streets and ale houses, as had too often been the case recently,—were not signed by women and children,—but by the yeomanry of the country—the heart's blood of the state—the most loyal and independent part of his Majesty's subjects If our greatest enemy wished to call down upon our heads his heaviest curse, he could not call down upon them a heavier than this—that the prayer of these petitioners should be allowed to pass unnoticed. He was sorry to say, that he did not expect that any great relief could be extended to them under the present system of corn laws, for there was something radically wrong in them—there was some unseen defect, in short, they did not work well. He instanced the warehousing system, in consequence of which, 800,000 quarters were continually liable to be thrown into the market; a danger suspended over the head of the farmers, like the sword of Damocles, by a single hair. To shew the importance of agriculture, he stated the returns of property made by the owners and occupiers of land The owners of land returned 4,297,247*l*, the occupiers 2,176,228*l*., making a grand total of 6,473,475*l*. The property returned by the trade, was two millions and upwards He did not mention this for the purpose of drawing any invidious distinction between the trading and the agricultural interests of the country, but to shew

that the proportion which the land bore to the other branches of the public revenue, was as three to one.

Sir E. Knatchbull, in seconding the motion, did not think the agriculturists had any reason to complain of ministers. He looked with jealousy chiefly to the mercantile interest, and to the general suspicion which any proposed alteration in the corn laws was apt to excite in the nation. But he could assure the House, that the agriculturists had no wish to raise the price of corn; for if they had come forward to injure the interest of others, they never could be entitled to the support and assistance of that House All that they wanted, was some measure that would conduce to the general advantage of the whole community. When such were the difficulties with which the agriculturists had to contend, he might perhaps be asked, why did they presume to call upon the country for assistance? He would mention the reason It was necessity—a necessity arising from the general distress which prevailed among them He did not conceive that the present distress could be imputed to any excess of production; indeed he knew extensive tracts which had been thrown out of cultivation. The causes which, in his mind, were likely to produce such distress, were of a very different nature. The difficulties of the farmer had compelled him to bring his corn earlier into the market, when he sold it to disadvantage. Then came the thrashing machine, to which he was not at all indebted. This threw too great a quantity of grain into the market, and therefore lowered the price of it That, however, was not the chief cause of the present distress of the agriculturist; it was more attributable to the large importation of corn which had taken place two years ago The present prices of grain were certainly to be traced, in a great degree, to the extraordinary quantities imported two years ago; and it was a great error to imagine that the effects of such importations were not felt for a considerable time afterwards. He objected to the warehousing system, on the ground that its tendency was to occasion a repetition of this evil. He trusted that every possible reduction would be made, and suggested that the committee should have a certain power of inquiry into the means of diminishing the public expenditure. He neither wished any change in the currency, nor any violation of faith with the public creditor; but thought that each class should bear its share of the common burden. Here he could not help noticing a remark which he had heard elsewhere, and which was, in substance, that the landed property of the country was mortgaged to the full extent of the national debt This proposition he begged leave to deny; landed property was no otherwise involved by the claims of the public creditor than other species of property; nor had the fundholder anything like a specific lien upon a real estate. As far as he was at present enabled to suggest any practical improvements, or point out any sources of relief, he should say—that great benefit might be expected from the system of taking averages more fairly, and especially if Ireland were included. He thought also that there might be a small addition to the duty on imported oats. It appeared to him, with regard to protecting duties generally, that they should be formed on a graduating scale, always bearing a proportion to the prices in the home market These were the only alterations in the corn laws which he felt disposed to recommend.

Mr Robinson, though he had opposed last year the going into a committee, did not think, when there was so general a feeling of distress, that he could be accused of inconsistency, in agreeing to it now. He had no wish

to restrain it from any financial inquiries; and he had the satisfaction to find, from the speeches of his two honourable friends, that, with reference to two subjects, which had been antecedently discussed, it was not proposed to advert to them, and that neither was it in contemplation to disturb the laws relative to our currency, nor to look for relief through the medium of any operation on the public debt

Mr Curwen made a speech, in which, disclaiming the moderation, and the courtesy towards ministers, which had been studied by the mover and seconder of the address, he called loudly for the most vigorous and decisive measures for the relief of the agricultural interests. He called upon ministers to remove some of the existing burdens, to prevent the complete and irremediable ruin of the nation The farmer, at present, lost not less than 3*s* by every bushel of grain he raised On the part of the agriculturists, he disclaimed the wish of any price for grain that could bear hard upon the manufacturers A too high price was against the interest of the farmer; and a too low price against the interest of the mechanic. When the members for Nottingham and Southwark were about to sound an alarm through the land, he begged to ask them if the low price of victuals had at any time produced comfort to any branch of the community? The want of a fair market for the productions of agriculture, was the ruin of all the other markets in the kingdom. The President of the Board of Trade had recommended countervailing duties, in order to put the British grower on a fair footing with his foreign competitor. That was all that was required; but this must be granted He (Mr Curwen) had had an opportunity of seeing the great landed proprietors of Poland, who told him that 8*s* per quarter would prevent loss; but that 12*s*. a quarter would amply remunerate the grower there. Without such countervailing duties, then, how could the British grower compete with a man who was made wealthy by selling his grain at 12*s* per quarter? It had been said that the poor soils ought to be thrown out of cultivation; but surely this recommendation proceeded from those who had looked at the subject very superficially. The annual produce of grain upon poor soils, might be estimated at 1,500,000 quarters, or about two months consumption, and if this were abolished, from whence could an adequate supply be obtained? Any man who remembered the miseries of 1796, must look with terror at such a proposal Besides, these poor soils were cultivated by 300,000 labourers, whose productive labour amounted to six millions of money, and in what way was that sum to be added to the enormous amount of existing poor-rates? Or in what way were those labourers to be sustained, if they were thrown out of employ? He would not shrink from repeating what he had said on a former day, though the House had not borne him out in it, that, according to the first principles of society, this House had not the power to make an exemption of any species of property from taxation Whatever bar there might appear to be to taxing the funds, he would maintain, that not to tax them was a fraud upon the people of England The noble lord and his colleagues would find themselves, ere long, compelled to change both their tone and their system Economy they must adopt, for the nation would compel it. Not the economy of candle-ends and cheese-parings, but a real, effectual, and substantial economy The noble lord must then become the most radical of all the radicals, unless, like the despots of France, he and his friends determined to stand opposed to the wishes and to the interests of the people It was useless to go into the commit-

tee, unless the members came out of it with a strong report, that would compel ministers to grant what was required.

A number of short observations were made by different members

Mr Bennett said, the committee would be worse than a delusion, if its object were merely to raise the price of bread He did entreat of those gentlemen who came forward to support the present motion—those gentlemen who had lent their aid to keep up the existing system—that system—by its fruits it should be known—under which the very blessing of abundance was considered as a curse, he did trust that the gentlemen, who, on every side—government, opposition, or neutrality—were rising one after another, and describing the sheet anchor of the country, the agricultural interest, as in such a state of depression, or rather in such a state of ruin, that scarce any measure could be devised for its salvation, he did call upon every one of those gentlemen to watch their time, and to take their measures Within a few days, the first great grant of money—a grant for the support of a numerous army—would be submitted to the House of Commons Let the honourable members who advocated the present motion, come down to the House and vote against that grant, and then the country would be enabled to judge of their sincerity

The censure implied in the beginning of Mr Bennett's speech, was indignantly repelled by Mr Western. It was well to talk of foreign supplies; but he would put it to the honourable member who had last spoken, whether foreign supply had ever been found sufficient when England had been visited with scarcity at home. Possibly a reliance upon her own agriculture might raise the price of bread to England a little beyond the cost at which it might be obtained from the foreign grower; but that additional price was the price to this country, of security, and of independence—of a security, which, he trusted, he never should see sacrificed to any visionary project of feeding the country by the sale of its manufactures. Bread now was cheap in England, and yet the labourer was in a state of great wretchedness; and he (Mr Western) did firmly believe that, taking a view of the prices throughout Europe, in those countries where bread was cheapest, there the labourer, for himself, had the least share of it The condition of the labourer was to be tried in this way—not what price does he pay for particular articles, but what quantity of the comforts or necessaries of life, will his daily wages enable him to purchase?

Mr Ricardo, to whose opinions on this subject, references full of jealousy and alarm had been repeatedly made, rose, and delivered his sentiments at some length Averse as he always was to speak of himself—for which he had now very sincerely to claim the indulgence of the House—he did beg to say that he was not a mercantile man —not a man of funded property—but that his property was in the lands which he held; and his interests, therefore, were bound up with those of the other honourable gentlemen, who had that night addressed the House. He also begged to say, that when he spoke in his place there, he spoke as a member of parliament; and he did not look at the particular interests of landlords, or tenants, or farmers, it was his duty to look further; and accordingly he disdained to have in view any other question but the great interests of the whole community. The great principle upon which they should go was this—to make the price of their corn approximate as nearly as possible to the price it bore in other countries. He was more sanguine, undoubtedly, than many; but he was not

such an enthusiast as to suppose that, under present circumstances, they could reach at one step this great and true principle of all corn trade Although a duty on the importation of corn would, in his opinion, not be so wise a measure as the approach to that system which he had suggested, as constituting the true principle of a corn trade; yet he did think that a permanent duty upon importation would be a much wiser measure than that which had been proposed and advocated — Taxation, undoubtedly, was a very great evil; no man was more ready to deprecate the present system, and extent of taxation, than he was, but how did it operate? Take the commonest article of trade; a hat for instance If the hat were taxed, the price of the hat rose of course. Enemy as he was to all taxation, he must say that it was not to taxation only that he attributed the distresses of the farmer, and they who did so, attributed the evil, he thought, to a wrong cause. The honourable member for Cumberland, in his argument against the importation of corn, had proposed this question as an insuperable difficulty—"Can we grow corn in England on the same terms as the foreign grower?" To this he (Mr Ricardo) answered, "No, and for that very reason I would import it." Something had been said on the subject of the national debt. He had no particular individual interest in it, because he derived no revenue from it; but he would say, that the landed interest, the agricultural interest, the trading, and every other public interest, were pledged to the public debt.

A committee was accordingly appointed, and, in the course of the session, produced a report, the most material heads of which are inserted in the Appendix. Without being able to point out anything that could afford immediate relief, or by which the price of grain could be materially affected, they suggested some modifications, tending to prevent sudden vicissitudes or revolutions in trade. There was nothing in these at present to call for any urgent attention, but in the following session they afforded the basis of some change in the existing legislative arrangements.

The present session was marked by several measures connected with the commercial economy of the nation Upon this subject, so far as general principles were concerned, a remarkable harmony pervaded the different parties in the House That liberal system, developed in so masterly a manner by Smith, was generally acknowledged to be the only sound rule by which the intercourses of trade could be regulated; and the restrictive measures against foreign commodities, to which national antipathy, and narrow views of interest, had prompted all the European nations, were felt as clearly defeating their own object. It was at the same time acknowledged, that a cautious and gradual system, and a respect for existing interests, were necessary, even in bringing back affairs to their natural state, and in withdrawing that artificial support, upon which great manufacturing and shipping establishments had been founded

The timber trade was one of those to which, under the impulse of national jealousy and hostility, the old mercantile system had been recently applied. A duty of 3*l* 5*s* per load, had been imposed upon Baltic timber, while that of our North American colonies had been entirely exempted The former, however, was both superior, and burdened with a much more moderate freight, so that the nation paid a higher price for a worse quality of this most essential article Mr Wallace now brought in a bill, in which the liberal principles were applied to a certain extent; a duty of 10*s* per load being laid on the colonial timber, while that

from the Baltic was to pay only 2*l* 15*s* A preference, seemingly still less justifiable, was also retained in favour of Russian, over Norway deals

This measure was objected to on different grounds, from opposite quarters Sir H Parnell wished perfect freedom and equality to be introduced at once into this and every other branch of trade He wished to move, "That from and after the 1st of January 1825, the duty upon all foreign timber imported into the united kingdom, shall be 2*l* per load of 50 cubic feet. And that the duty upon all foreign deals imported into the united kingdom, from and after the same period, shall be 2*l* 5*s* per load of 50 cubic feet, the same to be charged on the cubical contents of the said timber."

Mr Bennett also wished to give his public aid to that great principle of free trade, which alone could relieve the country from its present difficulties The House ought at least to take the first favourable opportunity of putting one branch of trade out of the trammels in which it toiled, and the committee would bear in mind, that this was not a trade which had been established for centuries, it was not like the silk trade, for instance, it had only been established since 1807, or 1809 He wished the committee to bear in mind that they were not legislating for Russia, for Norway, or for Canada—but for England They were bound to examine in what way they could bring the article of timber into this country at the cheapest rate If he could shew, as he thought he could, that it could be procured from Russia and Norway, for one-half less than from Canada, he should be making out a case which must satisfy the committee

Sir M W Ridley, on the other hand, was not one who thought that they were bound to look to the interest of the consumer alone They were bound also to take into consideration how the seller and the importer would be affected by the measures they were about to adopt. The Canada timber was less subject to dry-rot than that of any other country · A Mr Hay had given it in evidence, that he put down gate posts in 1792, made of Canada timber, and upon taking them up in 1814, found them entirely free from dry-rot, and in a serviceable state for the common purposes of timber. This was undoubtedly an advantage well worthy of attention There were 1200 sail of shipping yearly employed in the American timber trade, and if the high rates of duty were adopted, only one-half of that number would be sent out The diminished consumption and outfitting of those vessels would create a loss to the country of 150,000*l*

Mr Sykes enforced this view of the subject, by stating that the American timber trade was carried on by British shipping, but three-fourths of the Norway timber trade was carried on by foreign ships, and the other quarter by British Even if all British ships were employed in the Norway trade, it would be carried on by one-third of the number of ships employed in the American

Lord Althorp thought, as long as the colonial system was kept up so long ought protection to be afforded, in such a degree as not to do more hurt than service to the subjects of this country At the same time, he could see no occasion for the preference given to Russia over Norway.

Mr Robinson also thought much regard due to our colonies, which he conceived ought rather to be considered as an integral part of the kingdom, than as an appendage, having only a remote interest in common with the mother country. As to the shipping interest, he trusted Parliament and the

country would never be so ungrateful as to forget that to it we owed the glory of that navy,

"Whose flag had braved a thousand years
The battle and the breeze"

He denied that either their interests, or those of the North American colonies, were compromised by the proposition before the committee

Mr Baring, while supporting the general principle of free trade, conceived that it could not be carried farther in the present instance, than it was by Mr Wallace's bill The question was, whether the rate of duty proposed by the right honourable gentleman, was such a rate as would increase the trade to the Baltic, without destroying that to America To him (Mr Baring) it appeared that this would be the effect of the proposition before the committee, and if the duties were to be altered to a greater extent, that change should be made gradually, because, when they had created a great interest, like that of the shipping, it was not to be let down all at once As to the question between Norway and Russia, it was exactly the same as that between Canada and the Baltic, and therefore he should not discuss it at any length

Mr Ricardo, on the other hand, urged, in the strongest manner, a closer approximation to the general principles of political economy They had been told that they ought to go to the best and cheapest market, and also that the timber of Norway and Russia was better and cheaper than that of America, and yet they were recommended, as a practical measure, to take the worst timber at the dearest rate! His honourable friend, (Mr Bennett,) in a speech full of the soundest argument, and as yet totally unanswered by the gentlemen opposite, had shewn, in the most convincing manner, that by buying our timber from the northern powers of Europe, we should save 400,000*l* annually on the purchase of that article, and consequently that we were yearly incurring a debt to that amount, in order to put this money into the pockets of the shipowners If a bill were introduced for the specific and avowed purpose of granting a sum to that amount to the ship owners, he would much rather agree to it than to the resolutions now before the committee, for in that case the capital thus given to them might be more usefully employed At present it was a total sacrifice of 400,000*l*. a year, as much so as if the ships engaged in the coasting trade should be obliged to sail round the island, in order to give employment to a greater number There were exceptions to be made in cases of very old established arrangements, but this American trade was not one of them, it was of new date, and mainly sprung out of a quarrel between England and the Baltic powers. It was then said, that the latter would withhold her timber, and that the colonial trade must necessarily be encouraged in Canada What once occurred, might again happen it was said Well, then, his reply was—if ever it should happen, it would be time enough to pay the high price.

Mr Marryatt took a directly opposite view of the subject, and said, "I have listened with great attention to the discussion before the committee, and more particularly to the doctrines of our new school of political economists; but must confess that they have produced very little conviction on my mind. Hitherto ships, colonies, and commerce, have been considered as inseparably connected with each other, but, according to the new system, we are to sacrifice our ships and colonies, in order that our commerce may go on the better without them Whenever these philosophers will illustrate their theory by experimental proof—if, for example,

they will take off two legs from a three-legged stool, and make it stand on the remaining one leg more firmly than it before did on all the three, then, but not till then, will I become one of their disciples Our trade with our own colonies, and in our own ships, we can always call our own, because we hold it independent of the will of foreign powers; but in trusting to a trade with foreign nations, we are leaning on a broken reed Have we already forgotten the continental system which, last war, cut us off from all communication with every port in Europe, and the non-intercourse and non-importation acts of the government of the United States, which excluded us from all America? Or do we flatter ourselves that what has been may not again be? If so, we reason in opposition to experience, and the evidence of facts, and to the true rule of judging of the future by the past Have we any reason to believe that the jealousy expressed by foreign powers of our commercial greatness, which they envy, and of our naval power, which they dread, is at all abated? On the contrary, has not increased cause of dissatisfaction been recently given on our part, to the great European potentates, by our declaration to every foreign court, that the principles laid down and acted upon in their attack upon Naples, are repugnant to the fundamental principles of the British constitution? It seems impossible that our good understanding with these powers can long continue, unless they adopt our notions of government, or we adopt theirs, events neither of which are very likely to happen. With such prospects before us, we are called upon, in defiance of every principle of sound policy, and with total disregard to the maintenance of our maritime greatness, to abandon a colonial trade in British ships, in order to encourage a foreign trade in foreign ships, and are desired to trust to the liberality of foreign powers for correspondent advantages in return, as if history was filled with examples of national gratitude, though, if such there are, they have escaped all my researches, while examples of the ingratitude of nations, for whom we have expended our blood and treasure, abound almost in every page" He objected also to some details of the bill, remarking, "Great Britain adopts various rules in regulating her duties on different commodities Some pay by weight, some by measure, some by tale, and some *ad valorem* Deals have always paid by tale, and the noble lord would now assess them in their cubical contents This I object to, in the first place, because any sudden or violent alteration of a long established system, is always attended with great injury to the interest of individuals, and therefore ought only to be adopted for very strong and urgent reasons The scale of duties proposed in the schedule, lowers the duty on Norway deals 1*l* 15*s* 8*d* and raises that on Canada deals 2*l* per load; a considerable disadvantage to Canada, which, if increased, would drive her deals out of the market altogether, and therefore, of two evils, I shall choose the least On the same grounds, we might be called upon to make endless alterations in our existing system For instance, oranges pay duty by tale, and the inhabitants of the Western Islands might as reasonably complain that their small oranges pay as much duty per thousand as the large oranges from Portugal, and request that in future they should all be measured, and the duty taken according to their cubical contents, as the Norwegians make this application with respect to their deals The honourable member for Shrewsbury reproaches those who advocate the cause of the ship-owners, with supporting a bad trade carried on in bad ships; and they have also been called rotten ships. In

order to show how far they merit these epithets, I have examined Lloyd's register book, and find that of 434 ships that arrived from Quebec last year, 183 are of the very first class, standing letter A, 249 are of the second class, letter E, (vessels fit to carry any cargo to any part of the world,) and only two stand the third letter, I The truth is, that we have now no rotten ships, and very few old ships, because, as even good ships cannot all find employment, the bad can of course expect none, and therefore are broken up much sooner than usual"

Notwithstanding so many objections from opposite quarters, the bill was passed, and the amendments negatived by large majorities In the Lords, however, it met with a pretty rough reception from the friends of the liberal system

Lord Lauderdale regarded the bill as altogether a colonial job He went over the report of the committee, and ridiculed the exceptions made from the general principle, which was laid down in the commencement of that document It had been shewn, that the money received for Canada timber, only paid the expenses of cutting and sending it to be shipped The bill, therefore, protected no interests, except those of the proprietors of a number of old ships, and of 150,000*l* of capital, which had been laid out in purchasing new ones He condemned the preference given to Russia over Norway by the bill, at the very time that Russia was augmenting the duties on British merchandize

Lord Ellenborough would not obstruct the bill, lest the shipping interest should prevent any improvement at all, but he certainly expected that ministers would have acted with more firmness in this business The effect of the bill would be a premium to introduce the dry-rot into every building in the kingdom

The Marquis of Lansdown also felt extreme regret, that after all the consideration that this question had undergone, after the assurance so often given by the noble Earl, that whenever any arrangements should be adopted for the purpose of effecting an alteration in this system, they should be on a complete and permanent scale, after four or five years of peace had been suffered to elapse, upon that very ground, without any thing being done, their lordships were now informed by the noble Earl at the head of his Majesty's government, that they were to pass a bill, founded, indeed, in an erroneous policy, but one which established a system a little better than what had hitherto been acted on

The bill, however, passed, though with a lengthened and elaborate protest against it by Lord Lauderdale

It was not, however, only in a solitary and limited measure of this nature, that the important principles developed in the reports before the House, were to be brought into action On the 25th June, Mr Wallace moved a most extensive series of resolutions, having in view the complete revisal of the British navigation laws. The object was, to simplify and consolidate, and thereby to render more beneficial, the general commercial law of the country It was intended to do this, by relieving it from a great part of that immense mass of legislation which successive centuries had heaped on it, and by removing those contrarieties and contradictions, by which almost every portion of the existing law was rendered obscure, and difficult of application There were not much short of 2000 laws relating to the commerce of the country And when he added, that these acts were passed during almost every period of our history, under various circumstances, sometimes of a mercantile, and sometimes of a political nature, and that the principle of

restriction had always predominated, and been enforced by the strongest measures, he thought it could not be deemed extraordinary, if there appeared in laws so passed, a great deal of confusion and contradiction These laws might be divided into two parts, as they applied to our intercourse with foreign nations, and to that carried on between different parts of the country Pursuing these different heads, a general consolidation of the commercial law of the country, would be effected, and instead of being dispersed over the whole of the Statute book, it might, without much difficulty, be brought together in a comparatively moderate compass That which was doubtful would be cleared up—that which was beneficial would be retained—and that which was useless or injurious would be rejected A system of law would thus be produced, more befitting the present situation of Europe, more liberal to foreign states, more beneficial to England, and in every respect more worthy of perhaps the greatest commercial nation that ever existed The object he had in view, was to enable every man to know distinctly what the law permitted, and what it prohibited, so that it would be in his power to enter into any branch of the trade of this country, unchecked by any of those apprehensions by which he was at present beset The apprehension that he might incur some penalty, with the existence of which he was unacquainted, but which perhaps lay darkling in the deep recesses of the Statute book, the fear that some obscure enactment might be enforced to rob him of his profits, and consign him to ruin, paralysed the efforts of the merchant The system of our navigation laws had been adopted with a view rather to naval power, than to the encouragement of trade Much undoubtedly had been done in favour of commerce, but, whenever there was an opposition between commerce and navigation, commerce was always obliged to give way, and was made a sacrifice to the interests of navigation This formed the foundation of all the navigation laws To the general wisdom of those laws, he was happy to bear testimony, at the same time, he must lay it down as an established principle, that commerce and navigation were inseparably connected with each other The only true foundation for a powerful marine, was a great, flourishing, and extensive commerce They ought, therefore, to use their best endeavours to extend the commerce of the country, and to remove every barrier that stood in its way, by rescinding all those restrictions which could possibly be given up It was his desire to afford a greater degree of freedom to the shipping of this country, and also to the vessels and commerce of foreign states He wished to give to the commerce of foreign nations, the freest possible access, for the purpose of exportation from England In short, he was desirous of making this country a general depot, the great emporium of the commerce of the world He intended to propose repealing all the laws, nearly two hundred in number, which had been imposed prior to the 12th of Charles II, in which the principle of the navigation laws was embodied The great object of these laws had been accomplished, namely, that of making us the greatest maritime power in the world The importance of such an object could never be overrated The proposition was unquestionably correct, that they who possessed the dominion of the seas, would command the commerce of the world, and to command the commerce, was to command the wealth of the world It might also be added, that to command its wealth, was to command the world itself He had two alterations to suggest, one in the desire of giving additional freedom to foreign

commerce, the other, with the same view towards our shipping interest As the navigation laws at present stood, there were certain of them, by which Holland, the Netherlands, and Germany, as to a variety of articles, were absolutely excluded from our commerce, with respect to some of those articles, indeed, they were cut off from all intercourse with this country in any shape whatever These restrictions he should propose to do away. He could consider them only as the vestiges of that ancient distrust and enmity which, he trusted, in these days existed no more This country could no longer entertain the same ill will towards them Holland, for instance, had ceased to be the object of national jealousy—to be the emporium of the world, or the general carrier between all nations The intended removal of certain other restrictions, which were imposed upon our commerce with Russia and a part of Turkey, would have the effect, he trusted, of leaving the trade of this country, with the whole of Europe, infinitely more free and open than it at present was By the bill in question, he should propose to make one or two additions only to what were called the enumerated articles of the statute of Charles II , and to articles so enumerated, would then be confined all the restrictions which would, for the future, be laid on the mutual commerce of Great Britain and those countries There was another restriction which he also should propose to remove It regarded our commerce, both with European powers and those of other continents. The enumerated articles which he had before alluded to, could, under the existing laws, be imported into this country only in ships of the countries which such articles were the produce of, or in British bottoms This part of the law he was desirous of repealing, considering it to be of the most vexatious operation. If a merchant, resident in any one of such countries, was desirous of exporting any article, the particular produce of it, and had a vessel in the port, but belonging to another state, he could not send it hither by that vessel, but must take up a British one, or wait till he could charter one of his own nation This was at once vexatious and injurious to the foreign merchant, and inefficient for the purposes of our own law The only effect of this arrangement was, to make the assortment of the cargo more tedious and inconvenient The whole of this enactment, therefore, he proposed to do away Another defect of the present system arose out of the division of Europe into kingdoms It was well known that there was a great difference in that division, between the age of Charles II and the present time, and the consequence was, that the law made distinctions which were perfectly unfounded What was France in that day was not France now Thus, goods might come from Calais, a port of France, without any interruption; which very goods, as coming from Dunkirk, now equally a port of France, were absolutely prohibited by the existing law Could anything be more absurd? To avoid the recurrence of similar anomalies, he proposed to destroy these distinctions of countries altogether, and to substitute for them the distinctions of articles of produce. As the law now stood, the produce of Asia, Africa, and America, could only be brought to this kingdom from the ports of those continents directly But he should suggest the alteration of this ordinance If Asiatic produce, for instance, were shipped from a port in America, he should propose that it be permitted to be exported from America hither. After all the inquiries he had been able to make, he was perfectly convinced that the foreign ship could not trade cheaper than the British ship, but, on the contrary, that, if

the British ship had only fair play, it could trade much more cheaply than the foreigner He would propose farther to secure the preservation of our shipping by the imposition of a duty on all property imported from Africa, Asia, or America, in European vessels not being British, and this duty would be put on, not for the purpose of raising any large revenue from it, but with the view of preventing such importations from becoming an habitual trade His grand object was, to make Great Britain the general depot of the commercial produce of the world, and with this view, he wished to extend, as far as possible, the benefit of the bonded and warehousing systems His ultimate aim would be to do away with every kind of prohibition that now existed in our commercial system Experience had proved that the principle of prohibition had no effective operation It raised the price of the article, and yet the article under that disadvantage, and with an additional cost to cover the risk, always obtained a sale, instances were not wanting, where a commodity was sought after while the prohibition existed, but of which, when the prohibition was removed, the consumption ceased It was to be lamented that the foreign trade of this country had long laboured under very severe burdens, which were in a high degree injurious to it

The only speaker who made any serious objection to the system here laid down, was Mr Marryatt, who stood up as firmly as ever, the advocate of the old English mercantile system. "Wherever," said he, "our navigation laws and colonial policy are the subject of discussion, they are constantly attacked by certain gentlemen, who take every opportunity to preach up the new, but delusive and dangerous doctrine, of free trade, and the abolition of all restrictions upon foreign competition This course has been pursued on the present occasion Those who condemn our navigation system, and apply to it the epithets of prohibitory, exclusive, and illiberal, do injustice to its true character. The leading feature of that system is, that all commodities shall be imported into Great Britain, either in a British ship, or in a ship belonging to the country of which those commodities are the growth, produce, or manufacture,—a regulation founded on the most perfect justice and reciprocity, because it places the foreign ships of every country on precisely the same footing as British ships, in the trade with those countries, and therefore is a principle of which no power can reasonably complain. It is certainly not favourable to the growth of our own foreign commerce, or of that opulence which arises out of it; but while it makes commercial profit a subordinate object, it lays the foundation of naval power, by securing to British-built ships, manned with British seamen, the carrying trade of all the commodities Great Britain imports from those countries which have no shipping of their own, which was the case when the navigation laws were first passed, with Asia, Africa, and America The exceptions which have since been made in favour of America and the Brazils, are not relaxations of the navigation system, but merely adaptations of it to existing circumstances, placing those countries, as soon as they had shipping of their own, on the same footing as the European powers, which possessed shipping when the navigation laws were originally passed The great object of our ancestors in framing those laws was, to establish a belligerent navy Although not commercial profit, but naval power, was the original object of those who framed our navigation laws, yet both have been most successfully accomplished by them, in the result From the extent to which Great Britain has raised her manufac-

tures and her colonial acquisitions, her imports and exports far exceed those of any power on the globe, and, under her navigation system, all her commerce with her colonies and dependencies, and those states in different parts of the world, which have no shipping of their own, is carried on exclusively in British ships manned by British seamen. The principle of this system is at once simple and comprehensive, and may be said to apply the greatest possible extent of human wisdom to the widest possible range of human action Surely, then, we should be careful not to touch with rash hands, a system, the excellence of which has been proved by the experience of a century and a half, and under which we have attained to a degree of commercial prosperity and naval power, unprecedented in the annals of history It is highly important to bear in mind, that at some future period we must be again engaged in war We shall then have no nursery for seamen, and our maritime power must be transferred to those nations who will have become possessed of our carrying trade Thus the result of the proposed measure will be, the ruin of our naval greatness, which will decline gradually in time of peace, but suddenly in time of war. In the former state, we shall die by inches, in the latter, we shall be put out of our pain at once We are placed in an artificial state of society, and this must be taken into account in all our calculations."

Mr Marryatt particularly entreated the House, and seemingly with considerable reason, to consider how our colonial interests would be affected, by the adoption of this new system. "At present, our colonies trade with Great Britain alone; they are bound to take everything from her, and send everything to her, in British ships, she giving them, in return for this double monopoly, a preference of the home consumption of their produce in her market The committee, in their report, talk of preserving the supply of our colonial possessions with British manufactures under this new system, but surely this must have been written without due consideration But if on the principle of buying everything where it can be bought cheapest, and taking off all restrictions merely protective against foreign competition, you deprive them of the protection they now enjoy in the home consumption of your market, it will be impossible for them to exist, restriction and protection must go together; either both must be continued, or both abandoned The colonies must have the same privilege of free trade, in the purchase of their supplies, which you claim in the purchase of your produce, and under the same free trade, must be allowed to find other markets for that produce which you repudiate"

Notwithstanding these observations, no attempt was made to divide the House against the resolutions

CHAPTER VI

MISCELLANEOUS PROCEEDINGS.

The Constitutional Association.—The Ionian Islands, and Sir Thomas Maitland —Grant to the Duke of Clarence —Proceedings at Manchester —Bishop of Peterborough's Examination Questions —Libel in John Bull Newspaper —Dissolution of Parliament

We shall conclude our account of the present session with some detached proceedings, which could not with propriety be included under any of the above general heads

The licentiousness of the press had of late been loudly and repeatedly complained of, and had, indeed, during the course of the proceedings against the Queen, risen to an almost unprecedented height The observation of it gave rise to a measure, as to the expediency of which some doubts may be entertained A number of distinguished individuals, attached to administration, but not connected with it, formed themselves into an association for the purpose of prosecuting publications deemed libellous against state or church The danger was, that such an association, or rather the officers to whom its concerns were intrusted, having prosecution for their especial charge, would be disposed to press to the utmost extent a measure which, on the contrary, it were desirable to contract within the narrowest eligible limits. The assuming into the hands of individuals a function which naturally belongs to the executive government, though it could not, under the circumstances, be deemed an unconstitutional encroachment, seems yet to detract from the weight and dignity of the crown, and to imply an insinuation, as if it did not possess energy sufficient for the support of its own rights If the society, indeed, could take off from government the odium which such proceedings, even when necessary, can with difficulty escape, they might be considered as acting generously, but we rather suspect, that, while the odium of a prosecution under this form is greater, it will all in the end light on the government, in whose cause, and under whose understood approval, the measure is undertaken

This subject was brought repeatedly before the House, partly upon motions by Mr Brougham, and Mr S. Whitbread, partly by petitions from individuals who had become the objects of prosecution

Mr Brougham, on the 23d May, said he did not mean to contend that, by law, this right was vested solely in the Solicitor and Attorney-General, for he held that, by law, any man could proceed against another for a public offence After the many associations which had existed for the prosecution of felonies, it would be hard to raise a question with respect to their strict legality But the proceedings of these associations had always been confined to the prosecution of felonies, or of those odious crimes which came more immediately under the cognizance of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, which, at the time of its establishment, was strongly objected to, on the ground of its impropriety, but with respect to which, he wished to be understood to give no decided opinion. The Society for the Suppression of Vice, however, by confining itself to the object of its institution, and connecting itself with no party, had done less mischief than had been apprehended at the time of its establishment, and had even effected some good. But there was a society now in existence, of a perfectly different nature, which meant to proceed to the prosecution of political offences, to be selected at the discretion of political feeling. The prosecutions were to be conducted by means of a common fund, and no person of respectability could be fixed upon as immediately responsible for the acts of the society He did not mean to say there were no respectable individuals connected with the association. He knew, indeed, that there were many most respectable persons connected with it, to whom, on the present occasion, he wished to address himself only in the language of expostulation He believed that many persons had entered into this association, without seeing how likely it was to be perverted to improper objects—without being aware that they were lending the credit of their names to proceedings, of which, if they did not hereafter repent, he, knowing their sound constitutional principles, should be surprised Hitherto the office of prosecuting for offences, to which this society professed to oppose itself, had been vested in the Attorney-General, who was open to the influence of public opinion, which restrained him in the exercise of a very high, and, if not coupled with responsibility, a very dangerous political power Indeed, by many persons, it had been deemed too high a power to be intrusted to any individual, however responsible for the exercise of his trust But here was a set of individuals, under the name of a Constitutional Association, proposing to exercise the functions of the law officers of the Crown, without any responsibility whatever Mr Brougham afterwards complained that the association was not satisfied with convictions—with the surrender upon oath of the dangerous stocks of the venders of seditious publications, and with expressions of contrition to Mr J B Sharp, but the parties were required to enter into an engagement never again to drive the same trade! Now, here he must protest against a society of this sort attempting to erect a jurisdiction of its own, as it were, to indict sundry persons whom it might choose to proceed against, and then threatening the party with all those further measures which could be resorted to by an association backed by ample funds, and supported by all those powerful names which it put forth The person proceeded against, was menaced with ruin if he held out, for defence would amount to ruin with such an association, and the party could have nothing else to look to, unless he came forward and express-

ed contrition to Mr J B Sharp, at No 6, Bridge-street, Blackfriars, and unless, too, he gave up his whole stock of libellous and seditious publications, and even this would not avail him, without taking an oath to do so no more Not the least evil of that association was, the circumstance of its numbering among its members about 40 peers of the realm, who were thus lending their names to a set of men capable of using them for these purposes, for he was far from supposing that those noble individuals, in so doing, were aware of the consequences of such a permission, which was, that, in the end, they were to be the judges in the last resort of those who were to be prosecuted by such attorneys as these men were He afterwards declared that he thought it was not legal to go to a man's shop, and say to him, "If you don't agree to certain terms, I will indict you —If you do not admit your guilt, give up your property to us, who have no right to ask it, and who cannot take it without violating the law,—If you do not, besides all this, take an oath never to repeat that which we pronounce to be a legal offence,—we will inflict legal vengeance upon you, and you must endure the consequence" To do this, was to act more like a robber than anything else—more like a violator, than a protector of the law This he held to be illegal If this was the law of England, he had not so studied it, if it was a part of the constitution, he did not understand it If these proceedings were to be supported by peers, who might ultimately have to pronounce upon them judicially, then all he could say was, that there never was an association put down as illegal, half so much to be reprobated as this society—this terror to all good men, commonly known by the name of the "Bridge-street Gang." There were, however, many persons belonging to the society for whom, individually, he entertained a very high respect To those he should prefer using the language of expostulation, rather than that of reproach He believed they had been drawn into the society by designing persons—that they were the tools of others, for whom no one could possibly feel any respect "Church and state," "social order," and "sacred institutions," were fine phrases, but, in the present instance, they meant that it was necessary that a parcel of individuals should swell their own purses, by using those of other people

Mr Scarlett also urged, that the effect of this society's labours was, in fact, to libel the Attorney-General They implied that that officer had not been sufficiently vigilant, and that the society, therefore, undertook to remedy his defect of duty Now, what would be said of a private gentleman, who should go about the country indicting offences, committed, not against his interests, but against the interests of the public? What an extraordinary thing this would be!—a sort of perambulating Attorney-General! In the cases in which the Constitutional Association interfered, the prosecutors were unknown, no names were avowed, and some of them might be upon that very special jury which would have to try the offence charged against the defendant There was no person who had considered the question in a legal or constitutional point of view, who would not concur in condemning such an association He afterwards urged—suppose a society were formed to conduct excise prosecutions, and another for customs, and a third for other departments, let the House consider the state in which society would become invol-

ved.—the nation would be cast into parts, and every individual employed in hunting down his neighbour

Mr S Whitbread conceived that the association was opposed to the spirit of the constitution, and had a tendency to corrupt justice at its source The legislature was bound to protect the people from acts of oppression He trusted the House would not shut its eyes to the proceedings of the association, because it acted under the mask of law, and was patronized by peers, old women, and his Majesty's ministers. The two attorneys, Sharp and Murray, wished to become prosecutors for the public, and to dispense with the exertions of the Attorney and the Solicitor-General He trusted that all persons of respectability, who had without due reflection become members of the association, would withdraw their support from it If, as he had reason to believe, there were any persons present, who had become new subscribers or share-holders in the concern, he hoped they would dissolve their connexion with it, before they became bankrupts in reputation The association might be compared with the inquisition of Spain it was nothing more than an inquisition on the press He acknowledged the power of the press, when employed in a good cause, but when used for a bad purpose, he thought it operated as a cure for its own evil The association pursued its victims by a system of treachery and deceit, and if suffered to exist, he knew of no greater evil that could afflict the state

On the other side, the Solicitor-General would take it upon himself to say, that in that society there was nothing illegal, or at all contrary to the spirit of the constitution If this were contrary to law, he should be glad to know who were the judges of the law—whether that House or the ordinary judges of the land? Was the House to believe that the association of persons for the prosecution of offences against the law, was in itself a violation of that law? He maintained that such an association was not illegal, of the policy of it he was not giving any opinion, but he challenged his learned friends to say that it was illegal to prosecute persons guilty of the crime of libel It had been said, that the Attorney-General might if he pleased enter a *nolle prosequi* to the indictments of the society He did not profess to be in the secrets of the society, but he had been informed by a learned friend who sat near him in the court the other day, that there were two cases of the most atrocious libel against the Sovereign, and he would ask whether those were cases in which a *nolle prosequi* ought to have been entered by the Attorney-General?

Mr Bathurst thought it was improbable that the society could have originated from the selfish schemes of a few professional individuals Had the association originated in this manner, it never would have been able to attract so much notice The very circumstance of its having been alluded to so frequently in that House, proved that the society had done, and was doing, a great deal,—of good or evil, he would not pretend to say. He was of opinion, that the more the attention of the country was directed towards the society, by the discussions in that House, the more the subscribers to it would increase At the time of the French Revolution, a society of a similar nature to the present was allowed to exist, and gave rise to no doubts as to its legality. The society to which he alluded obtained the sanction of an eminent legal authority, first in his place in the House of Peers, and afterwards in his judicial character on the bench

Another eminent legal authority, Lord Kenyon, had also given an opinion in favour of the legality of that society No single transaction of the association had been considered a fit subject for legal investigation, he thought it unreasonable, therefore, that the House should be called upon to put it down.

The Attorney-General viewed it as a most extraordinary doctrine urged on the other side, that the Attorney-General was the only public prosecutor in the country If he brought a case of libel into court, he was constantly assailed by the defendant or his counsel with the charge that he was proceeding by an unconstitutional mode—that he had filed an information *ex officio*, instead of leaving it to the ordinary course of indictment, prosecuted by any private individual who might think fit to proceed. In this country there was, in fact, no such officer as public prosecutor, all prosecutions were instituted by individuals, though in the name of the King, and Lord Loughborough, as was well known, in the year 1792, stated, that it was the duty of every member of society to enforce obedience to the law So far from the Society for the Suppression of Vice being illegal, his lordship at that time, when the press teemed with infamous productions, asserted that those individuals were meritorious in the highest degree who entered into an association for the purpose of suppressing them The Society for the Suppression of Vice had been instituted as long ago as the year 1787, and its object was, to carry into effect the King's proclamation against vice and immorality, yet, from that day to this, no man had dreamt of attacking it on the ground of illegality It was very true that the constitution had armed the Attorney-General with a particular power, but the crime of libel was as well known to the law as any other, and individuals or societies had as much right to prosecute for it as they might for felonies, or for the publication of obscene prints and books If the Attorney-General instituted a prosecution which terminated unfavourably to him, the party accused had no more remedy against him than it had against this society, and the indictments presented by the latter were at least attended with one advantage to the defendant If the Attorney-General proceeded *ex officio*, the information for a libel was filed on his sole opinion, but in cases of indictment by the society, a grand jury intervened, and was called upon to decide whether the publication complained of, was, or was not, a libel Besides, if Mr Murray or Mr Sharp conducted themselves improperly, the party aggrieved had his remedy against them

The motions had no result, except that of allowing to the respective parties an opportunity of expressing their opinion

On the 7th June, Mr Hume introduced a motion, censuring the manner in which the Ionian Islands were administered by Great Britain, and particularly the conduct of Sir Thomas Maitland, the governor. The honourable gentleman gave the following view of the system pursued — It was well known that the islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo, had been originally conquered by the British arms in 1809, and that of Santa Maura in 1810, and it could not be forgotten that it was not till the year 1815 that they had been formed by the Congress of Vienna into an independent state, under the protection of the King of Great Britain By that treaty it was determined that they should constitute a single free independent state, with the name

of the United States of the Ionian Islands Under the guarantee of his British Majesty, they were allowed to retain their form of government until a constitutional charter could be drawn up by themselves, which charter was to make them secure of person and property, under the government of his Britannic Majesty In that situation were the islands in the year 1816, when Sir T Maitland went there as Lord High Commissioner His arrival was hailed by the inhabitants with the utmost joy, as it was expected that he would immediately preside at the formation of a free constitution Instead, however, of meeting with a protecting hand from Sir T Maitland, a very early act of his government was, to disperse the senators, who had been sent from the other islands to assemble in Corfu. They remonstrated against their dismission, but in vain, he sent them from the island, and left the senate under the control of one Teotochi, a creature of his own, to whom much of the former misfortunes of the island were to be attributed That individual, whom the French government had removed from the islands, and whom Sir James Campbell had refused to employ on account of his former misconduct, Sir T Maitland took into the public service, at the same time that he dismissed from it the Senators Flamburiari, Roma, Metaxa, Stiffanizzi, and the Secretary Cazzaiti, whom he stigmatized in one of his proclamations as inert and corrupt Now Flamburiari was a man of unblemished character, and had afterwards been reinstated in his office in consequence of a letter from Lord Bathurst to the Lord Commissioner. He was now, however, in a dungeon at Zante, because he had signed a petition to his Britannic Majesty, complaining of the arbitrary conduct of Sir T. Maitland He mentioned this fact to shew the despotic manner in which that officer attempted to govern the Ionian Islands The House should know that anything like liberty of the press was not permitted in the Ionian Islands, indeed, but one press was allowed to exist, and that was at Corfu, under the eye and direction of government, so that the commonest advertisement could not be printed without being sent there Sir Thomas, notwithstanding his boasted detestation of parade, had suffered himself to be addressed in terms of the grossest adulation, by persons who were always ready to worship the rising sun A triumphal arch was subscribed for in Corfu, to perpetuate services of scarcely two months continuance A colossal statue of Sir T. Maitland was raised in Cephalonia, a bust of him, by Canova, was placed in a public situation in Zante In Ithaca a monument was inscribed to him, and in Santa Maura he was honoured with a second triumphal arch. The consequence was, that those who had been active in these testimonials were selected for reward and office, without mentioning the bands of knights of the orders of St Michael and St George The greatest alarm had been caused in the island by a plot fabricated by Lepimotti, a clerk in the governor's service, who never was punished in any manner adequate to the offence He now came to the constitution given to the free inhabitants of this independent state, and he maintained, that it was a complete imposition and farce on the part of this government His first object would be, to shew that it was but a mockery of freedom, and, in truth, devolved the whole power into the hands of Sir Thomas Maitland. A copy of it had been laid upon the table two years ago, and it would be found to give the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, a senate or council of

ten members, with a president, and a legislative assembly of twenty-nine members, amounting to forty in the whole. Each island was to elect, as it was called, a certain proportion, for instance, Zante was to appoint seven members, but those seven were to be chosen out of fourteen names sent to them by the Lord High Commissioner The people refused to vote, they were indignant at such a farce of representation, and the independent parliament of this free people was in fact named by Sir F Maitland Nothing could be worse but the system of a Scotch borough, and the copy nearly rivalled the original Having met on the 23d of April, 1817, and gone through certain forms on that day, how did this independent body proceed with regard to the consideration and discussion occupying thirty-two closely printed pages? It was read over on the 24th, and, without any discussion, it was adopted, and signed on the 25th On the 5th of May, a deputation was sent to England with this glorious free constitution, in order that it might receive the sanction of his Majesty The Lord High Commissioner had the power of reversing the sentences of the judicial authorities, and indeed no judge could act without his sanction and approval To him was given, in short, the power of finally deciding every case that could be brought before any tribunal of the islands. He was nothing less than a Roman proconsul, the alpha and omega in every proceeding, with the advantage of screening himself from responsibility behind his underlings It was a complete despotism under the disguise of a representative government, it was more odious than the tyranny of Turkey or Persia, and was a disgrace to England. This power, assumed by the governor, had been exercised in the most arbitrary manner, and with rigour, which gave rise in several instances to serious revolts. Sir T. Maitland was answerable for all the blood that had been shed, and all the property confiscated, in consequence of the disturbances which resulted from his own ill government. The monopoly of corn, the exaction on salt, the rigorous system of espionage, were other grievances under which the islanders laboured The revenues, which amounted to 432,408*l*, might have relieved Great Britain from all expense in the administration, but for the scandalous profusion with which they were spent.

Mr Goulburn, in reply, stated it as the object of the treaty of Paris, that the Ionian States should enjoy a constitution founded upon their former constitution, but with greater advantages to themselves, and be placed under the protection of Great Britain He denied *in toto* that the object or intention was to confer on those states a perfectly free government such as that enjoyed by Great Britain Whatever defects we might see in the Ionian as compared with the British constitution, it by no means followed that it would be advantageous to the people of the Ionian States to transplant thither the pure British constitution. It was a very vulgar error in this country to call all systems of government tyrannical and oppressive, which did not exactly resemble the British, although they might be much more suitable to the people among whom they were introduced The fact was, that the character of the people of the Ionian Isles was such as would not allow of the introduction of a free government to be entirely administered by themselves. Some external protection was necessary to them Having been previously under the protection of Russia, they were placed by the treaty of Paris under the protection of England. It

was with states as with men There was a period in which they were not qualified to enjoy perfect liberty. In youth a human being must necessarily be subject to some restraint and guidance; and it was only when a state had become mature that it could safely be trusted with unlimited liberty. If in the constitution of the Ionian Islands there existed a frequent reference either to the Lord High Commissioner, or to the British government at home, he denied that Sir T Maitland had exhibited in his conduct, with respect to that reference, the slightest disposition to arrogate to himself any undue power As to the elections, he would ask if it was not Sir T. Maitland's duty to assemble (as he had assembled) in the primary council, all those from whose abilities and local knowledge he might expect to derive the most beneficial advice and aid? Let the House look at the names of those individuals It was impossible to select men of greater rank, property, influence, and other qualities calculated to render them competent to the execution of the task imposed upon them The proceedings against individuals had been all legally conducted, and were justified by the crimes proved against them In regard to the insurrection at Santa Maura, although the ostensible cause was the imposition of a new tax, the real cause was, the apprehension that the British government were on the point of sending the militia to the West Indies On the 29th of September, a large body of peasants in arms approached the town Instead, however, of repelling force by force, the commanding officer desired them to send the representation of their grievance in the shape of a memorial to Corfu To this they assented, but on the following day the resident induced several gentlemen to endeavour to appease the people, two of them, however, were arrested, and a constable was assassinated by the peasants, and that took place before it was possible an answer could be returned to the memorial It was not until the day after the assassination of the constable that Sir F Adam ordered a reinforcement of troops from Corfu On the 3d of October, the insurgents began the work of destruction, by rushing down on the town, and setting fire to a magazine. Upon this, the officer on duty very properly thought it necessary to act. The moment that the insurgents were defeated, all hostile proceedings were stopped, and the principal delinquents were arrested and brought to justice So far were the subsequent proceedings from being sanguinary in their character, that only four of the principal ringleaders were executed With respect to the disturbances at Zante, and the prosecutions which followed, the honourable member had contended that those prosecutions ought not to have been instituted, because the disturbances emanated from the act of government But even if that had been the case, he must deny that the disturbances were justified The fact was, that the disturbances originated, not in any alarm for the interests of the church, but in the alarm of those who feared that the property which they had iniquitously obtained, would be taken from them The governor had been active in suppressing the monopoly of grain, and had thus been the means of preserving the islands from famine, which otherwise they could scarcely have escaped.

A short conversation ensued, in which Mr Bennett characterized the constitution given to the Ionian Islands as a mere mockery, a trick, a juggle It was high sounding and pompous, indeed, something to the ear, a little to the eyes, but, in fact

—in substance—nothing; while Mr J P Grant was satisfied, that the more Sir T Maitland's conduct was inquired into, the better it would appear The motion was finally negatived by a majority of 97 against 27

In the volume for 1818, we had occasion to observe, when Parliament were arranging the incomes of the Royal Dukes, consequent upon their numerous matrimonial engagements, that the Duke of Clarence, being refused the extra allowance of 10,000*l*, asked for him on special grounds, declined accepting the 6000*l*, offered to him in common with his royal brothers This step, however, had given rise to inconveniencies, the nature of which may be easily conjectured, and which at length became so pressing, as to induce his Royal Highness to retract the measure He now, therefore, professed his willingness, not only to accept the addition offered by Parliament, but to receive the arrears which would become due, by reckoning from the year 1818 In the committee of the House, formed on the question, the Marquis of Londonderry said, he hoped there would be but one feeling in the House on the subject, and that, in order to support the dignity of the Royal Duke, they would suffer the bill to take its operation from the original period of the vote It should not be forgotten that his Royal Highness was the next brother to the Duke of York, and that this provision was absolutely necessary to support his rank and dignity. In fact, he required no more than was already granted to his younger brothers He did not wish to found this application on any personal comparison of the members of the Royal Family, but he could not avoid saying, that in that illustrious family no greater example of domestic propriety could be witnessed than that displayed by the Royal Duke, whose union with his amiable Duchess had produced blessings to themselves, and might be productive of great advantages to the nation

Mr Hume, though not prepared altogether to resist the grant, could not omit the opportunity of making a few strictures He had no objections to place the Duke on a level with the other Princes; but there was a grant of 2500*l* which he had, and the others had not; and therefore, 3500*l* was sufficient for the purpose With respect to any arrears, he should strenuously oppose them The Queen had formerly refused 50,000*l*. a-year, and only accepted 35,000*l* a-year; the Duke of Clarence had been also offered 24,000*l* a-year, but he then refused it. The arrears due to the Queen since her refusal were 90,000*l*. If it was right to give the Duke his arrears, surely the Queen ought to get her arrears also, but that circumstance entirely escaped the notice of the noble lord, when he lately proposed a provision for her Majesty. The conduct of ministers to another branch of this illustrious family was most reprehensible He alluded to the infant daughter of the Duke of Kent, the heir-presumptive to the throne She was supported by an individual, she was not allowed the smallest portion of assistance from the state. He conceived that some parliamentary provision ought to be made for her maintenance as well as for other branches of the Royal Family An annual income was, it was true, granted to her mother, but those who knew the expenses attendant on the high rank which it was necessary for her to maintain, would perceive that of 6000*l* a-year little could possibly be left for the support of the legitimate infant Princess He could not be answered by being told that the brother of the Duchess of

Kent had taken charge of this child of his own free will He looked upon the offspring of the Royal Family as the children of Great Britain, he thought they should, as such, be supported by the public, instead of being maintained as this child was now supported. With respect to his Royal Highness's domestic behaviour and private virtues, they might bear out the picture given of them by the noble lord, he could not, of his own knowledge, agree with, or deny, the assertions To these he did not advert, he looked only to the public conduct of his Royal Highness Would any gentleman stand up, and state manfully, that he would sit on the trial, almost for life or death, of a near relation? Would it not have been better, in every point of view, if the Duke of Clarence had shewn some of that delicacy which appeared to have actuated other branches of the Royal Family? He would appeal to the conduct of the Duke of Sussex. Report said, that a will had been made, by which his late Majesty's property was divided amongst his sons, the Duke of Clarence being one. This fact ought to be ascertained, before they increased his income; because, in the event of considerable property having been left to his Royal Highness, which might be sufficient, in addition to his present allowance, he could see no reason for calling on the House to add to his income

The Marquis of Londonderry explained, that the 2500*l.* had been granted to the Duke at an early period of life, to compensate for the want of any professional income, which his other brothers enjoyed His Royal Highness's income had been rendered inadequate, through the impossibility of residing abroad in consequence of the state of the Duchess's health, while in the case of the Queen there was no such change of circumstance As to the will of the late King, he believed he might say that it had not turned out to be an effectual one At the same time, he could assure the honourable gentleman, that, on a future occasion, there would be no hesitation to lay the matter before the House The fact was, that all those idle tales which were afloat about the 1,000,000*l* of property which his late Majesty was represented as having died possessed of, were the mere fabrications of ill-informed, or ill-designing persons. The property that his late Majesty did leave behind him was very trifling, not much exceeding 80,000*l*, and that amount was subject to many claims which might naturally be supposed to arise

After some conversation, Mr Hume withdrew his motion for reducing the grant to 3500*l*, making way for another, proposed by Mr Harbord, against granting the arrears This, however, was negatived by a majority of 119 against 43.

On a subsequent occasion, (June 18,) Mr Hume again pressed his amendment, which was negatived, first by 144 to 18, and then by 167 to 30

Mr Bernal then proposed a new motion, throwing out the arrears, which was negatived by 131 against 81

On the 15th May, after the presentation of numerous petitions, complaining of the proceedings at Manchester on 16th August, 1819, Sir Francis Burdett moved, that a committee of the House should be appointed to inquire into that subject. The honourable baronet supported this motion in a speech of great length, and the deliberations were continued for two successive nights, but an analysis of such long debates on so beaten a subject, could not, we apprehend, have much interest for

our readers The motion was finally negatived by 235 against 111

Lord King, on the 14th June, made a motion on a subject which had excited very considerable interest. It related to the mode of examining candidates for church livings, adopted by Dr Marsh, the present Bishop of Peterborough Lord King held in his hand a petition from the reverend Mr Neville, stating that he held two livings in the diocese of Peterborough, to one of which it was necessary he should present a curate. The Reverend John Green was accordingly presented He came forward with proper testimonials of character and ability He had already signed the 39 articles, and was ready to be examined, and to subscribe them again This, however, was not sufficient to satisfy the right reverend prelate opposite, (the Bishop of Peterborough,) who insisted upon answers to 87 questions, previously framed and printed, and, on refusal to answer them, signified his determination to exclude the applicant from the curacy This determination the petitioner remonstrated against, but the reverend prelate peremptorily refused to relinquish his demand He then appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he wrote on the 19th of June, but received no answer until the 7th of August, having, in the interval, written a second time to request a prompt decision The archbishop, in his letter, after apologizing for the delay in replying, by stating that he had been more than usually occupied, observed that there was no doubt of the right of examination belonging to the bishop of the diocese, and that that right was so obvious, that he supposed the applicant must have since complied with what the bishop required of him Lord King, admitting the rights of a bishop, still conceived he must be bound by some rules and principles, otherwise the decision was arbitrary. If a judge in Westminster-hall committed error, or was guilty of abuse, his conduct could be brought under the consideration of that House by a writ of error, and surely there must be some remedy in the case of misconduct by an episcopal judge The 87 questions of the right reverend prelate opposite, which were printed, sent by post, and answers desired to be returned in the same manner, could have no reference to ability, they were a test, and nothing else The noble lord read some of the questions, and argued, that, from their leading nature, it was impossible to regard them as anything else than a test, and if the right reverend prelate meant them as a test, his objection then was, that the law had provided a much better one, and that neither the right reverend prelate, nor the whole of the reverend bench opposite, had any right to impose another The 39 articles were intended by the law to draw a line, to a certain extent, about the church, and no other authority was entitled to alter that boundary. The bishop had boasted, that, with the knowledge of these questions, he had been promoted from one diocese to another, and seemed thus to hint that they had been adopted as a test by ministry Lord King had heard this new standard of doctrine described as cobwebs for catching Calvinists, and that it could give pain to nobody but Calvinists The comparison did not appear perfectly correct, for flies sometimes escaped from a spider, even after being entangled in his toils, but, with this cobweb, the unfortunate Calvinist must unavoidably fall under the fangs of his powerful antagonist He regretted that such a practice had been adopted, for nothing was more likely to create a schism in the church And

ther prelate might choose to put a different construction on the 39 articles from that given to them by the right reverend prelate opposite, and thus a spirit of dissension would be excited. It was, therefore, most important that the 39 articles, which might justly be called articles of peace, should be the only standard of doctrine. He referred their lordships to the history of the 39 articles, and observed, that there was reason to believe that they had been drawn up in a Calvinistic sense Upon the whole, he thought that a prelate of the church of England might be content with the articles of religion as they had been drawn up by the reformers of the church Certainly he never could have supposed that the right reverend prelate, who, he was told, was the greatest polemical writer of the age, would have been guilty of the imprudence of endeavouring to force on the clergy of the country a new standard of doctrine

The Bishop of Peterborough began by expressing his surprise that Mr Neville, having since filled up the vacancy in question by an unexceptionable candidate, should, six months after, come forward with the present petition. He then proceeded to the essential circumstances of the question in the following terms—"The case now submitted to your lordships is a case of pure theology For the questions, which the petitioner submits to your grave consideration, relate entirely to the doctrines contained in the Liturgy and Articles Now, my lords, an inquiry into subjects of this description, is an inquiry which I believe your lordships' House has never instituted on any former occasion The Liturgy and Articles derive, indeed, their authority, as standards of faith, from acts of Parliament, which require subscription to them But, if it were deemed expedient to revise the Liturgy and Articles, the revision would be referred either to the convocation, or to commissioners specially appointed by the crown For an inquiry into the truth or falsehood of religious doctrines, is not the proper business of either House of Parliament, though it would be presumptuous to say what they shall or shall not do Let us suppose, then, that the said theological inquiry were instituted in your lordships' House, and let us farther suppose, that the inquiry ended in this result, that it would be very desirable to make an alteration in regard to the said questions I apprehend, my lords, even in this case, that your lordships' House could not, consistently with the constitution of the established church, interfere for the purpose of correcting them, and, if not for the purpose of correcting them, much less for the entire removal of them My lords, I will state the grounds of this opinion The 48th canon, which requires an examination of curates before they are licensed, has prescribed no mode of examination whatever It has left, therefore, the mode of examination to the discretion of the bishop, and, my lords, it has wisely done so For, in every diocese, the bishop is most likely to be acquainted with the peculiar wants of his diocese, most likely to understand, and best able to judge of irregularities, either in doctrine or in discipline, to which his diocese may be exposed, best able, therefore, to determine what kind of examinations will most effectually check them. The examination required for a curate's licence, is required for the purpose of ascertaining whether his doctrine is "sound doctrine," the expression used in a curate's licence. Now the mode of examination which is best adapted to such a purpose, is unquestionably that which is best calculated to detect deviations from

sound doctrine And this is the object of my examination questions. These questions, my lords, are well adapted to the present wants of my diocese, they operate as a check on some partially prevailing irregularities, and, in the use of these questions, I exercise, I believe very usefully exercise, the discretion intrusted to me by the 48th canon But let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that these questions are objectionable. My lords, I make this supposition merely for the sake of argument. For the very same questions which I now use, I have used almost ever since I have been a bishop, and, though they have been well considered by very sound divines, I have never heard any objection to them, till a clamour was excited against them, about ten months ago, by a few persons in the diocese of Peterborough But, even on the supposition that they are objectionable, (which, however, I confidently deny,) I again ask your lordships whether it would be consistent with the constitution of the established church to grant the prayer of this petition? The canons are laws for the bishops and clergy, which, having passed the two Houses of Convocation, were ratified by the royal assent. If, therefore, the 48th canon shall be so altered as to remove the discretionary power which it now leaves to the bishops, the alteration must be made by the same authority which made the canon itself And, surely, my lords, as long as that canon remains in force, you will not endeavour to deprive a bishop of that discretionary power which he exercises by virtue of that canon". The bishop then endeavoured to shew, that the writing answers to questions, and signing them, could, with no propriety, be considered as subscription to a test "My lords," said he, "if no credit is to be given to my own solemn declaration, that I acknowledge no other standard of faith than the standard of the established church, a standard which I acknowledge, because it accords with Holy Scripture; and if that solemn declaration derives no support from the express references to the Liturgy and Articles contained in every chapter under which those questions are arranged, it was incumbent on the petitioner to produce some example, in which the answers to my questions really had been tried by some new, some private, some arbitrary standard If such examples exist, they are very easily found My examination questions are not answered in a corner I do not give them to be answered in my presence, and then pocket the paper, without giving the person examined an opportunity of making a transcript No, my lords, the questions are always sent to the persons to be examined, who give the answers at their leisure. If, on the receipt of the answers, I find any which are at variance with the doctrines of the church, I never reject without previous remonstrance. I shew in what manner the answer differs from the doctrine of the Liturgy and Articles I have sometimes succeeded in recalling persons to the standard, which they had unadvisedly forsaken, and those only have been finally rejected, who have persevered in answers which were irreconcilable with the doctrines of the church, as explained in its Liturgy and Articles, according to their literal and grammatical meaning

Lord Calthorpe, Lord Grey, and the Marquis of Lansdown admitting the authority, and respecting the character, of the right reverend prelate, could not but consider his conduct as dangerous to the peace of the church.

The Earl of Harrowby did not suppose the church intended to exclude

Calvinists, but he could not see how Parliament could now be appealed to

The motion was negatived without a division

We shall conclude with a proceeding somewhat below the ordinary level of history, but which caused a stronger sensation at the time than many events of much greater importance. We formerly noticed a periodical publication, (John Bull,) which set out on the plan of carrying on a series of attacks against a royal personage Being commenced at the moment when her popularity began to decline, it experienced that success which satire, when conducted with wit and talent, seldom fails to attract To vary the scene, it struck its darts at the different members of Opposition with a violence, or at least closeness, of personality, which did not fall short of the most irregular of those which issued from the opposite side The members of Opposition, however disposed, on general principles, to maintain the liberty of the press, have the feelings of men when it comes to cut across themselves This series of attacks was looked upon by them as utterly unprecedented and intolerable, and such as must, by every possible means, be put down

On the 8th May, Mr Bennet brought this paper before the notice of the Commons, on the ground of a direct attack made against his character as a member of the House The libel was contained in a comment upon the following paragraph, which had appeared in the Courier — "The following reply made by Mr Bennet in the House of Commons last night, was not distinctly heard in the gallery, and, in consequence, is very imperfectly reported in the morning papers It was given by the honourable member, on the observation of Mr Mackenzie, that the public press, in reporting the discussion on the army estimates, which took place on a former evening, had erroneously attributed to Mr Bennet a serious reflection on the conduct of the Lord President of the Court of Session. Mr Bennet expressed himself much obliged to the honourable member in affording him an opportunity of refuting what he had been misrepresented in the newspapers to have said in the debate to which the honourable member alluded. Mr Bennet denied that he had on that occasion cast any reflection on the conduct of the Lord President of the Court of Session in Scotland, or of those who had acted with him in the matter that was under discussion He regretted that anything which passed should have occasioned any unpleasant feeling to the Lord President and his friends" Upon this passage, the John Bull thus commented —"Now, the truth of this is, that the Lord President has a son, a gentleman of high honour and courage, who no sooner heard of Mr Henry Grey Bennet's speech, in which he reflected upon his father, than he put himself into the Edinburgh mail, and started forthwith for London, where having arrived, he sent Mr Henry Grey Bennet a message Mr Henry Grey Bennet referred Mr Mackenzie to that general vouchee for the whole party, Sir Ronald Fergusson, and the result of the communication was (as usual) an apology, which was made, according to agreement, on Friday night, in the House of Commons, by Mr H G. Bennet, but in so low a tone of voice, that, had it not been for the kindness of the Courier, it might not have been so generally understood, and perfectly appreciated, as we trust it is at present"

Mr Bennet began with expressing his anxiety not to interfere with the

liberty of the press If there was anything which could, more than another, keep up the high honour of public men in this country, and raise the standard of that honour still higher, it was, that, wherever the English language was read, their follies, their errors, and their crimes, were held up by the press to public animadversion. But everything good was liable to abuse, and there could be no greater abuse of the liberty of the press, than, as in this instance, to invent statements which had no foundation in fact, with the malignant design of representing a member of Parliament in the exercise of his duty, as mean, and base, and cowardly enough, to degrade his situation to purposes of detraction, and then shrink from the consequences by compromising his honour

Mr Mackenzie declared, that the comments were certainly false and malicious The fact was, that no apology whatever had been made; no apology could have been made; none had been applied for

The Marquis of Londonderry said, that the paragraph in question was certainly a breach of privilege, and, since the question had been brought before the House, the printer must undoubtedly be called to its bar

On the 9th May, Weaver, the printer of the paper, was called to the bar, but, though he owned himself the proprietor, he stated Mr Arrowsmith and Mr Cooper as having the chief management, and the latter as the editor. On the following day, Arrowsmith and Cooper were summoned, when Cooper owned himself the author of the paragraph The whole testimony, however, of these three persons was so confused and improbable, as inevitably to force conviction that they were mere tools, put forth to hide from view the real conductors of the paper

When the evidence was closed, Mr Bennet observed, he would say nothing of the falsehood displayed, of the perjury exhibited, of the shameful evidence given, by these mere creatures of straw, in the disgraceful exhibition which the House had witnessed Nor would he say anything of the character of the paper with which they were connected Its merits (if he might use the expression) were well known to the whole country; and there was but one opinion among honourable minds, namely, that it could receive its support only from persons of the basest, vilest, and most infamous nature · He repeated it, that, let those persons be whom they might, they could be none but the basest and lowest of their species By the rules and practice of the House, in breaches of privilege of this, or of a much less serious nature, there was one course generally adopted, namely, at once to commit the offenders to Newgate Since, however, he had the honour of a seat in Parliament, he had held and professed but one opinion on the subject of those summary judgments That which he had stood up to oppose in other cases, he certainly would not maintain in his own. He therefore moved, in preference, that an order should be given to the Attorney-General to prosecute

The Marquis of Londonderry, while deeply regretting the breach of privilege committed, thought it better that there should be a day's delay before passing sentence There were, no doubt, cases in which the Attorney-General was ordered by the House to prosecute; but he must maintain, that in this instance it was not the most proper way of vindicating the character and privileges of Parliament, to send these persons before a jury, loaded with the condemnation of such an assembly as that Was

that the proper course, now that a person, after examination, had confessed himself to be the editor of the paper? The honourable member, he thought, would be the last to desire anything vindictive or harsh

Mr Wynn was prepared to give an immediate negative to the prosecution It would be impossible for a jury to inquire into the truth of the representation Members of that House could not go before a jury to prove what they said in that House He could not consent, except upon the very strongest grounds, to depart from the usual practice of the House in such cases—the exercise of the privilege of committment He thought that, as an editor of a paper was now before them, they ought to proceed against him *instanter* by a committment for contempt

Mr Brougham took nearly the same view of the subject He would not say that there was no case in which it might not be more fitting for the House to proceed by prosecution at common law, than by committment, but this he would say, that, if the present case was not one in which they were entitled to commit, there was no instance on record in which the right of committment had been properly exercised In his opinion, the present was as gross a breach of privilege as had ever been brought under the consideration of Parliament It was as palpable an obstruction to the free and unbiassed exercise of the privileges of each individual member of Parliament, as could be conceived by the imagination of man It stood upon all the grounds on which former breaches of privilege had been declared such by the highest of authorities in the best of times, and, unless the House was determined to abandon every point on which their ancestors had insisted, he could not consent to negative their proceeding in the usual mode by committment.

On this subject, however, the opinion of the highest popular leaders was not altogether united. Sir Francis Burdett fully coincided in opinion with the noble marquis in the blue ribband, that it was impossible for the House to agree to the institution of a prosecution by the Attorney-General against these individuals, after having sifted and examined them in the most inquisitorial manner, by a process which, at the very best, was equivocal, and which would be most unjust and intolerable, if it were to send them for trial to a jury with a decision of that House against them, and with sufficient evidence taken from their own mouths to substantiate their guilt Besides, the Attorney-General, he begged leave to remind them, was not an officer under the orders of the House, he was an officer of the crown, and, being such, should they wish him to prosecute, they ought to commence by proposing an address to his Majesty—which, he was of opinion, they would think highly objectionable—that he would give directions to that officer to institute a certain prosecution in defence of the privileges of the Commons of England. He must confess, that he did not perceive that any privilege of the House had been violated The House possessed no privilege by which it could legally preclude the publication of such writings as were then before it As far as he could see, no breach of privilege had taken place, unless it were a breach of privilege to make a false report of a speech delivered in that House. But the paragraph in question was not a false report of what had occurred in the House, but of what had occurred out of it He fully agreed with the noble lord, that the mode of proceeding now proposed was highly unjust,

and added, that he had no doubt that the honourable member for Shrewsbury would be disposed, by his innate sense of justice, not to press a proposition upon the House which was likely to be so detrimental in its future consequences

Sir Robert Wilson again declared, that his honourable friend, the member for Shrewsbury, was making an attempt to drag to light that miscreant, that base and dastardly assassin, who, under the protection of the press, had been waging a savage and unrelenting war against all whom he conceived to be weak, defenceless, and oppressed Whatever might be the issue of the attempt, the gratitude of the House was due to him for having made it

On the following day, the debate was resumed, and Mr Scarlett opposed the measure, yet was fully satisfied that some means ought to have been resorted to to find out the author of the article He was the more anxious on the subject, because reports had gone abroad, and were very generally believed, that persons high in rank, and worthy (if such persons be at all so considered) of a seat in the councils of the nation, were lending to this publication their full countenance and support When such, then, was the belief abroad, he thought that his honourable friend was doing but justice to the House itself, to give it an opportunity of refuting the assertion, if it could be refuted, that such men held a seat amongst them

This idea was followed up by Sir Ronald Fergusson, whose only wish was, that the real author of the article in question could be discovered. It was indeed a new era in the history of this country to see a paper flourish, which had been started to blast the character of a virtuous and innocent woman, and it was an era still more new to find such a paper supported as it had been He wished to God he could believe that the worthless men who had appeared at their bar were the authors of the paragraph complained of, and of others which appeared in that paper, but there were certain articles inserted in it which led him to believe that they could not be the authors, but that the authors were some base and cowardly assassins, who, from birth and other adventitious circumstances, mingled in that society to which they were a disgrace

On this point the Marquis of Londonderry could not but observe, he regretted that the honourable and learned gentleman (Mr Scarlett) who had opened the discussion this night, than whom no member in that House was better acquainted with the principles of justice, and who ought to have that innate sense of justice which belonged to his profession, had suffered himself to make remarks which were calculated to throw slanderous attacks on unnamed persons, and which might give great pain and occasion much injury to persons to whom the speculation of the world might attach the slander. An honourable and gallant general (Sir Ronald Fergusson) who had followed, would forgive him also for saying, that, in expressing his indignation, he had been too partial He should have been happy, when torrents of libel issued from the press against individuals as dignified and as dear to the nation as any individuals could be, he should have been happy to have then perceived the spirit of generous indignation and loyal abhorrence which appeared on this occasion, he would have honoured the principle from which such indignation might spring But he could not admire the spirit which prompted indig-

nation only against attacks on one's friends, and regarded not the attacks on political enemies

Mr Scarlett, in explanation, protested that it had no more entered his mind to throw a general stigma on any party, or any class of persons, than it had entered the mind of the noble lord. He had heard people out of doors say, that the particular paragraph complained of must have been written by a member of that House He had heard no individual named He did not believe it had been written by a member, and his honourable friend (Mr Bennet) had vindicated the House from such an imputation by proving the contrary from the mouth of the author at their bar

Mr Bennet, in deference to the opinion expressed by several of his friends, begged leave to withdraw his motion

Mr Baring, however, conceiving that the House was thus left in an awkward situation, and that severe punishment was certainly due, moved the committal of Cooper to Newgate

Lord Castlereagh proposed an amendment, by which he was to be placed in the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, but afterwards withdrew it, and the original motion was carried by 109 against 23 In this minority, however, were included several of the most decided popular leaders

On the 11th of July, the Session was closed by the following speech from the throne, delivered by commission to both Houses, by the Lord Chancellor —

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"We have it in command from his Majesty to inform you, that the state of public business having enabled him to dispense with your attendance in Parliament, he has determined to put an end to this Session.

"His Majesty, however, cannot close it without expressing his satisfaction at the zeal and assiduity with which you have prosecuted the laborious and important inquiries in which you have been engaged.

"He has observed, with particular pleasure, the facility with which the restoration of a metallic currency has been effected, by the authority given to the Bank of England to commence its payments in cash at an earlier period than had been determined by the last Parliament

"His Majesty has commanded us to acquaint you, that he continues to receive from foreign powers the strongest assurances of their friendly disposition towards this country

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"We are commanded by his Majesty to return you his thanks for the provision which you have made for the public service

"Although the public expenditure has already undergone considerable reduction within the present year, his Majesty trusts he shall be enabled by the continuance of peace, and of internal tranquillity, to make such further reductions as may satisfy the just expectations expressed by Parliament.

"His Majesty has commanded us to assure you of the gratification which he has derived from the provision which you have made for his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"It is with the greatest satisfaction that his Majesty has observed the quiet and good order which continue to prevail in those parts of the country, which were, not long since, in a state of agitation.

"His Majesty deeply laments the

distress to which the agricultural interests, in many parts of the kingdom, are still subject

"It will be his Majesty's most anxious desire, by a strict attention to public economy, to do all that depends upon him for the relief of the country from its present difficulties; but you cannot fail to be sensible that the success of all efforts for this purpose will mainly depend upon the continuance of domestic tranquillity; and his Majesty confidently relies on your utmost exertions, in your several counties, in enforcing obedience to the laws, and in promoting harmony and concord amongst all descriptions of his Majesty's subjects."

CHAPTER VII.

DOMESTIC EVENTS.

Popularity of the King —The Coronation —Death of the Queen —King's Visit to Ireland—To Hanover —Disturbed State of Ireland

DURING the whole of this year, the personal concerns of the Royal Family, and the feelings of the nation with regard to them, continued to be prominent objects We have already seen, that the sweeping and boundless enthusiasm, which once absorbed the nation, in favour of one member of that house, gradually abated. Even at the commencement of the present year, it was kept alive, almost wholly, by curiosity as to the measures to be taken by Parliament, and the situation in which her Majesty was to be placed. When the consequent debates were over, and when it was announced that the Queen had accepted the provision voted for her, an entire revolution ensued in the public mind. That impassioned interest in her concerns, which had pervaded the people, suddenly expired The name which had resounded in every popular club and meeting, and filled the pages of every journal, was heard no longer Even the most zealous of the popular leaders, no longer found that it could be employed with benefit to their cause. It had been well enough if matters had stopped here, but the British public, though they may in time recognize their errors, seldom can take any moderate course to correct them With a cruel caprice, they took delight now in trampling under foot the object of their former blind idolatry It was by availing itself of this revolution, that a clever, witty, licentious, ultra-tory journal, succeeded in founding an almost unprecedented popularity upon unmeasured abuse of this recent favourite

While one side of the Royal House thus suddenly sunk, the other as rapidly ascended in the favour of the public There seemed to arise in the people an anxiety to atone for the readiness with which they had received, and listened, to the lavish insults poured forth by the enemies of royalty These sentiments, on occasion of his Majesty's appearance at the Theatres, and other scenes of public resort, were testified by the loudest and most enthusiastic plaudits Nor did the popular feeling evaporate with the moment, or experience that ebbing to which it is so liable On the contrary, it has ever since flowed on in an uninterrupt-

ed and increasing tide Perhaps, indeed, there never was a sovereign who acted royalty so well as George IV A deportment, in which majesty and graciousness are felicitously combined, which enables him to maintain all the dignity of the monarch, while it makes him felt as the personal friend of every one present, made it impossible for him to appear in public, without commanding the homage, and winning the heart, of every spectator.

A few experiments of this nature fully established the fact, that the public were prepared to welcome that august ceremony, which it had been hitherto judged unsafe to present to their eyes, yet, without which, installation into the office of King was not thoroughly completed. The arithmetical philosophy of the present day, has counted the cost, and proclaimed the emptiness of regal pageants In this, it seems to shew itself over wise Admitting, what may leave room for some controversy, that the people of England are become more grave and reflecting than heretofore, we may still doubt whether the mere abstract consideration of the benefits derived by the constitution from its executive branch, will maintain the "reverence due" in the minds of the multitude. Besides, though the display be made in name of, and with reference to, the person of the monarch, it goes to the behoof of all that endless crowd who attend as spectators, and scarcely less to that of the great body of the nation, to which, for at least a month, it afforded an inexhaustible fund of curiosity and conversation. Thus the people were fully prepared to applaud the ceremony, as made for themselves, and, forgetting all the doleful subjects which had engrossed its past lucubrations, turned an undivided attention to the pompous scene which was to be presented to its eyes.

Due preparation was now to be made for this august ceremony. The Hall and Abbey of Westminster, with the streets connecting them, were fitted up with vast galleries and platforms, capable of containing an almost endless multitude of spectators. All the dignitaries of the three kingdoms hastened from their remotest extremities, to claim the spots assigned to them by court and heraldic laws, on this splendid occasion. All things being duly and carefully arranged, on the 19th July, George IV was crowned, in full pomp The order of procession, and other details, belong to a future portion of the work, but it must be observed, in general, that the success was complete. England, on that day, made, in honour of her King, a full display of her modern wealth, combined with all the pomp of her early chivalry The getting up was perfect, and not one of those marring incidents, which are apt to thrust themselves in on these occasions, and to mingle the ludicrous with the great, injured the effect of this national festival.

One jarring note alone sought to break the general harmony Had the unfortunate Caroline been in any degree well advised, even as to prudence, she would have yielded to the torrent, and waited some more favourable opportunity of regaining her lost popularity On the contrary, mortified, and eager to thrust herself forward, she formally advanced a claim to a share in the approaching solemnity, which, she well knew, if made good, would put a stop to it altogether This claim, which, of course, had extensive usage in its favour, was received with that respect, which, in this country of law, is held due to whatever comes forward in a legal shape. The tribunal, indeed, to which the decision fell, being the Privy Council, could not be said to be a very favourable one It received the claim,

however, and patiently listened to pleadings continued during several successive days The decision was, that no such right belonged to her Majesty; and, as her advocates vainly attempted to spur on the public to an interference in the case, the verdict was evidently final. Hereupon, this unfortunate lady was impelled to take, on the very day, a measure involving a total oblivion of the dignity and delicacy suited to her character; but for the narration of which, we glady refer to another part of our volume

The favourable impression made by these exhibitions, was improved by the King, in a series of excursions, which contributed widely to extend his popularity, and to diffuse through his people the spirit of loyalty George III, even before the malady which wrapt his last days in gloom, had been of fixed and local habits. London, Windsor, and Weymouth, had been the circle, beyond which he scarcely moved The appendant kingdoms had felt a dissatisfied surprise, that their royal possessor should not deign even to cast his eye upon them, that their capitals should not be graced, even for a moment, by the smiles and splendour of royalty It was, therefore, an announciation widely grateful to his people, that the present Sovereign was preparing to visit these exterior portions of his dominions Ireland, from its magnitude, might fairly claim the priority, and Ireland was accordingly fixed upon for the summer expedition In the end of August, the King went down to Portsmouth, and, crossing to the Isle of Wight, embarked at West Cowes, on board his yacht. Thence he proceeded round the western extremity of England towards Holyhead Before he arrived there, however, an event had taken place at home, which engrossed for a short time the attention of the public.

The event to which we allude, is the death of the Queen, which took place at Brandenburgh House on the 7th August, after an illness of a few days. An obstruction of the bowels, followed by inflammation, and baffling all the remedies of art, led to its usual fatal termination The death of those who have passed through great vicissitude, are usually ascribed to mental causes; and the friends of the Queen exclaimed, that the series of wrong and suffering through which she had passed, afforded a too ample solution. Observers of a different cast might remark, that the malady affected organs over which the mind exercises no peculiar influence; that a simple physical cause was stated, in the taking of an over dose of magnesia, and that, as the Queen's health remained unimpaired during those critical proceedings which decided her fate, it was not likely that it should give way from mental agitation, after she was restored to comparative repose

This event made a strong impression on the people That enthusiastic attachment which seemed before almost extinct, was revived, for a time, in all its force, by this awful and final catastrophe, and manifested itself in an eager desire to pay to their former idolized favourite, a last tribute of homage

An occasion seemed approaching when such an opportunity could not fail to be afforded The Queen had expressed her wish to be buried at Brunswick, her native place, and, after some discussions as to the day, preparations were making to carry this desire into effect For this purpose, the body must be embarked at Harwich for Germany, and, on its way, must necessarily pass through, or close by, London The passage through the heart of London itself was the most direct and natural; and, in contempla-

tion of its being taken, every preparation was made for celebrating it with the warmest testimonies of regret and attachment Ministers, on the contrary, made it their study to cheat this expectation of the public, and to convey the procession by a track where it would escape any crowded notice. It is easy to judge after the event; but, perhaps, careful deliberation might have caused it to be foreseen as more politic, as well as generous, to give way to so strong an impulse, which was not likely to lead to any violent tumult, and of which the cause was so transient The most unlimited concession could scarcely have led to an issue so unfortunate as that which actually ensued.

The public were kept as long as possible in suspense, being only informed that the procession would *not* pass through the city Even on the day of its departure, the uncertainty still continued, till after it had passed Kensington It then appeared, that the plan was, to proceed along the northern skirts of the city, by what were called the Oxford, the Edgeware, and the New Roads. The critical point was, when, after passing through Hyde Park, instead of entering Oxford Street, it was to proceed through Cumberland Gate into the Edgeware Road. The multitude were assembled here in vast numbers, and exhibited the most determined spirit of resistance. Not only did they obstinately refuse to stir, but threw stones and missiles of every description at the military. It appearing now impossible to effect a passage, unless by forcible means, the riot act was read, and after a short interval, the soldiers fired. Several among the crowd fell wounded, two of them, as it afterwards proved, mortally The multitude now fled in the utmost confusion, and the procession got on without interruption to the point where the New Road joins to Tottenham Court Road, a broad avenue leading into the heart of the city. Here the multitude had rallied, and, seeing that this must be their last stand, had blocked up the New Road with waggons laid across, and piled on each other, in such a manner as to render it impossible to advance, without some very extraordinary effort A deliberation was held, and, upon the advice of Sir Robert Baker, it was determined to yield, and to proceed through Tottenham Court Road to Holborn The public, however, deemed it not enough, unless the procession could be led through Temple Bar, and along St Paul's Holborn, therefore, was found blockaded in like manner, and, after a little further hesitation, it was determined to concede everything; and the direction was taken down Drury Lane into the Strand The procession then went on through the central thoroughfare of the metropolis, by Fleet Street, Cheapside, and Whitechapel The Lord Mayor, with several of the city officers, joined it at Ludgate Hill The progress through the city was attended by vast crowds, who shewed a mingled emotion of sympathy and triumph The march from London to the place of embarkation, was not marked by any events worthy to be here commemorated, but the details will be found elsewhere.

It was impossible that the transactions of this day could be viewed by the eye of power without deep dissatisfaction The example of a state procession, escorted by a military force, successfully opposed and turned aside by the multitude, was at once irregular, and of most dangerous precedent. It was judged necessary to make several examples Sir Robert Wilson, who was supposed to have encouraged the resistance of the people, and Sir Robert Baker, understood to have advised yielding to them, were visited by marks of royal displeasure, which, however,

could not be said to be popular, and rather tended to prolong the impression. Even after the day, a ferment was still kept up among the people, by the unfortunate catastrophe of two of their number. The inquest on these men, Honey and Francis, being conducted with an evident popular bias, ended in the verdict "wilful murder," which might have been productive of the most serious consequences, had it not fortunately closed with the words "by a life-guardsman *unknown*" All attempts to fix the deed upon any individual proving happily abortive, the affair gradually sunk into oblivion

The melancholy impression made by this scene, was soon effaced by others of a quite opposite character After a short interval of such decent grief as could be expected, his Majesty prosecuted his excursion to Ireland, and on the 17th September made his public entry into Dublin The events which distinguished his stay, though important by the impression they left on the public mind, and the interest they excited, could not, in their details, find a place here The whole conduct of the King —the union of dignity and courtesy in his demeanour—the graceful and judicious answers to the numberless addresses poured in from every quarter, combined to heighten the delight which the Irish nation felt at seeing their Monarch for the first time tread the soil of Ireland All tended to call forth that airy and lively enthusiasm which characterizes the people, and those social and cordial emotions which place their character in its most amiable light It would have been too much, indeed, to expect, that the valuable parting recommendation of their Sovereign should have fully prevailed, and all the deadly feuds generated by years of strife, been buried in oblivion, but still there remained behind a general savour of loyalty, which will not soon part from the public mind of Ireland

At the close of the year, the King paid a visit to Hanover, also long unvisited by the princes of whom it had been the native seat There too his presence diffused the highest satisfaction, and he was waited on by the ministers of the great continental powers; among whom was Prince Metternich from Austria That minister is supposed to have held conferences with the Marquis of Londonderry, who accompanied the King, in which some important political affairs were arranged

We are sorry to be obliged to close this catalogue of events, by some of a most painful nature, which rendered the sister island a scene of frightful disorder They occurred generally in the southern and south-eastern provinces, inhabited by Catholic peasantry, always an ignorant, bigoted, demi-savage population. The general pressure of the times, with certain changes in the state of property and society, had involved them in more than ordinary distress, the source of which they were wholly incapable of seeing, in the natural and necessary course of things The result was less any form of what is usually styled rebellion, than a general unhingement of the whole frame of society, and a return to that turbulent state of nature, which certain philosophers have supposed to be the original state of man Scarcely a symptom occurred worthy the notice of history, but the whole territory was covered with individual examples of outrage, murder, and pillage The most ordinary business of life could not be carried on except by the aid of a military force The disorder was the more serious, that, presenting no fixed or tangible point of resistance, it evaded all attempts to strike a decisive blow against it. A large military force,

however, was concentrated in the disturbed districts; and a special commission was sent over for the purpose of bringing to speedy trial and punishment, the individuals who were apprehended in the commission of these outrages Finally, the Marquis Wellesley, whose vigour of mind, and profound political views, had been proved in many important spheres of action, was invested with the high dignity of Lord Lieutenant These measures, however, did not begin to operate till the commencement of the following year

CHAPTER VIII.

FRANCE

State of France.—Result of the Elections —First Debates —Explosions in the Palace —Neapolitan Affairs.—Disturbances at Grenoble —Motion for keeping Order in the Chamber —Ecclesiastical Establishment.—Loi des Donataires —*Trial of the Conspirators —Financial Discussions —Death of Napoleon Buonaparte*

THE French Legislative Assemblies opened this year amid a very general internal tranquillity The public mind was fixed with intense interest on the transactions in Italy, but, though the government made no secret of its wishes, in favour of the allied powers, yet, as it did not take any active part in their favour, this inclination, however strongly reprobated by those attached to the principles of liberty, did not threaten to excite any violent agitation. In contemplation of the approaching meeting of the Chamber of Deputies, anxiety was chiefly felt as to the play of the new representative system, and the influence of those aristocratic elements, which had been so copiously introduced Ministers, as formerly observed, had moved this change, in the hope of finding, among the more opulent classes, naturally impressed with the love of stability, a disposition to support them against the opposite parties, royalist and liberal, which were labouring their downfal. The event of the elections had not answered this expectation. The new colleges had almost universally nominated individuals attached to high royalist principles, and who, in consequence, had sworn the downfal of the existing ministry, as devotedly as the most eager liberals. As ministers, at the same time, neither sought nor obtained support in the reduced liberal party, they found themselves placed, as before, between two contending factions, always ready to coalesce for their destruction; and the ministerial machine moved forward in the same obstructed and embarrassed course as before

The King opened the Chambers on the 21st December, with a speech, in which he offered congratulations on the prosperous state of the kingdom, recalled the vicissitudes which had befallen the royal family during the late eventful year, and, finally,

announced a certain diminution proposed to be made in the amount of the land-tax The address formed, as usual, an echo of the speech, though the left side were understood to have proposed amendments, lamenting the changes which had been produced in the electoral system, but these were rejected by large majorities The candidates for the Presidency were named by a vast majority out of the right, or royalist side, the choice falling finally upon M Ravez, the President of last session In order to conciliate this all-powerful party, the King, on the 22d, named Messrs Laine, Vilèlle, and Corbières, three of its most moderate members, secretaries, though without any department assigned to them But this boon was not afterwards found to satisfy entirely the party in whose favour it was made.

In examining the validity of the elections, complaints, which have since greatly multiplied, were sent from several departments, that individuals, who, by the amount of their contributions, would have been entitled to vote, had been struck out by the prefects, while others had been introduced, who had no such claim It was justly observed, that to intrust the decision upon the qualifications of electors to an officer appointed, and removable, by the crown, was contrary to every sound principle of representative government. This decision, indeed, was only provisional, but still it was in force, as to the actual election, the remedy was distant, and of little value.

The first measure proposed to the Chamber, was what was called the provisional six-twelfths In consequence of the late meeting of the Chambers, and other circumstances, which had rendered it impossible to make out the rolls in due time, it was wished to levy six-twelfths of the contributions upon the lists of the former year The same motion had been found necessary at the commencement of each former session, and no serious opposition was intended The parties hostile to ministry, however, caught at this opportunity of making a full expression of their sentiments. The debate was opened by General Donnadieu, a high royalist, who testified his astonishment and indignation at the junction which several of his party had formed with the present administration He saw men, whose principles, sentiments, and opinions, he had made it his boast to share, suddenly take a course directly opposite to that, which, for four years, they had represented as alone tending to national prosperity Little accustomed to these sudden transitions—these unforeseen alliances—this fusion of good with evil, all his ideas were bewildered These men had declared, and repeated, that those called to the high functions of the state, had misunderstood and betrayed the interests of their country, and all the principles of justice and honour, yet, when the system, thus generously, energetically protested against, had produced its natural consequence, in real misfortunes, irreparable catastrophes, felt by all France, was this the time to stretch out the hand to them, and to commit to them anew the destinies of this unfortunate country? "After being led on," said he, "for six years, without plan, without any determinate principle, we are still led on in the same manner All ideas of justice and injustice are confounded, all ideas of order, of reason, are subverted; the religion of the most Christian King is established as a law of the state, and derision is cast upon its ministers, legitimate succession in the family of our Kings, is established as a fundamental law in our

code, and the most direct blows are aimed at this legitimacy, in doctrines created and supported under the auspices of our ministers, gratitude is now a vice, ingratitude a virtue." It was now time for the Chambers to fulfil the obligation imposed upon it, in the order of representative government, by refusing to put its treasures into such hands The member then threw out against the ministers a charge of bribery, which was vehemently repelled by the keeper of the seals, and a keen altercation ensued

M Villèle complained, that the last speech had been a mere appeal to the passions, in opposition to reason, and that such a series of recriminations would produce endless war, and inevitable ruin to the nation. It was natural for a royalist opposition, who directed their attacks against measures, not against men, to rally round a government, which was ready to concur with them in measures tending to save the country. The attempt to remove ministers in the manner proposed, was contrary to the constitution, which allowed no mode, except that of formal accusation "Attack them," said he, "then they will reply to you, then you will be obliged to produce proofs, and should it be under such a pretext, that you would oppose an indispensable vote, without which the march of administration would be stopped?"

M Constant, however, urged, that the advancing a formal accusation against ministers, was a violent resource, repugnant to the inclination of friends to peace and to the monarchy Ministers, besides, might follow a dangerous and pernicious system, without rendering themselves guilty of faults, which could become the subject of a formal charge. In this case, the mildest and most constitutional mode of warning the administration, was by refusing or limiting the grant of supply This was not placing the state in danger; for it was always in the power of ministers to change their system.

The most vehement attack against ministers, was made by Etienne, who thus characterized the plan on which the country was governed Contrary systems incessantly succeeding and thwarting each other, laws destroyed, when they are scarcely passed, ministers, who change their principles, that they may not change their office, doctrines, constitutional to-day, seditious to-morrow, regiments converted into legions, and legions converted into regiments, organizations, of which the latest is always definitive, and never the last, functionaries changing so fast, that the people have scarcely time to learn their names, and who are for the most part only riders for the Treasury, and commissaries at elections, interests always threatened, hopes always disappointed, promises always violated,—is not this, gentlemen, a thousand times too much, to sink all our credit, to shake all our confidence?

The Minister for Foreign Affairs undertook the defence of the measure, the necessity of which arose, he said, from the failure of one which had been proposed by the ministry, but rejected by the Chambers His speech, however, was mainly directed to the defence of the composition, and acts of the ministry in general It consisted, he said, of men the most sincerely impressed by the same sentiment of love, of devotion, to their king, to their country, and by a sincere attachment to the constitution of that country. It was reproached, as containing members both of the majority and the minority of 1815. Yes, there had been a march of events, which had taught the faithful subjects of the King, the sincere friends of their country, who, animated by the same general sentiments, were divided by mere shades of opinion, that the time was come for

them to unite upon subjects of essential importance. The first speaker had said to the ministers of the King, "Retire" No, gentlemen, the ministers of the King will not retire They have the feeling of their duty They have sworn to the King to support his authority, to maintain his government, to defend the laws which he has given So long as the King shall approve their services, so long as they think they can serve him usefully, they will not believe it their duty to retire They would do so, if they thought they had lost the majority in this Chamber—if they could believe that they had lost it in the nation—if they thought themselves obstacles to the good of their country—if they believed that the royal authority would be endangered in their hands; but till then, invariably united in the love of their duty, they will remain firm and devoted to the post with which the confidence of the sovereign has deigned to honour them

The debate continued for some time with great warmth, and both parties, while vehemently attacking each other, aimed blows at the ministry M. Girardin, from the left, used the expression, "heroic Spain," which gave rise to considerable agitation The law was finally carried, by a majority of 268 to 65

In the Chamber of Peers the opposition was inconsiderable, and the law was carried by 146 to 3

A circumstance of an extraordinary nature now agitated the public mind.

On the 27th January, a loud explosion was heard in the interior of the palace, near the apartments of the Queen, and of *Madame*. It was found to have been produced by a barrel of powder, lodged under a private stair, leading to those apartments The shock was so violent, that several of the doors were torn from their hinges, and all the glass in the windows was broken. The Prefect of Police and the Advocate-General hurried to the spot, but could discover nothing except the fragments of the exploded barrel It was in vain that, by the most diligent investigation, any light was attempted to be thrown upon the authors of this alarming phenomenon

A message, on the 29th, was brought down from the King, submitting to the Chamber the circumstances of this affair It was stated to be happily impossible that the explosion could have reached the august persons either of the King or *Madame*. Such a crime, however, perpetrated in the heart of the palace, marked an excess of criminal audacity, continuing to attack all that was dear and sacred to France, and sought to perpetuate the alarms too well justified by the frightful catastrophe, since which a year had not yet elapsed.

The reading of this message was received with loud cries of "*Vive le Roi! vive les Bourbons!*" and a committee was appointed to draw up an address in reply This address did not confine itself to mere congratulation, but deeply stigmatized the influence of revolutionary ideas, and the desperate efforts of a faction, which was described to be in a state of permanent conspiracy against the government. The tenor of the address seemed not obscurely to insinuate, that certain members of the House, by fomenting discontent, at least fed the flame, from which such terrible flashes broke forth. These insinuations excited the indignant opposition of the left side. Sebastiani, Foy, and Chauvelin insisted that they were equally unjust and impolitic,—that they tended to spread division through France, and to set loose the most violent passions. The observations of Camille Jourdan drew particular attention.—"Do you consider," said he, "that rash conjectures in one direction may provoke others equally

rash in another? May it not arise as a natural remark, that, if there be a revolutionary faction capable of such enormities, there are also intriguers, violent partizans, capable, in their turn, of exciting to, and even creating them, for the purpose of having them imputed to their adversaries? How many singular circumstances in the last affair seem to indicate the mysterious agency of such directors, the place chosen being the interior of a palace, strictly watched, where it must be so difficult for revolutionary agents to enter, while intriguers of another description could more easily introduce themselves, the very nature of the explosion, calculated rather to terrify the imagination, than to produce any serious mischief Beware, gentlemen! I am far from affirming that such conjectures have any foundation; I am far from not seeing that they may lead to serious evils—that they may have the cruel effect of committing, in public opinion, faithful servants, venerable men, whom their rank and their virtue place above every suspicion, but I say, that you provoke them by your rash and hasty conjectures in another direction" M Jourdan then alluded, with indignation, to the charges brought against ministers from the opposite side, as not having employed with sufficient vigour their means of repression, and not having called for more He insisted that their measures against personal liberty, and the liberty of the press, their interference in elections, in the formation of juries, and the selection of witnesses, were such as to leave scarcely a shadow of public liberty Nothing was now left but proscription and exile without trial, and at was to these, he had no doubt, that the opposite side pointed.

This speech made a strong impression, being the last that was pronounced by this venerable and distinguished orator, who died on the 19th of June following.

Notwithstanding all opposition, the address, in its original form, was carried by the votes of 244, out of 266 who were present

Several other similar detonations followed in the vicinity of the Tuileries, and one, even in open day, in the Royal Treasury, without its being possible to obtain any satisfactory information as to the author. One only person, of the name of Neveu, having been arrested on suspicion, cut his throat before his examination, and an indelible suspicion thus rested on his memory, yet there were still some who asserted that this fatal deed was merely prompted by the deranged state of his affairs.

The Chambers now occupied themselves for some time in considering individual petitions, which have no interest beyond the limits of France In the course of them, however, some animated discussions arose on the subject of the critical events which were marking the political state of the neighbouring countries Chauvelin, complaining of the encroachments on the freedom of speech in the Chamber, particularly alluded to the scandal excited by the epithet *heroic* applied to Spain "When we speak," said he, "of the heroic efforts of the Spanish nation, and of those which the Neapolitans may soon be called upon to exert, it is impossible, without affliction, to see the French administration concurring in the measures taken by absolute governments, in calling to their bar a monarch who had the generosity to unite himself to the nation in granting them a constitutional *regime*. It was reported that the French government had signed the act of the occupation of Naples, and were concurring in measures rejected by the English government. Were they, who

possessed a constitution as free as the English, to reduce themselves to this humiliating comparison, and to co-operate in acts which tended to degrade human nature?"

In answer to this sally, the Minister for Foreign Affairs took a very high ground. According to the French charter, all stipulations with foreign powers were made in the name and by the sole will of the King It was he who, abroad, represented all France. The French government was not the English government. It did not allow of interpellations of this kind, especially in the midst of a subject quite foreign to them The only case in which the crown could bring its external policy under the consideration of the Chambers, was, when it had any demand of money to make, then only could these subjects be brought under discussion. The King was honoured and respected by all Europe; his desire to maintain the tranquillity of Europe and of France could admit of no doubt, nor that he would take the most effectual measures to maintain the weight of his crown, and the dignity of the nation

La Fayette, in the farther discussion of the subject, was anxious to repel the anti-constitutional, anti-parliamentary doctrines of the ministers. The Constituent Assembly, he said, had consecrated the principle, that the French nation should never employ its force against the liberty of any people This sentiment was inherent in the nature of French patriotism The late events in Naples and Portugal had filled every heart with that warm interest, which would form more and more a sympathetic tye between all nations worthy of liberty The honour and morality of the nation appeared to him committed. He wished to know in what degree the ministers of the crown were accomplices in the measures taken to maintain what was called social order in Europe. This social order consisted in denying the right of nations to modify their institutions, in interfering with the institutions of other nations "This social order, gentlemen, is that which dictated the partition of Poland, the convention of Pilnitz, the manifestoes of Coblentz" He trusted neither himself nor his honourable friends would ever mount the tribune without repeating the question which he had now put, nor ever descend from it without saying, "Let us not destroy Neapolitan independence."

The discussion was renewed in the end of March, when intelligence was received of the defeat of the Neapolitans at Rieti. These tidings were immediately notified by ministers, on the ground of the beneficial influence which they might have on the stock exchange, but in terms which evidently shewed the satisfaction with which they had been received. The opposition members exclaimed violently against this step, as a direct breach of the proposed neutrality. This appeared also marked by the appointment of M de Blacas to accompany the King of Naples, separated from his people, while another *chargé d' affaires* remained at Naples. General Foy openly proclaimed that France could not remain neutral, that she ought to coalesce with the constitutional government, to resist the invasions of the North. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply, reiterated professions of the strictest neutrality. The French government had an ambassador attached to the person of the King of Naples—a king by birth, a king by right, surrounded by the respect and love of his people. He was the legitimate King of Naples, and it became France to have an ambassador attached to his person; but she did not, therefore, neglect the interests of her subjects, and kept a *chargé d' affaires* at Naples, to pay the requisite

attention to them. This explanation closed the discussion, the renewal of which was prevented by the rapid catastrophe of Neapolitan affairs

Public attention was called at this time to a seditious movement which took place at Grenoble. That part of France, which had always cherished a partiality for the *tricolor* standard, was particularly agitated by the revolution lately broken out in Piedmont, on which it immediately bordered. A report was studiously spread of a revolution having taken place at Paris. The King, it was said, had abdicated; the Duke of Orleans was named regent and head of the provisional government, which was to usher in the constitution of 1791. These rumours led to the assemblage, on the 20th March, of some hundreds of individuals, who crowded to the house of the prefect, on pretence of inquiring into the truth of the report. Though assured that it was entirely false, they refused to believe what so little accorded with their inclination, immediately hoisted the tricolor flag, and carried it through the streets, calling out, "Live the constitution! down with the charter!" The military commandant, however, having assembled some troops, marched upon the assemblage, and effected its immediate dispersion Some were taken, the rest dispersed and fled Those taken were condemned to some months imprisonment, and the School of Law at Grenoble was shut up, on account of the active part which the students, as usual, had taken in the affair The Duke of Belluno (Victor) was sent to take the command at Lyons, and, by his presence, restored tranquillity to this part of France.

On the 8th March, a proposition of considerable importance and interest was brought forward by M. Sirieys de Marinhac, a royalist member He began with deploring the violent and indecent manner in which the debates of the Chamber had so often been conducted. Their hall had become a sort of public theatre, and the discussions excited interest in the spectators only in so far as they led to abuse. For two months he had been a silent observer of these calamitous scenes, and had groaned to see the most respectable part of the French nation forgetting the sense of dignity, and the laws of propriety The precautions hitherto taken to preserve order were insufficient, and even hurtful; for it often happened that the members called each other to order, and the Chamber became only a theatre of conflict, in which each made a merit of supporting his party by any means In order that the course of the deliberations might not be stopped every instant, and that the Chamber might not be condemned to hear doctrines subversive of the throne, and of social order, he proposed a new regulation A deputy might demand that an orator should be censured; the demand, on being seconded, was to be put to the vote, and, if carried, the orator could not finish his discourse, nor speak again on the subject in the same sitting. He was allowed to speak in his own defence, but no other member could be heard.

M. Royer Collard took the lead against this proposition "The deputy at the tribune," said he, "exercises a species of sovereignty, since he participates in the exercise of the legislative power, and can subject to responsibility, if he pleases, the whole government. I do not say that he is a legislator, but he gives his opinion as such His thought is sovereign; all is subject to it, the monarch only excepted; all appears before it,—society, its government, and its laws,—the past, the present, the future, it has nothing to do with codes and jurists, it looks down upon them all. The word of a deputy at the tribune has the same

sovereignty as his thought, of which it is the organ; it is subject, like every exercise of sovereignty, only to the eternal laws of truth, of justice, and of reason. Doubtless there might be committed at the tribune acts declared criminal by the laws, which were punishable here as elsewhere; but opinions could not be transformed into acts The charter, when it rendered the sittings public, must have foreseen the production of mad, insolent, factious, and perverse opinions; it would otherwise have been ignorant of human nature; yet, with higher thoughts than ours, it not only decreed that the laws should be debated in public, but it recommended, by a formal clause, the liberty of discussion, and has thus taken upon itself all the consequences Publicity is then the choice and deed of the charter; and any law contrary to it would violate at once the charter, equity, and reason" He admitted and deplored the violence and abuse which prevailed in the debates; he knew the serious circumstances in which France was placed, but the remedy was not in tyranny, and what was now proposed was pure tyranny.

The keeper of the seals (Decazes) undertook to answer this speech There was much room to distrust these absolute and categorical maxims laid down by M. Collard; they sounded plausibly in speech, but they seldom corresponded to the reality of things. Doubtless the Chambers, within certain limits, were, by the charter, associated in the exercise of the royal authority, or rather they were forms, by which, in certain cases, the King exercised his sovereignty in a more imposing, more solemn, and irrevocable manner But to transfer to a deputy the full plenitude of a character in which the whole Chamber only participated, was an evident error; this idea of sovereignty, superior to every species of discipline, would be mere disorder. The orator had admitted that words might be acts, and that crimes might be committed in the tribune; yet his whole system tended to invest words with an absolute inviolability The calling to order was worse than nothing to orators, who regarded it as a kind of prize, which added to their popularity in the eyes of their partizans. With regard to the abuse which might be made of this right, he would prefer a Chamber which abused its rights, to one which was stripped of all rights, and presented only the spectacle of an impotent anarchy.

The motion being referred to a committee of the Chamber, came out in some degree modified It was now proposed that the president alone should call a speaker to order; that the only speech allowed should be by himself, in his own defence; that, after he should have been twice called to order in the course of the same speech, the president should consult the Chamber, whether he ought not to be prevented from speaking again in the course of the same sitting; and that the Chamber should vote upon the subject, without any debate. This measure was debated for a number of days with great warmth, and was opposed equally, though on different grounds, by both the extreme parties in the Chamber. On the left side, M. Bignon saw, with grief, ministers declaring war against the true principles of representative government, seeking to fix limits to the flight of thought, to inflict penalties on freedom of discourse and energy of expression, and nail, as it were, daily to the tribune the tongue of the defenders of public liberty Order, in the vocabulary of governments, to whose ear that of France was unhappily chained,—order for them was absolute power Bourdonnaye, on the other hand, insisted that the necessity for such a measure

arose only from the weakness of ministry, that, if they would listen at length to the voice of a ruling opinion, and would march at its head, then all these impotent party-cries, these seditious insinuations, these provocations to revolt, would no longer dare to appear in this tribune; they would no longer struggle against the colossus of public opinion, and against the power of a just but firm government, which knew at once how to reward and to punish. Opposition was strong only through the weakness of ministers; it threatened because they did not punish, it clamoured because they were silent; and the majority of the Chamber remained inactive, because some ministers were only occupied in paralyzing it The proposition was at length carried, by the limited majority of 177 to 133

A subject of considerable importance, and less within the sway of party influence, now occupied the Chamber This was the state of the corn-trade. In former times, France was an importing country, and the only object of legislative arrangement had been to avert the danger of famine With this view, every encouragement was given to the introduction of grain from abroad, while its exportation was allowed only when it had fallen to a very low rate. The improvement of its agriculture, consequent upon the change in the state of property introduced by the Revolution, joined to the large imports from the Russian ports in the Black Sea, gave rise to an opposite complaint It was now said, that the price had fallen so low, as no longer to pay the expense of raising grain; and that the trade of conveying it along the Rhone and the great canal, for the supply of the southern coast, no longer existed. The minister estimated the quantity consumed in France, (with prodigious exaggeration, as appears to us,) at 160,000,000 of hectolitres,* (about $2\frac{9}{10}$ bushels each). In the year 1820, there had been imported 1,400,000 hectolitres, while only 757,000 had been exported. There had thus been a large balance in favour of importation, though it was supposed that the actual produce of the harvest had exceeded by one-tenth the usual and necessary supply Taking these circumstances into consideration, the minister proposed to raise both the importing and the exporting rates, on a scale varying according to the quality and price in different parts of the kingdom

The committee appointed to consider this project, consisting chiefly of royalist members, who were mostly great proprietors, not only adopted the project of the minister, but carried it much farther than he intended or wished It was urged in their report, that, of late years, the finest grain, produced in the countries most favoured by nature, had been sold at Odessa, Caffa, and Taganrock, for four francs the hectolitre, and, though it had been raised by late bad seasons to $10\frac{1}{2}$ francs, this could only be considered as a temporary and accidental price The Greek mercantile navy, which had risen on the ruins of that extensive one which France formerly maintained in the Levant, brought these grains to Marseilles so cheaply, that they were sold there for eight or at most twelve francs This, too, was hard grain, absorbing more water, and yielding a fourth more

* The usual allowance for a full grown man is two quartern loaves in the week, or a peck in the fortnight, giving six bushels in the year, or, on the population of France, about 60,000,000 bushels At least a third of this, however, must be deducted for infants, infirm persons, and those who use other species of food

bread in proportion to its bulk, than the French grain did. All the central departments suffered, having no longer the south to pour their surplus grain into, while the north was able to supply itself The committee therefore proposed, that the importing price should be henceforth fixed at twenty-five francs, and the exporting at twenty-four

In opposition to these views, M. Shaforello, deputy from the *Bouches de Rhone,* supported the cause of the manufacturing and commercial interest. This interest, he insisted, was in France much more important than the agricultural; he alleged even, surely with great exaggeration, that it was five times more important The cheapness of provisions secured the subsistence of the people—enabled them to pay taxes—rendered manufacturing labour cheap—and even compensated to the proprietor for the inferior price which he obtained for his produce. The ports on the Black Sea, in return for the grain which they imported, took the wines, the oils, and the manufactures, of France This trade admitted of almost indefinite increase, by new connexions formed with the people of Circassia, and the Caucasus, an important opening, which would be closed by the measure now recommended. At the same time, M Ganilh, and other members, opposed the measure, upon the general doctrines of the economical system, according to which the trade in grain ought to be left at entire liberty, and the maxim, *Let come, let pass, let go,* admitted of no exception or modification Notwithstanding this opposition, and though the minister, in supporting lower rates, observed, that, including freight and duty, the Russian grain could not be sold at Marseilles for less than twenty francs, the proposition of the committee was carried by a majority of 282 to 54 Ministers, appalled by such a minority, did not carry their opposition into the Chamber of Peers, where the proposition was carried by 72 against 10.

The next measure to which the attention of the Assembly was called, and which excited a deep interest, was a proposition for the enlargement of the funds devoted to the national church establishment Count Simeon, in introducing this law, dwelt on the benefits arising from religion, even to the state. The present establishment afforded ample room for well-founded complaint There were 4000 vicars who received from the state only 250 francs (10*l.* 10*s*,) and could not subsist without aids from the districts, which were often burdensome to them; there were 350 villages without pastors; there were a great number of churches to build, or to repair, and, finally, (the most important question,) France, which contained formerly 136 cathedral seats, had now only fifty prelates—a number insufficient for superintending the numerous pastors of the second order It was proposed, therefore, to employ certain ecclesiastical pensions, as they fell in, for the endowment of twelve new Episcopal seats, the improvement of the salaries of the vicars and curates, and for the building and reparation of churches.

This proposition, being referred to an ultra royal committee, was reported upon in a manner reproachful to ministry, on account of the very limited extent to which it had been carried. "Religion," said M de Bonald, the reporter, "is the lesson and the example of the sacrifice of self to the service of others; it is true liberty, true equality, the common guarantee against oppression, the protection of the weak, and the consolation of the unhappy" He pointed out all the persecutions which it had endured during the Revolution, and the deplorable state to which it was now reduced. The absolute want of religion in the

country districts was a calamity to which no other was comparable. Civilization, which was the perfection of laws, was only Christianity applied to the legislation of societies, it was the life of nations, and, like life, could not be revived. It would then perish for ever, along with religion He branded it as inconsistent with the dignity of religion to be successively making these limited and provisional arrangements, to be calling it to the bar of the Assembly; to endow it with the spoil of its ministers; and perhaps to reproach it with this poor benefaction. If religion was to appear as a suitor at this tribunal, let it be for the last time." The report, therefore, proposed, that the funds should be employed in the erection of twelve Episcopal seats, "and of others where it should be judged necessary" A clause, by which there was to be only one diocese in each department, was proposed to be expunged.

The minister, in reply, modestly sought to decline the additional power thus sought to be placed in his hands Such an arrangement would be taking ecclesiastical arrangements out of the domain of legislation, and subjecting it to royal decrees It was the wish of ministry to ask for the church what they considered just and sufficient, and no more

The left side, on the other hand, declared without reserve against the project, and still more against the amendments proposed by the committee. Keratry stigmatized it as favouring the religion of privilege, more than the religion of the heart; as tending to cover France with bishoprics and convents, whose endowments would absorb the public revenue M Bignon could not conceive, that religion was brought to the bar of the Chamber, because the legislative power was called upon to determine the funds which its support would require. He saw no use for the multiplication of Episcopal seats beyond what the government judged necessary The country of Europe where the morality of religion is least practised, is precisely that capital of the Christian world, that Roman state, whose religious establishments cover its entire surface, where everything is in the hands of cardinals, of priests, and of monks. General Foy complained that missionaries, without mission, went sowing discord in the cities and in the fields, by passionate declamations—that converts, both male and female, had sprung up anew—that instead of merely withdrawing from the catechism in use the servile formulas which despotism had introduced, obsolete ones had been resumed, in one of which, the ministers of religion prescribe as a fulfilment of divine precepts, the payment of tithes and obedience to the lord of the parish; that the Christian pulpit daily poured forth with impunity vindictive attacks on individuals, and political doctrines hostile to the charter Under the name of established religion, France was threatened with the scourge of a governing religion, this threat came from violent partizans, aristocrats much more than Christians; this faction, lowering the dignity of the Legislative Chamber, substituted fanatical to constitutional influences, and placed this domineering power on the steps of the throne, and on the throne itself In the interest, then, of liberty, of religion, and of the throne, he held it his duty to repel, by words and by vote, the accomplishment of this sacrilegious design On the other hand, the royalist members strenuously supported the report of the commission. General Donnadieu, though a Protestant, considered it necessary to restore to the Catholic religion, its lustre, its influence, and its empire

At the conclusion of the debate, the ultras yielded so far as to leave

room only for the establishment of eighteen Episcopal seats, over and above the original twelve The motion, thus amended, was carried by a majority of 114 (219 to 105)

In the Upper Chamber, the unanimous report of the committee was in favour of the project; and, though opposed by several peers, it was carried by a majority of 97 to 72.

The next question agitated in the Assembly, related to what was called the *Loi des Donataires*. This was a proposal to grant compensation to a numerous class, who, in consequence of France being driven within her ancient boundaries, had lost sources of income derived from the foreign territories of an empire, that once extended over nearly the whole of Europe Although the property, from which they arose, belonged no longer to France, yet, as the grants had been made in consideration of services rendered to the state, some compensation was considered due There was also a fund drawn from foreign sources, called the *Domaine Extraordinaire*, naturally applicable to this object It was proposed that the compensation should be given in pensions upon the great book of France, to be continued to the posterity of the claimants.

The project was favourably reported upon by the committee It excited, however, most violent opposition on the part of the high royalists, who exclaimed against it as an unheard-of injustice, that rebels, the adherents of Buonaparte, the betrayers of their king, should receive compensation for the loss of property unjustly held by foreign spoliation; while the brave and the loyal, who, in the cause of their monarch, had forfeited the inheritance derived from a long line of ancestors, were abandoned to entire destitution "Repair," said General Donnadieu, "repair as much as is in you this great act of iniquity This is a debt of the king, a debt of the country, which we ought to compensate at least, if we cannot repay. Restoration would only be the confirmation of disorder, if we did not make the just succeed to the unjust, if we did not efface from the mind of the people the fatal idea, that there can be legitimate spoliations" Claussel de Coussergues insisted, that such a measure as this would be only telling the youth,—"If political troubles arise, and you take the part of your king, you will be stripped of all your goods, exiled, persecuted, and, though your party should be victorious, your children will drag their lives in indigence On the other hand, if you embrace the side of revolt, you will share the spoils of your citizens, of the church, and the hospitals; and, even though the King should return to his throne, you would have nothing to fear. On the contrary, national rewards would be decreed to you"—"Look," said Duplessis Grenedan, "at the *donataires*, and what names do you find? They are the generals of Buonaparte's armies, all his civil and military house, his prefects and his ministers, his intendants and his ushers, all his court, even to his physicians and surgeons, his wife's lady of honour, and his child's gouvernante." There were even not a few of those known and designated as the chief authors and abettors of the rebellion of the hundred days. The orator here began reading a list of those characters, amid loud cries of reprobation from the left, while the right side listened patiently, but without joining.

These discourses drew forth the indignation of Manuel, who rose and observed, that two months had made a wonderful change in the mode of talking on the subject of the emigrants. Then the opposite party were silent, because they doubted of the triumph of the holy alliance over the constitutional governments, and they spoke

now, because they believed blindly in this triumph. The clergy and nobility were overturned along with the throne; the throne has been raised again; it is natural, it is just, that the clergy and nobility should be raised along with it. The principle of the throne, or at least of its ministers, now is, that what was thirty years ago, has never ceased to exist, that the King has never ceased to be King If nothing be acknowledged of what was done by the Revolution, it is quite natural, that the nobles and clergy should say, "Our goods have been taken from us, we must have them again."

Although, however, the left side did not spare the ministry in these skirmishes, they, upon the whole, concurred in the measure proposed. According to the final arrangement, the endowment of the four first classes was fixed at 1000 francs; those of the fifth class at 500 francs; those of the sixth at 250 francs A provision, on a smaller scale, was also made for the disbanded troops of the old army. The law, thus modified, was carried by a majority of 203 against 125

This law was not at first well received in the Chamber of Peers; on the contrary, the committee charged with its examination, made a unanimous report against it The minister, however, defended it with such energy, that it was finally carried by a majority of 97 to 18

During all this period, the attention of the House of Peers had been greatly occupied by the trials of the individuals charged with the conspiracy of 19th August, 1820, of which we gave an account in our last. The first question which arose was the propriety of bringing it under the cognizance of the Chamber Talleyrand urged, that it was quite irregular to make the Peers sit in judgment upon all plots which came under the description of high treason. There were some so mean, and the persons concerned so obscure, as to be beneath the dignity of its deliberations The determination of sitting in judgment ought to be founded less on the nature of the crime than of the person The objects of their jurisdiction should be crimes committed by members of the royal family, great officers of the crown, marshals and peers of France, ministers, generals, ambassadors, and governors of colonies These views appeared to meet the general sense of the Chamber, and a committee of seven was appointed to examine the question. It was finally fixed, that the Chamber itself should decide upon the subjects which it was to judge worthy of its own consideration, and the present conspiracy, it was ultimately arranged, should be one, though its objects do not appear exactly to come under the description designated by Talleyrand. Considerable discussion and dissatisfaction was produced by a royal ordinance, fixing the dress in which the peers were to sit when they acted as judges The discontent was occasioned, not at all by the trifling nature of the subject, but by the irregular stretch of power which it was supposed to imply

All these preliminaries and principles being at length adjusted, the proceedings were opened on the 21st May, in the great hall, amid a concourse of the most distinguished public characters. Of seventy-five individuals originally brought under charge by the Attorney-General, forty-one had been discharged, and only thirty-four put under accusation Among the former were General Baron Merlin, and General Fabvier The latter were all officers of secondary rank. After a very long investigation, the Chamber considered themselves justified in considering the conspiracy as proved, though the assertions of its leaders, relative to the high names connected

with it, and the large funds at its disposal, could be considered only as empty boasts. Of the accused, three, Nantel, Lavocat, and Rey, were condemned to death in their absence, and five, who were present, De Laverderie, De Trogoff, Delamotte, Robert, and Gaillard.

The budget was naturally a subject of long discussions in the Chamber, which, though highly proper there, are of secondary interest out of France The general statement was,

	Fr	L
Receipts,	888,021,745	about 37,000,906
Expenses,	882,327,374	36,763,640
	5,694,371	237,266

The committee, to whom the budget was referred, did not propose any considerable reductions, but the consideration of the different articles gave opportunities to the opponents of ministry for criticising the expenditure of each department, as well as for attacking the general system on which affairs were conducted

La Fayette observed, that the civil list, solely appropriated to the expenses of the royal family, was more considerable than that of England, out of which are paid the ministers, the ambassadors, and the judges He commented also on the enormous amount of the pension list, occasioned by the succession of revolution and counter-revolution, in consequence of which France was surcharged with two complete assortments of dynasties, of nobilities, and of privileges After passing strictures on various parts of the administration, he burst into a vehement sally against the old *regime*, which excited the violent displeasure of the right, who succeeded in preventing the speech from being printed

A warm debate arose on the proposition of the committee to retrench the small sum of 50,000 francs, destined to "encouragements for primary instruction" The reason assigned was, that these funds were employed in favouring a system (the Lancastrian) "little in harmony with our institutions"

In refutation of this opinion, M. Lainé strongly urged the necessity of giving to the people a primary instruction, shewing, that, wherever the poor man can read and write, there is more order, more subordination, and fewer crimes; that, from the inspection of the registers of courts of law, it appeared, that, of a hundred malefactors, there were not ten who could read and write; that Switzerland, Holland, and Scotland, where instruction is more widely diffused than elsewhere, are the countries of Europe most eminent for morality, religion, and industry; that the Lancastrian system is an improvement upon the method of the brethren of the Christian school; and that it is equally favourable to the improvement of religion and of morals. It was desirable, besides, to maintain a salutary emulation between the different methods, and to refuse the funds demanded, would be passing a sentence of condemnation upon the Lancastrian system. A number of royalist members, however, strongly inveighed against that system, which they represented as vaunted, and established with violence in the departments, to the discredit of the solid and religious instruction of the brethren of the Christian school, the advantages of which were proved by long experience; while the new method had no friends but the enemies of religion and morality. The Minister of Foreign Affairs yielded so far to these multiplied attacks, as to acknowledge, that the method of the brethren was preferable; but he represented, that they could not supply the wants of France, where there were still 25,000 communes without a school of any descrip-

tion, while the superior of the brethren had admitted, that they could not, for ten years to come, furnish many beyond those at present engaged for. M. Cuvier observed also, that the brethren's schools were much more expensive, costing 50*l.* at the first establishment, and 75*l.* annually. After three days of debate, the allowance was carried by only a very small majority

On the subject of the army, many complaints were made of its inefficient state General Foy, in particular, reproached the minister with demanding 175 millions for a service which could not bring 80,000 effective men into the field. He insisted, that the disregard of the rules laid down for promotion, and other instances of ill treatment, had caused deep dissatisfaction in the troops, that you would seek there in vain for that attachment to the standard, and that enthusiasm for France and for their king, which, in a French army, are the most sacred bonds of discipline. "Desertion to foreign service, which had disappeared from our armies since the Revolution, had recommenced more actively than before. There are no more materials to make non-commissioned officers, since the old soldiers will not engage anew The officers, dissatisfied with the present, uncertain of the future, fatigued with being organized and disorganized without ceasing, see in their employment only an insufficient and precarious means of existence.

In reply to this attack, the minister stated, that the army numbered 150,000 effective men; that it was so organized, that it could, in a very short time, be raised to 250,000. He denied altogether either the desertion or the dissatisfaction which was said to exist in it. "Go, ask of these regiments," said he, "and you will find the most profound indignation at the manner in which you dare to interpret their sentiments While the opposition members feared not to attack so openly the intentions of the king's government, were they not afraid that some one might misinterpret their discourse, and suspect them of wishing to corrupt the fidelity of the troops?"

In the mode of raising the supplies, the most important particular was a proposal for a reduction of 21,000,000. francs on the land-tax, which, in France, forms the most important branch of revenue This remission was to be employed in reducing the preposterous inequality, which, from old causes, had crept into the distribution of this impost This had risen to such a height, that the tax, in some instances, was a seventeenth, in others a sixth, of the net income. Little objection was made in a financial view; though some mentioned other taxes, the remission of which appeared to them more urgently called for Discussion, however, was excited by the political effect of the change The qualification of electors had been fixed according to the amount of direct taxes paid; consequently, many persons still enjoying the same income, would, by a reduction of these taxes, be divested of their privilege. This measure, indeed, laid open the precarious basis on which the whole French representative system rested; for, if, in consequence of financial prosperity, all direct taxes could be taken off, or if they were even commuted for taxes on commodities, there would cease to be an individual in the kingdom entitled to vote for a deputy. The left side declared it impossible to agree to the reduction without an amendment, by which the qualification might be proportionally reduced, and the number of electors preserved undiminished. It was urged, in reply, that the present was a very trifling, and merely an equalizing arrangement, and was equally beneficial to the electoral system, which at present shared the inequalities of the fiscal system; that

since the last arrangement, the number of electors had increased from above 80,000, to 104,000, and, consequently, was greater now than had been contemplated at the first establishment; finally, that the amendment proposed, being entirely political, ought, according to the charter, to form a separate law from the present, which was strictly financial. The motion was finally disposed of by the order of the day

The [illegible]re law of finance was carried in the Deputies by 258 to 43, and in the Peers by 99 to 2.

The last important question which occupied the attention of the Chambers, was the proposal made by ministers for continuing the censorship on the journals. The committee, however, reported unfavourably on the project, complaining, that, though ministry boasted of the moderation with which this power had been exercised, it had refused to lay before them the suppressed articles, that they might judge for themselves Admitting the evil arising from the abuses of the press, it was conceived, that strict penal laws, after publication, were better fitted to repress them, than a previous censorship

The debate, as well as the report, went against the project The ultra-royalists and the liberaux, by a combination which soon proved fatal to ministers, united their efforts The latter employed the usual arguments in favour of free discussion; while the royalists exclaimed, that the censorship had been employed to promote mere ministerial interests, in opposition to monarchical principles, to the true welfare of the throne, of religion, and of the country It had studiously stifled the expression of sound doctrines, founded upon sentiments of fidelity and honour, to favour subversive and rebellious principles Ministers, however, succeeded in carrying the law, but clogged with a severe amendment, which limited its operation to the end of the third month after the meeting of the following session.

The session was closed on the 31st July, by a royal message

The present era was marked by an event, which caused a deep sensation in France, and made a material change in its political attitude Its once terrible ruler, whose iron rod had been stretched so widely over the nations, was announced to have terminated his mortal destiny An event which brought into one view a lot chequered by such mighty vicissitudes, so wondrous a rise, and so unprecedented a fall, could not but awaken reflection in the most thoughtless Death seemed to have gained a higher triumph than usual, when he extinguished a soul which, by its single energy, filled a world, and swayed the destinies of a race. There was something peculiarly wild and strange in this closing scene of his destiny, on a solitary rock, bosomed in the waste of the Atlantic, and so widely removed from that world, to all the movements of which he had been accustomed to give the main impulse.

Napoleon, in the first periods of his fall, displayed an equanimity almost heroic. He was then, as it were, a spectacle to mankind; the eye of the world was fixed on him; perhaps even some pleasure might be felt in the first relief from the anxious cares of empire. But, when all these new feelings were over, and when year after year of dreary and monotonous existence rolled on, his restlessly active mind began to prey upon itself, and the barriers of his rock-prison were felt pressing on him harder and harder. The violence also of his complaints was probably a manœuvre, fair and natural enough, to obtain an opportunity of liberation On the part of the British government, we conceive that it was altogether out of the question to afford any indulgence that was incompatible

with the most strict guardianship The case of one man could not be put in competition with the welfare of a hundred millions. Beyond this, it was magnanimous, and everyway right, that his comfort should be consulted. How far this was done by the appointment of Sir Hudson Lowe as his guardian, has been a subject of warm controversy; and we do not know if much has yet been got on either side, except the contradictory assertions of parties concerned It was necessary to find a man trusty, vigilant, and determined, and it might be difficult, in so painful an office, to find these qualities in combination with the highest polish and sauvity of manners We have formerly blamed the withholding the title of Emperor; and, if there was any wanton neglect or insult, we should certainly blame it. There does not appear any deliberate intention of such on the part of government, but, on the contrary, a considerable wish to promote the personal convenience of the illustrious prisoner

O'Meara, whom Buonaparte had entirely gained over, represented his complaints as arising from an affection of the liver, generated, or greatly aggravated, by a residence in warm climates. His friends, therefore, urge, that the prolongation of his residence at St Helena was nothing less than a sentence of death Five respectable medical men, however, by whom the body was opened after death, declared, that the disease had arisen solely from an ulceration of the stomach, understood to be hereditary; and that the liver exhibited no injury, unless what arose from the local contact of that morbid organ. It was remarked, indeed, that this report was not signed by Antomarchi, Napoleon's private physician, but this was probably only in consequence of his not being in the British service, since no contradiction was ever obtained from him, although there were so many by whom it would have been eagerly received and circulated.

A life of Buonaparte would be the history of Europe for the last twenty years, and it is scarcely here the place or time to form an estimate of his character. That party spirit, of which he was so long the main object, threw mankind into the most violent extremes. The period is past for considering him as a monster of crime, such as the world never before saw, and as only the abyss of Jacobinism could have thrown up. On the other hand, to represent him as a hero, with whose success the cause of liberty and the welfare of mankind were identified, and whose fall left the world in darkness, appears to us the most palpable extravagance and absurdity If there is nothing to sink him morally below, there seems as little to raise him above, the common herd of conquerors and usurpers, with whom it is not usual that anything is sacred which stands between them and the object of their boundless ambition To liberty, in every shape, and in every country, he was an avowed foe The instances in which he has been charged with acts of peculiar atrocity, are not very numerous, and some of them, though not all, have been cleared up But the main blemish is, that it is impossible to point out any course of conduct into which he entered with a view to the benefit of France, or of any other part of the world. His every care, every thought, every exertion, were devoted to his own aggrandizement, and that of his family. In private intercourse, although he was stormy, and, amid the cares of power, reserved and gloomy, yet there appears to have been a good deal of openness, amenity, and affection; and he succeeded in strongly attaching to himself those individuals by whom he was immediately surrounded.

The death of Napoleon appeared to give a firmer seat to the French government, and to relieve it from that inquietude which was always kept up by the existence of a standard, round which a large part of the French nation would have been inclined to rally. The King acted with moderation and magnanimity towards the memory of a foe no longer dreaded. The marks of grief which involuntarily burst from some officers of the old army, then in his service, were not only indulged, but applauded by him. Bertrand, Montholon, and others, who had personally attached themselves to their fallen master, were, on returning to France, restored to their place in the army, and to all the emoluments attached to it. A different spirit broke out from some of the zealots in the Chambers; but it was overborne and kept down by the sense of a great majority.

CHAPTER IX

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Agitated State of Spain.—Commotions at Madrid—Meeting of the Cortes—Change of Ministry—Disturbances in the Provinces—Murder of Vinuesa Violence of the Clubs—Proceedings of the Cortes—Disorder at Saragossa.—Plague at Barcelona.—Refractory Spirit at Cadiz, Seville, and Corunna—Reports and Debates on the subject—Sanitary Cordon, and Insurrectionary Movements

THE present year opened, for Spain, in a general state of interior agitation That superficial unanimity, which had been for some time exhibited, in regard to the new system, had now entirely disappeared, and two parties were very distinctly formed, one devoted to the cause of monarchy, and desiring the restoration of the ancient regime, the other disposed to push the nation still farther in the career of revolution Each party, agitated by continual wrongs and alarms, worked itself up always to an higher pitch of exultation. The ejected monks everywhere called the peasantry to arms, in the name of the throne, and, above all, of the altar, which they represented, as trampled under foot by the revolutionary system The superstitious reverence in which the church is held, particularly by this class of Spaniards, joined to the habits of insurrection and irregular fighting, formed during the long course of the French Revolution, enabled them to collect, in various quarters, a number of bands, which were with difficulty reached and dispersed by the regular troops The Spaniards had now a complete church militant, the royalist guerillas being usually headed by, and their ranks partly filled with, monks The Curate Merino, in Biscay and Navarre, distinguished himself above all the others, but the Sierra Morena, Old Castille, and even the environs of the capital, contained a number of similar partizans The great cities again, the focus of liberalism, were agitated by the clubs, who, enraged and alarmed at these movements, branded government as favouring them by its want of energy in their suppression, and denounced the highest persons in the state, and the royal house itself, as lending secret aid to the anti-revolutionary movements Among these clubs, that of Malta held now the

first place, destined soon to give place to the more violent one of the *Fontana d Oro*

One circumstance, which greatly augmented the ferment in the popular mind, was the charge brought against Vinuesa, the King's chaplain, of having been at the head of a plot destined to overthrow the constitutional system He was brought to trial, but the multitude and the clubs believed, that influence emanated from the highest quarters to avert, or at least to mitigate, the merited sentence Even the municipality (*ayuntamento*) of Madrid, in an address presented to the King, told him, that the enemies of the constitution were in his palace, in his house, and in his chapel These circumstances worked upon the minds of the multitude, who, whenever the monarch appeared in public, crowded round him, and with acclamations of "Live the constitutional King," mingled threatening cries, in which they demanded the death of Vinuesa, the disbanding of the Guards, and the dismissal of some ministers whom they suspected The King, having addressed a complaint upon this subject to the municipality, that body gave instructions, indeed, to their corregidors to watch over the maintenance of order, and published a proclamation, exhorting the people to be tranquil, but, at the same time, in this proclamation, recognized the justice of their complaints, and expressed confidence that they would be listened to, Such proclamations had a very imperfect tendency to allay the public ferment. Accordingly, when the King next came out, the same cries still saluted his passage The Guards, a body always zealously attached to the person of the monarch, and who could not divest themselves of the old impression, which viewed every insult to his person as the greatest of crimes, determined no longer to be tame spectators of this treatment Thirty of them rushed from their quarters, charged the people sword in hand, and wounded several, among whom was a corregidor • The people, however, mustered in great force, and drove back the troops to their quarters, where they with difficulty found safety A dreadful ferment now prevailed in the city, the garrison and National Guard were put under arms, and the greater number even of the Guards publicly disavowed the rash deed of their comrades. An address of the municipality, however, and the popular voice called for the dissolution of this body, which was supposed to have shewn an irreconcilable enmity to the cause of liberty The affair was referred to the Council of State, which decided, that no corps could be disbanded, unless by the authority of the Cortes, but that the Guards should be provisionally called upon to deliver up their arms, retaining only their swords, and should be superseded by another corps in attending upon the King's person After this crisis, the popular tumults abated, and tranquillity was in some degree restored.

Amid these agitations, the meeting of the Cortes was anxiously expected by all parties. A report prevailing, that the King would not open it in person, a deputation of the members waited upon his Majesty, on the 25th of February, and expressed their anxious wish on the subject. The King gave a satisfactory answer, declaring, that he would attend with great pleasure at the opening of the session. He added, "I hope, from the wisdom and prudence of the deputies, that they will adopt energetic measures, capable of arresting the evils with which the nation is threatened, and the precursors of which I perceive in the insults and disrespect shewn to

my dignity and to my person, in despite of the constitution."

On the 1st of March, the session of the Cortes was accordingly opened, with a speech from the King, which caused a considerable emotion in the House and the public It began with the strongest professions of attachment to the constitutional system The King said, "In seeing myself surrounded a second time by the worthy representatives of this heroic nation, which has given so many proofs of its love and its attachment to my royal person, my grateful heart cannot resist rendering thanks to the Almighty, who, having re-established me on the throne of my ancestors by the valour and constancy of my faithful subjects, has deigned to consolidate it, in giving it, as a basis, the constitution, sanctioned by the extraordinary Cortes, and to which, conformably to the wish of the nation, I have freely sworn.

"The happiness of the people that Divine Providence has confided to my care, which is, and always shall be, the object of my most ardent wishes, alone decided me to adopt a system which the nation desired, and which, besides, the lights and advancement of the age imperiously demanded.

"The effect has corresponded with my hopes, and I have seen, with the greatest satisfaction, Spanish loyalty rallying firmly round the throne of its King, manifesting everywhere, and by unequivocal testimonies, its adherence to the new institutions, which are to found the future grandeur and prosperity of the nation, and which are at the same time the best support of my throne, and give the highest lustre to the splendour of my crown"

A view was then taken of the different branches of administration, and it was stated, that the finances, though still labouring under considerable distress, were assuming a more favourable aspect, that national industry was reviving, and that in America war had at least suspended its ravages He then touched on the important subject of the affairs of Italy.

"The resolution," said he, "taken in the Congress of Troppau, and continued in that of Laybach, by the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to interpose in the changes of the political system established in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, has excited all my solicitude from consideration of that royal family, united to mine by ties of blood, and by the interest that I take in the happiness of that nation, and because it is of the utmost consequence to the independence of states, that the sacred rights of nations and their princes may be rightly respected I have, therefore, thought it indispensable to the honour of my throne, and to the dignity of the great nation which it is my glory to govern, to make it understood by suitable communications, that I will not recognize anything whatever that may be contrary to the positive rights of mankind, on which are founded the liberty, the independence, and prosperity of nations—principles which Spain, on its part, will inviolably respect with regard to others

"I have the satisfaction of announcing to the Cortes that the allied sovereigns, according to all the communications that I have received to the present time, have been and are agreed in recognizing these principles with respect to Spain"

But the most remarkable passage was that in which the King alluded to circumstances relating personally to himself, in the following terms — "It is necessary that I inform, though with much chagrin, this wise Congress, that the ideas of some ill-disposed persons, who strive to seduce

credulous people, by persuading them that my heart conceals views opposed to the system that governs us, are not unknown to my mind. Their object is only to inspire diffidence as to my pure intentions, and on the rectitude of my conduct I have sworn to the constitution, and I have always endeavoured to observe it, as much as depends on me Would to God that every one did the same! The outrages and the acts of irreverence of all sorts committed towards my dignity, in contempt of what order and respect for my person ought to exact as a constitutional King, have been published.

"I have no fears for my life or my safety; God, who reads my heart, watches both, and will preserve them, as will also the majority and the sound part of the nation But I ought not to withhold to-day from the Congress, as principally charged with preserving the inviolability that it wishes to be observed towards its constitutional King, that these insults would not have been repeated if the executive power had displayed all the energy which the constitution prescribes, and the Cortes desires The want of firmness, and the little activity, of many of the authorities, have given room to the renewal of such excesses, and, should they continue, it will not be astonishing if the Spanish nation finds itself enveloped in numberless evils and misfortunes.

I am confident that it will not be so, if the Cortes, as I must hope, unites intimately with their constitutional King, occupying themselves without relaxation to destroy abuses, to combine opinion, and to repress the machinations of ill-disposed persons, who wish only for disunion and anarchy"

These complaints, expressed in terms not altogether compatible with the royal dignity, excited a strong sensation in the Assembly, and as the president, unprepared to make such an answer as the delicacy of the circumstances demanded, replied only in vague and general terms, it was resolved, on the motion of the Conde de Torreno, that, according to the example followed in France and England, a committee should be appointed to prepare an answer

The agitation occasioned by this singular address, had scarcely subsided, when it was absorbed by a greater and more unexpected event The same evening, it was announced, that all the ministers except one had resigned, or, more properly speaking, had received their dismissal. No hint was given of those who were destined to fill their places Among all the liberal circles, this event excited an extraordinary emotion They considered the dismissal, at such a crisis, of men known for their attachment to the constitutional system, as a direct blow aimed against its continuance So strong was the expression of public opinion, that the King shrunk from this bold measure, and had recourse to a step equally unprecedented and degrading On the 3d of March, Jabat, the only remaining minister, presented a message to the Cortes, requesting their advice as to the formation of a new ministry. The King here said, "Wishing to give to the nation an irrefragable proof of the sincerity and rectitude of my intentions, and desirous that persons of talent, experience, and probity, should co-operate with me in causing the constitution to be observed throughout the whole monarchy, and who also may dexterously and carefully remove the obstacles which may occur, and avoid all motives of disturbance and discontent, I have resolved to address myself to the Cortes on this occasion, and avail myself of their information and zeal,

in order to choose the new Secretaries of State I know that this is a prerogative of my own, but I am also aware that it will not clash with its exercise, if the Cortes point out to me, and even name, the persons most deserving of public confidence, and who, in their opinion, are most suitable to fill these high offices with utility and merit Composed of representatives of all the provinces, nobody can guide me better in this delicate affair than they, and with less risk of the choice not being acceptable. That advice and information, which each deputy, individually, would not refuse me, if I asked it, they would not refuse me, now assembled, and I therefore trust they will prefer motives of public good to all considerations of delicacy and punctilio"

The Cortes were extremely astounded at a step by which the Monarch thus threw into their hands the most essential of the royal prerogatives The liberal deputies, however, were unanimous in considering it as an offer which ought, on no account, to be accepted. They denounced it even as suggested by the secret counsellors of the King, with the view of laying a snare for that Assembly "We stand in opposition," said Martinez de la Rosa, "with the ideas of the absolute sovereigns of Europe, and it is important to shew, that we will never be the instruments nor the accomplices of those who violate the rights of the Neapolitan nation Yet we must at the same moment resolve the problem, that liberty and order are inseparable, in order to destroy the calumnies against Spain, which are circulated through all the courts of Europe. It is time to shew, that the King is not under guardianship, nor a prisoner in the midst of us, as our enemies attempt to make it be believed Let us disarm calumny The Cortes ought to act with extreme prudence in so delicate a subject. The King is free in the choice of his ministers; we can anticipate in nothing, either of the information which he expects from the Council of State, or of the qualities of those whom he is to select" He only insisted on the necessity of the new ministers being decidedly devoted to the constitutional system. The Conde de Toreno very clearly intimated, that, if the Cortes had been to give any advice, it ought, in his opinion, to have recommended the restoration of the ministry who had now been deprived of their functions, and whom he considered as intimately identified with the constitutional system As this, however, would have implied not only interference, but censure, he considered it as still more out of the question for the Cortes to exercise the offered prerogative

As the result of this debate, the Cortes unanimously agreed to the following reply —

"*March* 3, 1821.

"Neither the principles recorded in the constitution, nor other considerations inseparable from the representative system and public utility, allow the Cortes to take the part the King wishes in the nomination of fresh persons for the ministry The only thing the Cortes can now advise and impress on his Majesty, in order to correspond worthily with his august confidence, and the general wishes of the nation, is, that the welfare of the latter, as well as of his Majesty himself, efficaciously require that the persons who are to fill these high situations, should have given positive and eminent proofs of their adherence to the constitutional system, and that they are, and always have been, favourable to the liberty and independence of the nation, and as it is commanded, with regard to offices less

important. By order of the Cortes, we communicate the same to you, in order that you may report the same to his Majesty, and in an answer to the communication of yesterday, transmitted by your predecessor in office, inclosing the royal decree, &c

"FRANCISCO FERNANDEZ GASCO, Dep. and Sec

"ESTANISLAO DE PENAFIEL, Dep. and Sec

"*To the Secretary of Marine.*"

After this extraordinary exchange of messages, Spain remained two days without a ministry, the management of the public business being left in the hands of the head clerks At length, in the sitting of the 5th, a message was received, in which the King stated, that, from the purest and most sincere motives, he had nominated the following persons — Matteo Valdemoros, for the interior, Ramon Felin, for the ultra-marine provinces, Vincente, Cano, Manuel, for justice, Antonio Barato, finances, Moreno y Daoix, for war; and Paula Escudero, for the navy The greater number were absent on different employments. The composition was of a mixed nature, such as gave little satisfaction to any party, but in which none could find any decided room for objection.

This affair being settled, the Cortes applied themselves to the delicate task of replying to the King's extraordinary speech, which they did in the following terms —"It was just and natural that the political changes which have taken place in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the intervention which the Sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, pretend to exercise in that respect, should have excited the solicitude of your Majesty The ties of blood which unite that royal family with that of your Majesty, and the incontestable right which all nations possess of meliorating their institutions, are motives sufficiently powerful to make Spain regard; with the most lively interest, an event so serious, and of such high importance The resolution taken by your Majesty to recognize nothing contrary to those principles of the law of nations on which reposes the independence of states, and which the Spanish nation will inviolably respect with regard to others, the Cortes conceive to be worthy of your Majesty, and of the grand nation which you govern They had, moreover, congratulated themselves, in concurrence with your Majesty, that the Allied Sovereigns, in all their communications, had hitherto manifested that they recognized these principles with respect to Spain This recognition has been made in a manner clear and express, such as the Cortes desired, as the national dignity required, and our security in regard to the neighbouring states imperiously demanded. The Cortes conceive that it becomes the Spanish nation, which has so many claims to the gratitude and admiration of Europe for the glorious part which it took in the emancipation of the continent, and for the generous efforts with which it sustained its own independence, and gave an example to other nations, to take such measures as may protect it from all political vicissitudes, and place it in the requisite state of security. The Cortes have heard with grief and surprise the conclusion of your Majesty's speech Full of affection, loyalty, and an ardent zeal for the observance of the constitution, which so positively prescribes the respect due to the sacred and inviolable person of your Majesty, they can never behold with indifference any act which should not be conformable to this constitutional principle,—an act which could not be conceived but by

a Spaniard unworthy of the name, and who would for ever merit the general execration of the nation, and particularly that of a capital which has given your Majesty, from the commencement of your reign, so many proofs of affection and fidelity The Cortes, called by the constitution to the discharge of legislative functions, rely for the rest on the zeal and wisdom of your Majesty They expect, with firm confidence, that your Majesty, as supreme and sole head of the executive power, and as concentrating in your august person the power of causing the laws to be executed, and as extending your authority to everything that concerns the preservation of public order, which is inseparable from attachment and veneration towards the Royal Majesty, will give orders for repressing with energy every excess contrary to our institutions, by the means which those institutions themselves prescribe. They finally hope that by this conduct your Majesty will consummate the great work of our political restoration, and will more and more secure the vigour and perpetuity of the constitutional throne, conformably to the general and invariable wishes of the Spanish people."

The Cortes took first under its consideration the state of the foreign relations of Spain Some deputies demanded farther explanations upon the objects of the Holy Alliance, and their engagements. But as the new ministry were not forthcoming, and the last considered themselves no longer responsible, it was impossible to obtain any satisfaction. Only the most vehement of the liberal deputies, Romero Alpuente, proposed that the government should endeavour to put a stop to the hostilities against Naples. The proposal was rejected, and the Cortes merely resolved "to thank the government for having rejected and disapproved the principle of interfering with the internal affairs of other nations, which several powers appeared to assume, and to invite the government to follow up, with the greatest vigour, the demands for explanations and guarantees already made from foreign powers, respecting their manner of viewing the affairs of Spain"

The next object of deep attention was, the report of the committee on the subject of internal security It stated the existence of a combination of plots for the overthrow of the constitution, all directed by a supreme junta, with a number of secondary juntas under it Centres of conspiracy had been established by Spanish refugees in France, particularly in the street *Richelieu* in Paris, and at Bayonne It had broken forth on several occasions, particularly at the commencement of the present session, on the dismissal of a ministry which had shewn so much zeal in the maintenance of the new institutions. This ministry was supposed to have the secret of all their schemes, and its fall was therefore considered as a signal triumph. The object was, to seize the person of the King, and to restore absolute power All these schemes, however, had been hitherto baffled by the good disposition of the army and the national militia.

The circumstance in this report which most strongly attracted public attention, was a document in the hand-writing of Venuesa, chaplain to the King, who, as already mentioned, was under trial for treasonable designs This paper contained the complete scheme of a plot, which was to be communicated to the King, the Infant Don Carlos, the Duke del Infantado, and the Marquis of Castillar, and in which their co-operation was reckoned upon The constitutional system, with all its ensigns and

appendages, was to be overthrown, the principal liberals either put to death, or thrown into prison, and all things re-established on the footing they were on before March, 1820, except that the King should convoke the national Cortes on its ancient footing.

Strenuous debates arose upon this report, which those members who had a leaning to the royal cause, represented as greatly exaggerated, and as chiefly aiming to support the interest of the former ministry. The liberal party, however, lent it full evidence, and measures were proposed and carried, for averting from Spain the threatened dangers In addition to the regular force, a decree was passed for calling upon the services of all Spaniards of a military age, and forming them into two bodies of militia, one of which was to be active, and, in case of invasion, to be placed on the same footing with the regular army, the other was to be local. Spain was divided into eight military districts, the head-quarters of which were to be Madrid, Barcelona, Saragossa, Vittoria, or Pampeluna, Corunna, Seville, Grenada, and Badajos. Other measures were prompted by the alarm of the moment, in which liberty, to a great extent, was sacrificed to its own preservation. The penalty of banishment was pronounced upon every Spaniard who should propagate maxims or doctrines tending directly to overthrow the constitution; fines were imposed upon those who, by satires or invectives, should provoke to its non-observance A summary mode of judgment was decreed for all who should be found engaged in insurrection, who were to be tried by a council of war, and executed in forty-eight hours

These measures were but too naturally prompted by the disturbed state of the provinces. In Alava, the southern division of Biscay, the curate Merino had swelled his force to 700 or 800 men, had entered Salvatierra, where he threw down the stone of the constitution, and where he defeated and captured the National Guard of Vittoria, which had marched to its defence. He was marching upon Vittoria, when he was met by Lopez Banos, then commandant at Pampeluna, an original and zealous champion of the revolution. After a short, but desperate conflict, the insurgent guerilla was completely put to the route, and 400 taken prisoners; military execution was immediately performed upon the chiefs, who consisted chiefly of monks and curates, while Merino, with the wreck of his force, fled into Old Castille.

In the capital, where a great majority of the population had embraced the extreme of liberal opinions, these anti constitutional movements excited an indignation, which was greatly heightened by another critical event The trial of Vinuesa terminated in his being condemned to ten years confinement in the galleys—certainly a very merciful sentence, if there was truth in the report of the Cortes, and if the document laid before that assembly was written by him. By the multitude, this opinion was felt in the most vehement degree, and their passions were soon excited to a fatal pitch On the following day, (4th May,) they assembled in vast crowds, and rushed against the prison. The militia endeavoured to oppose them, by firing from the windows, but the mob, having provided hammers and other instruments, broke open the prison doors, and, with the same instruments, executed that terrible sentence which they judged due on the unfortunate Vinuesa.

All moderate citizens were struck with terror at an event, which call-

ed to mind, and threatened to renew, the most frightful excesses of the French Revolution Inquiries were in vain made to discover the ringleaders of this enormity, and, indeed, if discovered, government might have been afraid to proceed to extremities against them The reproachful name of *Martillo* was applied to them, from the fatal instrument, but from this they so little shrunk, that those who became obnoxious to this violent faction were warned of it by blows with a hammer, heard under their chamber at midnight These first symptoms of a party of blood, similar to that of the French Jacobins, were of fatal portent to the peace and liberty of Spain They could not fail to augment still farther the alarm and growing enmity of the body hostile to the system established by the late revolution. Meantime, some individual, of high character and moderate views, was sought for, to still the dreadful ferment which reigned in the capital. Morillo, who had so long commanded in the colonies, was newly arrived, after the truce there concluded With some difficulty he was prevailed upon to undertake the place of Captain-General of Madrid, a situation which no one was likely to hold at such a crisis, without having cause to repent it.

Amid these tumults, the Cortes carried on the usual business of the session The most important and most difficult point of administration was that of finance. According to the budget of the present year, the expenses were estimated at about 7,560,000*l*, the receipts at 6,750,000*l*, leaving an estimated deficit of 810,000*l*. The actual deficit of the past year had been much greater, and, to cover the two, a loan was required to the extent of 3,618,000*l* Such a system, in the midst of peace, could not but be considered as dreadful and ruinous, especially as the hopes of improvement held out, proved, as we shall hereafter see, to be entirely fallacious.

The Cortes having, in the two preceding years, fixed all the grand outlines of the constitution, employed the present session in a variety of little details and finishings Strict regulations were adopted for the preservation of order during the sittings. Females were excluded from the galleries, their presence had been permitted in the Cortes of Cadiz, but was said to have been the occasion of much disorder The president could call to order any deputy who might appear to him to offend, and, after having done so thrice, he could banish him from the sitting. A tribunal, chosen by the Cortes itself, was appointed to try any criminal charge against one of its members, this tribunal was to be renewed every two years It was a subject of discussion, whether the ministers should be ever permitted to sit in the Cortes, and it was carried only under the condition that they should leave the house before any vote took place. A salary of 400*l* a-year was assigned to the deputies; but they were rendered incapable, during the exercise of their functions, of receiving, or soliciting for others, any office in the nomination of the crown The contingents for the army were fixed at 16,595 men Those balloted might provide a substitute; but the system of exemption in consideration of a pecuniary payment was abolished.

During this session, the arrangements for public instruction, which had been formed in the last session, were finally fixed Farther limitations were imposed on the power of the ecclesiastics, they were subjected to the ordinary tribunals and penalties It was no longer allowed to export money to Rome for bulls, dispensations, and indulgences, in consideration of

which, there was to be offered to the Pope an annuity of 2000*l*, which, however, was not the half of what he actually drew by the other expedients. The abolition of seignorial rights, to a great extent, was carried, after much discussion and opposition, but rejected by the King.

On the 30th June, the King closed the session of the Cortes in a speech, where he pronounced a most pompous panegyric on the zeal, diligence, and ability, with which they had executed their high functions He congratulated them on the dispersion of the single factious band which had made its appearance, and on the improvement which was beginning to be felt in the national arts and industry; he held out some vague hopes of a reconciliation with the American provinces, and he anticipated, though without mentioning any precise time, the meeting them again soon, convoked in extraordinary Cortes

After the close of the assembly, the King retired to the baths of Lacedon, and seemed in no haste to fulfil his last intimation In the capital, however, the fermentation of parties rose always to a higher and higher pitch. A new body, called the *Communeros*, carried popular principles to a higher pitch than any hitherto; and, in the *Fontana d'Oro*, their favourite haunt, the most violent and revolutionary doctrines were openly proclaimed Their adversaries, equally inflamed, branded the whole of this faction with the opprobrious term of *Descamisados*, (shirtless,) as composed only of the lowest and most beggarly of the populace Numerous and tumultuary assemblages having taken place in front of the place where the guards apprehended on account of the former attack upon the people, were confined, and these assemblages assuming a threatening aspect, Morillo attacked and dispersed the multitude with a body of troops. Madrid and the clubs were then thrown into a dreadful ferment, and the most violent charges were advanced against Morillo That general resigned his office, and refused to resume it, till after he had been declared innocent by a formal trial. The sentence, however, did not satisfy his adversaries, or still the public agitation.

Amid these tumults, a general call arose for the convocation of the extraordinary Cortes, which seemed to afford the only means of placing the tottering balance of the state in any steady position The King accordingly came to Madrid on the 4th, and, on the 12th, summoned that assembly for the 24th September. They could have assembled much sooner, as most of the deputies, in presentiment of such a measure, had remained in the capital

From these agitations at Madrid, public attention was diverted, by still more threatening movements, of which Saragossa was the theatre. In the more violent of the clubs of the capital, some hot-headed members had thrown out the idea of marching an army into France, and propagating the Spanish constitution. At Saragossa, this standard was openly raised by Cugnet de Montarlot, a French journalist, who had been banished for the boldness of his writings This person appeared in the city, in full uniform, decorated with various orders, and openly announced the design of collecting an army, with which he might re-establish in France the constitution of 1791. He assumed the title of General-in-Chief of the Constitutional Armies, President of the great Empire of France, and appointed La Fayette second in command. Being seconded by one Villamer, and other leading *communeros*, he excited a great agitation. Moreda, the political chief,

in the absence of Riego, who was governor of the province, judged it necessary to call out the garrison and militia, and to place the city, as it were, in a state of siege Montarlot, finding himself supported by no adequate numbers, took to flight, and was taken five or six days after Moreda, however, in his despatches to government, openly charged Riego with having abetted, and held intercourse with, this French malcontent; but Riego always declared, that, though he had shewn hospitality, as to a persecuted man, he never had the least idea of Montarlot's designs, far less any disposition to support them Ministry, however, ready, as is alleged, to listen to any charge against the grand author of the revolution, deprived Riego of his government, and assigned Lerida as the place of his exile. This decision was announced to Riego as he was returning to the city, where the state of men's minds was such, that his presence threatened to cause a serious explosion He behaved on this trying occasion in a manner calculated to confirm the most favourable impressions of his conduct After a little hesitation, he submitted to the orders of government, and retired to Lerida

A violent clamour was raised throughout Spain at this treatment of their favourite chief, to which, it was alleged, he had been exposed solely by his own attachment to constitutional principles The disgrace, inflicted upon the bare assertion of Moreda, was said to betray the most manifest bias Discontent thus fermented in the minds of the constitutional party, and threatened, at no distant period, a violent explosion

Attention was for a moment withdrawn from political dissension, by one of those dreadful scourges of nature, by which, happily, Europe is only partially and occasionally assailed. A contagious distemper, of the most terrible nature, broke out at Barcelona. Opinions respecting its origin, as well as that of contagion in general, are very conflicting, but the most prevalent one makes it the yellow fever, brought by a Spanish brig from the Havannah It appeared about the beginning of August, in the suburb of Barcellonetta, but, for some time, made little progress, and was not even supposed contagious. It was not till the middle of September that its ravages became dreadful, and were spread by the flying citizens to Tortosa and Mequinenza. It continued to rage for upwards of two months, and is supposed to have carried off 20,000 of the inhabitants of Barcelona, and a proportional number of the other cities As winter came on, it began rapidly to abate, and, by keeping vigilant watch, was prevented from spreading to other parts of Spain

Parties, meantime, were running higher every moment Petitions were poured in from every quarter, and particularly from Cadiz, demanding the dismissal of ministers Ministers, however, determined to face the storm, and, by a course of vigorous measures, to overawe, if possible, the hostile factions They resolved, that all the high commands should no longer be held by the revolutionary leaders, but should be filled with persons devoted to themselves Moreda was maintained in his place, notwithstanding the load of odium which he had incurred. The Marquis de la Reunion, and, on his refusal, the Baron d'Andilla, was appointed to the important situation of Commandant at Cadiz. This measure brought the dispositions of that city to a crisis The people prevailed upon Jauregui, their present commandant, to remain at his post, and to write a letter, in which, instead of tendering his obedience, he drew a glowing picture of the miseries which Spain endured from the arts of her

present ministry. With such admiration did this conduct inspire Velasco, Captain-General of Seville, that he wrote a letter to the municipality of Cadiz, congratulating them on their patriotic and heroic resistance, and entreating to have his name inscribed on the list of their militia, that, "if the destinies of his country willed it, he might die gloriously in its ranks" These two great cities were now in a state very little differing from that of open insurrection. The people of Cadiz were no worse than their word, and, on the arrival of the Baron d'Andilla, shut their gates against him Besides their address to the King, they transmitted one to the permanent deputation of the Cortes, calling upon them to place ministers in a state of accusation Ministers, however, held on their course, they superseded Velasco, and appointed in his place Moreno Daoiz, though with little hope of making good the nomination, which, in fact, experienced the same fate as that of Cadiz At Corunna, the people, taking courage by example, equally opposed the order for removing Mina from the place of governor, though the rest of the province, which had always distinguished itself by monarchical propensities, professed its readiness to accept the royal appointment

The extraordinary Cortes being now sitting, it became expedient to refer to them the critical state in which the country was placed. On the 26th November, the King sent a message, deploring the recent events which had taken place at Cadiz, where, under pretext of love for the constitution, it had been trampled under foot. He expressed his confidence that the Assembly would cooperate in supporting at once the prerogative of the crown, and the public liberty; that they would give a new proof of the spirit of conciliation which had always distinguished them, and would labour to consolidate the constitution of the monarchy, which was threatened with approaching ruin, if the evils that began to be experienced were not stifled in their birth

The Cortes applied themselves without delay to the delicate functions which they were called upon to exercise. Two commissioners were appointed,—one to prepare an answer to the King's message, and the other to propose to the Cortes the measures which ought to be taken under present circumstances

On the 9th of December, Calatrava presented the report of the two commissions It began with taking a general view of the nature and origin of the late troubles The conduct of the people, both at Seville and Cadiz, was decidedly blamed, but more particularly that of the former, who had originally no real cause of complaint whatever They observed, that his Majesty had the constitutional right of filling all civil and military employments, and every Spaniard ought to respect it, though he had also the right of censuring the conduct of the minister who authorized an improper measure, or of accusing him if he violated the law However, they observed, "The error in some points, and the aberration of some persons in others, are not such that the committee attributes them to the will, and they cannot but merit the indulgence of the Cortes But the national Congress cannot but expressly disapprove, in the face of all Europe, the disobedience and illegal proceedings of those authorities, which will doubtless suffice to make them return to their duty, acknowledging that they have erred

"The Cortes may be pleased to examine, in the first place, this point; and, above all, let the observance of

the constitution, and obedience to the royal authority, in conformity with it, be secured. These two things are inseparable; the question is not of the ministers, but of government, and of the power which the constitution assigns to the King. The ministers may be culpable, but the government and authority of the King, when they remain within the constitutional limits, ought to be sacred to all What would become of liberty, if the laws did not govern, and how shall they govern, if it is lawful to disobey him who is charged to execute them, when he does not act contrary to them? Under pretence of supporting the constitution, it has been scandalously violated at Cadiz and Seville, by creating, under the title of Juntas, authorities unknown to the constitution, attacking prerogatives which the constitution consecrates, and resisting orders which the same constitution commands to be obeyed Illegitimate organs erect themselves into interpreters of the public opinion, and usurp the functions of all the powers of the state Weakness and irreflection have yielded to their impulse, and for the first time been precipitated into disobedience The Cortes may fear that those evils will increase, unless they are stopped at their origin."

The commission then presented their ulterior report, a sealed paper, which they wished not to be opened till after the address had been voted Much debate ensued on this singular and mysterious process, however, it was at length carried that it should be so, by a majority of 114 to 64.

The address was then voted, in which the Cortes expressed to his Majesty their conviction of the fatal consequences which must ensue from such proceedings as had been followed by the authorities of Seville and Cadiz, at the same time observing, that a paternal government should sometimes hide errors produced by aberrations of opinion, or by an exultation, proceeding, perhaps, from a laudable zeal They proceeded as follows:—"The Political Chief and Commandants-General of Cadiz and Seville have not only failed, but have, even by their conduct, contributed to legitimate, if it were possible, the malicious assertions by which the favourers of despotism endeavour to decry liberal institutions, and persuade that they are incompatible with order

"The Cortes cannot but express to his Majesty and the nation, how highly they disapprove of those events; and, believing, on the one hand, that the disobedience of the authorities of Cadiz and Seville arose principally from error, and, on the other, that the loyalty and patriotism by which the citizens are so distinguished, cannot render the triumph of the law and of order doubtful for a moment, have resolved, first, solemnly to declare, that both the one and the other ought to have obeyed, and ought now to obey, and punctually to fulfil, the measures of his Majesty which have not been carried into effect, the Cortes being sure that this resolution will be sufficient for those authorities, and all whom their example has misled, to return to their duty, without placing the national representation in the afflicting necessity of adopting other measures"

The address concluded with assurances of the determination of the Cortes to unite with his Majesty in maintaining the constitution

This affair being dispatched, on the following day the mysterious paper was opened, and was found to contain matter which would have been little acceptable to the royal ear It gave a summary of all the errors of which ministers had been guilty in the course of these unfortunate events,

particularly their neglecting to follow out the thread of the plots against the constitution which were known to exist The results of the whole were summed up in the following severe conclusion —"The committee cannot refrain from offering to the consideration of the Cortes two observations, on account of the intimate connexion which they have with the principle object of this report —

"1st, The Cortes in the preceding session determined on the means for meeting all the expenses, and, either from ignorance or some other cause, those measures have not been put in execution, so that the public treasury is impoverished to such a degree, that obligations of the most sacred character, even those which should furnish supplies to the throne, have not been fulfilled.

"2d, The Cortes resolved on a system of taxes and administration, and that system has not been put in force, rather through negligence on the part of the agents of the administration, than from any resistance on the side of those liable to contribution. The events of which the committee has been informed, and others of which it is still ignorant, have destroyed all the moral force of the administration; and, whatever may have been their origin, their result is not to be doubted

"We have seen civil officers, military corps, and local authorities, have all demanded the dismissal of the ministry Addresses far from respectful have been succeeded by menaces, and to the latter has been added disobedience, which the committee would wish to see blotted out of the history of the people who have done so much for the country, and to whose heroism we owe that glory which will never decay, and that liberty which we have sighed for But the consequence is, that we have authorities which do not obey the government; and the ministry have found no other means of saving the vessel of the state than by submitting to the Cortes, in the events of Cadiz and Seville, a new proof of the obstacles which their measures experience Notwithstanding this, the committee distinguish times, persons, and affairs All the ministers have not equally participated in these events, but the Cortes cannot allow themselves to confound the authority of the King, which is one, indefeasible, and independent, with that of the persons who execute his orders.

"The mysterious conduct of the ministry, the state of the finances, the general distrust, and the efforts of the discontent and ambition of some, must influence the excited passions Ambitious men of little reputation, and who cannot exist except amidst disorders, wish to drive the people into the horrors of anarchy This evil has produced another. The local authorities have been compelled to unite in juntas, which the constitution does not recognize. Chiefs of military corps, and local militia, and even prelates, have assisted at these meetings, formed of persons who dare to call themselves the delegates of the people, though the constitution knows no other delegates than the deputies to the Cortes The liberty of the press has been profaned by the scandalous abuse made of it Such are the evils we experience The conclusion is, that it is necessary to address a message to his Majesty, in which the Cortes shall set forth—

"1st, That, in order to appease the apprehension and distrust of the nation, and give to government the requisite influence, it is expedient that his Majesty should deign to make that reform in his administration which circumstances render absolutely necessary

"2d, That, if his Majesty should think any legislative measures requisite for the remedy of the evils and abuses complained of, the Cortes would be ready to take into consideration any project of law which his Majesty, in his wisdom, should deem fit to propose."

In reply to so severe a report, it was urged, in behalf of ministers, that, though the constitution certainly rendered them responsible for all the acts of the executive government, yet this was not the way in which the control of government ought to be exercised; that a regular accusation should be brought forward, and definite facts stated; and that they should not be driven from their places by vague and undefined charges, which it was equally impossible to understand and to refute. The proposition, however, was carried by a majority of 104 to 59.

After this vote, it was supposed, that a change of ministry must be the immediate consequence. The King, however, appeared disposed to make a stand, and replied to the message of the Cortes only in these words: "The affair is important; I will reflect upon it." Meantime, new proofs of contumacy were given by the cities of the south. Seville and Cadiz addressed fresh representations to the Cortes, justifying their rejection of chiefs sent by a ministry whom they had every reason to suspect, and whom the Sevillians said, "they had sworn to disobey, even at the expense of their life."

These proceedings called for the most serious attention of the Cortes, and a committee was immediately appointed to take the above addresses into consideration. The report, which was delivered next day, characterized the representations as decidedly seditious, and the whole conduct of those concerned as tending to rebellion; and concluded, that there was room for placing them in a state of public accusation.

This report gave occasion to a very stormy debate, in which Cortes, Romero Alpuente, and others of the high popular leaders, defended, or at least excused, the people and authorities of Seville and Cadiz, and set forth in glowing colours the misconduct of the ministry out of which their discontent had arisen. The Cortes, however, by the large majority of 112 to 36, adopted the proposal of the committee.

It is impossible not to acknowledge, that the whole conduct of this Assembly, considered as a popular body, on so trying an occasion, was moderate, respectful, and favourable to the maintenance of public order. It was such, indeed, as drew upon them the indignation of the clubs and *exaltados* of Madrid Notwithstanding, however, the vigorous resolutions into which they had entered, and the approach of a body of troops under the Marquis of Campo Verde, the year closed without any signs of submission given by the refractory cities At the same period, the King, though calling council after council, had come to no decisive resolution respecting the change of ministry so urgently demanded by the Cortes and the nation

Contemporaneous with these democratic movements in the great cities, were others of a very opposite description, destined soon to assume a truly formidable character. On the motive or pretext of the pestilence which desolated Catalonia, that body of troops, which, under the title of the sanitary cordon, proved the germ of future mighty evils, was drawn along the French frontier This was either intended, or accepted, by the

high royalist party, as a movement made to favour their operations. Through all the frontier provinces, the curates and monks ran from village to village, calling on the people to take arms in defence of the altar and the throne. Crowds of peasantry assembled at this call in various parts of Navarre, Upper Arragon and Catalonia. In the former province, Juanito and San Ladron, old officers of Mina, assembled 1200 or 1500 men, and though repeatedly routed by Lopez Banos, found shelter within the French territories, and again rallied. Thus the seeds were rapidly springing up of that more formidable insurrection which marked the history of the following year.

In PORTUGAL, all opposition to the constitutional system having ceased, nothing remained but to put it in motion. On the 26th January the Cortes assembled. The Count de San Payo, Vice-President of the Supreme Tribunal, opened it with a discourse, in which he proclaimed as fundamental principles, obedience and fidelity to the King, and the strict profession of the Catholic religion. One of the first acts of the Cortes was to dissolve the provisional junta, with expressions, however, of approbation of its conduct; and a Regency was installed, composed, in a great measure, of the same members.

The Cortes now proceeded to fix the basis of the constitution, which they did on a model still more democratic than that of Spain. An orator, indeed, (Pirheiro Azevedo,) made a proposal for what he called an intermediate power between the legislative and executive; which, when closely inquired into, was found to mean a second Chamber, but this motion, though taken into consideration, was negatived by a majority of 59 against 26. Another proposed, that the King should have a permanent *veto*, but this was negatived by 78 against 7; and, though it was almost unanimously voted that he should have a temporary *veto*, the exercise of this was ultimately limited to the period of a month. It was only carried by 49 against 41, that there should be a Council of State; a large party urging that the Cortes, and their permanent deputation, might be Council sufficient.

The Cortes had scarcely completed these arrangements, when intelligence arrived that the King was about to return to Europe. The accounts were received with an expression of outward joy, not unmingled with secret apprehension. Although, the King had given his consent to the new system, his sincerity might perhaps be more than doubted; and it might even be apprehended, that a still greater dislike to a similar system, just established, as we shall see, in his American dominions, might be a leading motive of his return. Even in the letter announcing the royal intention, was found the expression, "my vassals," which was considered as savouring greatly too much of the ancient order of things. These jealous spirits even found room for criticism in the expressions *approve*, and *sanction*, as applied to the constitution, when there was room, as they conceived, for nothing more than simple acceptance. These objections were even introduced into a declaratory protest, which was unanimously carried.

Such was the state of men's minds, when, on the 3d of July, it was announced that the royal fleet had entered the Tagus. The Cortes immediately took the strictest precautions to provide for this crisis. Measures were adopted to suppress among the people any violent symptoms of loyalty, which might have been unfavourable to the constitutional order. It

was decreed, that no foreigner should hold any office without the consent of the Cortes, and that the Count de Palmela, with certain other persons named, should not disembark along with the King. These resolutions were notified to his Majesty by a deputation, which had instructions to remain on board till the moment of landing However injurious these measures must have been felt, no resentment was expressed; and, on the following day, before noon, the King landed in great pomp, and amid the acclamations of the people. After the service of *Te Deum* at the cathedral, he repaired to the hall of the Cortes, and made oath to the constitution with every shew of sincerity Mutual speeches of congratulation then passed between the President and the King. Some expressions of the latter, however, appearing to imply, that he considered himself as sharing the legislative power with the Cortes, a representation was drawn up, pointing out the discrepancy between these expressions and the articles of the constitution. The King, in reply, used every assurance by which he could satisfy them of the absolute and unqualified manner in which he accepted the code presented to him

As soon as the King had named a ministry, the Cortes dissolved the Regency, and declared him in the exercise of the executive functions of the government.

This change in the Portuguese constitution produced, from the first, a difficulty in maintaining diplomatic relations with the great monarchical potentates This was increased by some accidental circumstances. In one of the constitutional rejoicings, the delegate from Rome, and, in another, the Russian consul, had their windows broken in consequence of a refusal to illuminate Warm remonstrances were hereupon made by the Russian and Austrian ambassadors, who stated their determination not to illuminate on any such occasion, and demanded security, that they should experience no molestation Receiving none which appeared to them satisfactory, they took their departure on the 22d of August, with all their suite, except a consul to watch over their commercial concerns. Apprehensions were entertained, that a rupture might be the consequence, but, though the relations with these powers remained in a precarious and unfriendly position, nothing occurred that amounted to open hostility.

CHAPTER X

ITALY

King of Naples arrives at Laybach—Yields to the Views of the Confederates —Austrian Army passes the Po —Preparations at Naples —Defeat of General Pepe —Dissolution of the Army —Austrians enter Naples —Re-establishment of the King—Measures taken by him.—Discontents in Piedmont. —The Students at Turin —Revolutionary Movements.—Abdication of the King —Spanish Constitution proclaimed —Desertion of the Prince of Carignan.—Action at Novara —General submission —Treaty of Occupation.

THE last year closed that critical period which was to usher in the final catastrophe of the Neapolitan revolution. The King, whom we left at Florence, did not linger in that city, but, proceeding, even at this rigorous season, through the Venetian States, and across the Noric Alps, arrived on the 8th January at Laybach The Emperors of Russia and Austria were already there No negotiation ensued. The King was informed that no room was left for deliberation or discussion The purpose of the monarchs was irrevocably formed, on no account to acknowledge or permit the state of things established in the kingdom of the two Sicilies If, therefore, the revolutionary government, as there was reason to fear, should refuse to undo all its acts, and to resign its self-assumed existence, all the resources of both empires were to be employed in putting it down by force of arms It was added, that the alarm and danger into which this revolution had thrown the neighbouring states, rendered it indispensable that they should call upon Naples for some guarantee of its future tranquillity. This could only be afforded by the temporary occupation of its territory by Austrian troops; a measure which would in no degree touch on national independence This measure was at all events finally resolved upon, but, in case of unconditional submission on the part of the Neapolitans, the troops thus quartered would be maintained at the expense of the power to which they belonged, while, in the event of resistance, the funds must be supplied by Naples herself The King having then inquired, what system was to be substituted for that which the monarchs were determined to overthrow, the reply was, that it must rest solely and absolutely with himself, acting on the advice of the persons whom he might judge best qualified to give to his people the constitution which might to him appear best calculated to promote their welfare The King represents himself as having earnestly attempted to obtain some modification of these purposes, approximating to the engagements which he

had so solemnly taken, but, finding the determinations of his august brethren immovable, he gave his oaths to the wind, and meekly resigned himself to the fatal necessity of being re-established in all the plenitude of absolute power

The unfortunate Neapolitans, meantime, were awaiting, with intense anxiety, the issue, which they might have so well foreseen, of this inauspicious journey. Little satisfaction was afforded by the King's first letter, in which he merely spoke of the amusement he found in hunting, and the superiority of his dogs to those of the Emperor Alexander The want of information was fully supplied by the next, dated the 20th January, in which he communicated all the above particulars, stating, that it was out of his power, and, he believed, out of any human power, to obtain a different result; and that no alternative appeared to be left, but that of seeking, if possible, to avert the calamities of war, by an unqualified acquiescence The Duke de Gallo, minister at war, who had accompanied the King, wrote soon after to the same effect He had been detained from proceeding to Laybach till everything was fixed The King then, in reply to every argument he could use, urged the total impossibility of altering the determination of the Congress. The Duke was also admitted to a general meeting of the ministers plenipotentiary, but merely to hear from M de Metternich, the immutable determination formed by the allied courts, without being allowed to urge anything in reply He found that Russia, Austria, and Prussia, took the lead in this resolution, and were prepared to support it by the most active measures France passively concurred. Britain professed a strict neutrality, and her minister was present merely as a spectator.

Austria no longer lost any time in acting upon the principles thus peremptorily announced, and which she justified, in a long declaration, published at Verona on the 18th February The army in Upper Italy, amounting to between 50 and 60,000 men, was placed under the command of General Frimont, and received immediate orders to pass the Po It was in the most formidable state The long continued war, so recently terminated, had given to it a completely hardy and veteran character, while a sufficient interval of peace had elapsed, to fill up its ranks, and place it in the highest state of equipment and discipline

On the 4th February, Frimont, from his head quarters at Padua, published a proclamation, announcing to the army the immediate intention of crossing the Po. They were strongly recommended to maintain order and discipline, both in passing through the territories of friendly powers, and after they had crossed the Neapolitan frontier Only the enemies of public tranquillity, only rebels to their King, would oppose any resistance, but they would in vain attempt to obstruct the salutary object which this army was destined to accomplish. The consequences would fall on their own heads, not upon those of loyal and peaceable citizens

On the following day, the whole army broke up and passed the Po, at or near Cremona, where the entire body directed its march upon Bologna. On reaching that city, it split into two great divisions, one of which proceeded eastward through the Marches, upon Ancona, while the other directed its course to the west, by Florence and Rome

These communications, and the measures founded upon them, could not fail to throw Naples into the utmost agitation. All hopes of preserving her constitution, at any price but that of

a war with the great powers, were now at an end The Prince, however, made no hesitation in declaring his determination to support the constitutional system; and, in a council of ministers, declared himself ready to share the dangers and destinies of the nation; to expose his own life, and what was still dearer to him, the lives of his family, in defending its rights, independence, and honour. It was then determined to consider the declaration of the King, as not having emanated from his free will, and consequently not binding upon his subjects. At the same time, orders were issued for placing the regular army in a full state of activity, and for reinforcing it with 50,000 militia, or legionary soldiers. As some jealousy was inspired by the presence both of a French and English squadron in the Bay, the ambassadors of the two powers were called upon to explain the motives for which they were stationed there Both replied, that their instructions, in the event of the approaching war, were to observe the strictest neutrality, unless, contrary to expectation, any steps were taken, affecting the personal safety of the royal family

The session of Parliament had closed on the 31st January; but, according to the constitution, a permanent deputation was left, to which the Prince immediately communicated the dispatches from Laybach, and his own determination to adhere to the national cause. The deputation lost no time in convoking an extraordinary session, which was effected, without delay, as all the members, foreseeing such a call, had remained in the capital. The parliament accordingly met on the 13th, and was opened by a speech from the Prince, in which he reiterated his expressions of attachment to the constitution They immediately decided, that the propositions made by the Allied Powers, could on no account be accepted, as tending to the destruction of the constitution, and the occupation of the kingdom by foreign troops; that every act performed by the King, contrary to the oaths formerly taken by him, was to be considered as done under constraint; and that the most vigorous steps should be taken to save the nation.

The parliament now began instantly to apply themselves to military preparation. Unfortunately it was for the first time; for everything most urgently required for the national defence, had been hitherto omitted. No commander in chief was appointed; no plan of operations had been formed; no magazines, no hospitals, no means of subsistence Nothing had been done to clothe, arm, or discipline the militia Letters from London, offering supplies of arms and ammunition, to be paid for at a convenient time, had remained unanswered, and Sir Robert Wilson's overtures of personal service had met with the same reception. The treasury was empty; and a forced loan of 3,000,000 ducats was found difficult to levy However, the government seemed now resolved to do its utmost to repair former neglect. The militia, whatever their subsequent conduct might be, were not slow in obeying the call to repair to the frontier. A large force, such as it was, was consequently assembled, and it only remained to distribute it in the most prudent and advantageous manner

The frontier line to be defended, began at Fonde, and extended first westward along the southern boundary of the Terra di Savoro, then, changing its direction, it stretched from south to north, along the western frontier of the Abruzzi With a view to its defence, the army was divided into two great corps, one of which, stationed in the Terra di Savoro, had its head quarters at San Germano, and covered the most direct and easy route, from

the Roman States to the capital. The road, which was partly cut through extensive marshes, had been inundated and broken up in such a manner, as to render the approach very difficult This army was the most numerous, and contained the largest proportion of disciplined troops, it was commanded by General Carascosa, having under him Filangieri, Ambrosio, and other officers of some distinction The second corps occupied the Abruzzi, and was commanded by General Pepe Though inferior in number, and composed chiefly of militia, yet, from the strength of the country, the bravery of its peasantry, and the reputation of the general, it was supposed by many to present the most formidable barrier to the invading army

The defensive line thus occupied by the Neapolitan armies, might, in some respects, be considered as strong; yet it laboured under a deep and almost irremediable defect. The Abruzzi, by their position, form scarcely an integral part of the kingdom of Naples They are about an hundred miles in advance of the rest, occupying one side of Italy; while the Roman States fill the other The consequence is, that the corps defending these provinces was almost entirely insulated from that which covered the capital, as it was only by a very long and circuitous line, that they were able to communicate It was difficult to devise a scheme for remedying this disadvantage The main army might have advanced upon Rome, and thus placed itself in a line with that of General Pepe; but, besides that there was scarcely time for such an operation, it was inconsistent with any plan of defensive warfare, and could only be supported by committing the troops immediately in a general engagement. The whole force, again, might have pushed forward into the Abruzzi, and placed itself on the enemy's flank; but this would have left open the road to the capital, upon which the Austrians would probably have marched, without any apprehension from so undisciplined an army behind them The best plan, therefore, after all, would probably have been, to concentrate all their regular and effective force in front of Naples, leaving militia corps to occupy the fortresses and defiles of the Abruzzi, which would have been contrary to the policy of the Austrian troops to spend their time in forcing.

There are only two modes of warfare in which new troops can make head against disciplined armies One is, in the defence of fortresses; the other, in irregular warfare among mountainous tracts In attempting to engage on the plain, they are inevitably overwhelmed The Neapolitans, who had few strong fortresses, ought to have looked upon the mountains, which cover so great a part of their kingdom, as their main bulwark They ought either to have abandoned the capital, or to have converted it into an entrenched camp, and defended it like Saragossa But there was no commanding mind, to take a bold and decisive view of their situation. They thought only of carrying on war according to its regular routine between disciplined armies; a system which they could not adopt with any chance of success.

The Austrian army, meantime, was proceeding by forced marches through Italy. The right wing, under the commander in chief, took its course by Florence, Sienna, and Rome This last city it did not enter, at the particular request of the Pope, but passed close to its walls. The left wing, under Count Walmoden, proceeded along the Adriatic, to Ancona, then turned to the left, upon Urbino and Spoleto Before the end of February, the whole Austrian force was concentrated in the

southern part of the Roman States, between the province of Abruzzi and the Mediterranean.

The King, meantime, openly espoused and supported the views of the allied powers In order to dissipate the salutary fiction of the government, by which he was held to be in a state of restraint, he set out for Naples, and sent before him a proclamation, in which he ordered all his subjects, and his armies by land and sea, to consider and receive the Austrian army advancing towards Naples, as friends, who acted only for the true interests of the kingdom. Far from intending to punish or subjugate them, they had no view but to unite themselves with the Neapolitan armies, in securing tranquillity, and protecting the true friends of the good of their country, the faithful subjects of their King

Under these circumstances, General Pepe, whose disposition impelled him to enterprize, had obtained permission to make inroads into the Roman States, and endeavour to excite them to insurrection. Already a band of 300 or 400 refugees had entered from the north of the Abruzzi, and, under the title of the "Patriotic Union for the Roman States," had hoisted the standard of the Carbonari, and proclaimed the Spanish constitution, but they were soon dispersed and driven back by a detachment of troops On the 20th February, however, General Pepe advanced and occupied Rieti; thence pushed forward to Terni, and even threatened the bridge of Otricoli, when a body of cavalry, forming the vanguard of the Austrians, made its appearance. The Neapolitan general then prudently withdrew, evacuating all the positions which he had occupied beyond his own territory.

Frimont now advanced, and, on the 24th, established his head-quarters at Rieti. From this point he immediately began to disperse on all sides the proclamations of the King of Naples and the allied sovereigns He made here a considerable pause, the object of which was; doubtless, in some degree, to await the effect of these proclamations, but there are appearances as if he felt also the Neapolitan preparations as somewhat imposing He seems at length to have formed the resolution to avail himself of the insulated position of the Abruzzi, and began to draw all his troops round the entrances into that province, with the view of separately attacking and destroying the army of General Pepe. He could then march down, though by a circuitous route, upon Naples, and would only have to cope with the army of Carascosa, discouraged by the disastrous opening of the campaign

It was in these circumstances that General Pepe determined to make an attack on the Austrians No argument which he has used in his narrative can convince us, that this step was not as imprudent as it proved to be fatal. The plan of committing his tumultuary militia to a conflict in the field with so fine a veteran army, is so palpably erroneous, that he does not even attempt to defend it in the abstract. The only statement to which we can attach any importance is, that, in consequence of the Austrian proclamations, and of the new hardships of a military life, there had been some disbanding in the militia, and he apprehended that a few days of inaction, or of retreat, would have rendered that disbanding general. If this was so, the case was at all events desperate, and he might take the possibilities of an engagement But we doubt the strict precision of these statements, when we find him, in the same breath, declaring that his system was defensive, and that he had in view merely a *reconnoissance*, a term surely never before applied to a general attack with a whole army Even a partial advantage, we suspect, could have

been of no real benefit to the Neapolitans, but would rather have tended the more to drive them from that defensive system, in which lay their only chance of success

In pursuance of his resolution, Pépe collected, on the 6th, at Civita Ducali, a force of 3000 regulars, and 7000 militia, and, on the morning of the 7th, attacked the Austrian posts at Rieti. It appears that the conflict was carried on for several hours by the Neapolitans with very considerable vigour, and that they repelled very formidable charges of Austrian cavalry. Ultimately, however, the issue was such as it could not fail to be. The Austrians having moved a corps on his right flank, he found himself under the necessity of retreating The movement was executed in good order by the regular troops; but, among the militia, as usual with new troops, in such circumstances, alarm and dispersion soon began to spread Pepe, however, was able to keep together a number sufficient to cover his retreat among the mountains. Darkness augmented the panic among these undisciplined forces, dismay and disorder reigned through the whole of that fatal night. The morning dawned; and Pepe saw scarcely a wreck of the army which formed the main hope of Neapolitan independence. It was with difficulty that a few hundred men could be collected to defend the pass of Antrodocco, by which the enemy were preparing to enter the Abruzzi He then hastened to Aquila, the capital of the province, in hopes of collecting the scattered bands, and organizing a new plan of defence.

Frimont, to whom this action laid open the weakness of the enemy, lost not a moment in following up his advantage. On the 9th, he attacked Antrodocco, which was vigorously defended by General Russo, who yielded only to those superior numbers, which enabled the enemy to turn his position. Pepe could not rally a single battalion, even those which were marching to reinforce him, alarmed by the crowd of fugitives, and the reports which they spread, followed the example of dispersion. On the 10th, the Austrians entered Aquila, where they were well received by the friends of the King, who alone ventured to appear at this moment

Frimont spent a short interval in clearing the neighbourhood of Aquila of any detached bands which still kept together He then began his march to attack the army covering Naples, which had now posted itself behind the Garigliano. But, before he reached the Garigliano, there was no longer an army to attack In what manner this large force, which was boasted of by the Neapolitans, as capable of contending with the first military power in Europe, instantaneously vanished, has never yet been fully disclosed It is only known, that the whole, in one mass, broke up, and set out for their houses It seems vain, after such an issue, to set forth the Neapolitan troops as an army of heroes. It is said, indeed, that similar examples of dispersion were frequent in the first periods of the Spanish, and even of the French revolution But, though these nations certainly presented repeated instances of tumultuary flight from the field of battle, we recollect no instances of flying *before* having seen an enemy It must be confessed, however, that there were some circumstances tending to palliate at least this extraordinary display of pusillanimity. The appearance of an army acting under the authority of the King, and the dispersion of his proclamations, forbidding resistance, had shaken the firmness of the troops, and had spread general mistrust and suspicion through all. All the roads were crowded with fugitives from the fatal field of Rieti, who, to excuse their own

flight and dispersion, represented, in the most exaggerated colours, the disasters of the Abruzzi. There appears to have prevailed, prior to the dispersion, a total confusion and insubordination; and, though General Pepe denies the fact of the troops having turned their arms against their officers, it seems confirmed by a dispatch published at the time by Carascosa. Before the Austrians reached the Garigliano, nothing remained of that mighty armament, except the royal guards, who shut themselves up in Capua, declaring their intention to obey the orders of the King; and two or three battalions, which embraced the same party, and joined the invaders *The war was terminated.*

At Naples, during this series of disaster, all was confusion and agitation An individual, Gian Pietro, who had made a festival to celebrate the approach of the Austrians, was stabbed with a dagger marked with the number I, as if to intimate that more were in readiness against those who should manifest a similar disposition. On the 8th, the Prince, who, to display his zeal had undertaken to place himself at the head of the army, set out for Capua There, during the night of the 9th, he learned the disaster at Rieti Next day, General Carascosa proceeded to change his position in consequence, when his army fell into a confusion, which prognosticated the entire breaking up which followed. The Prince returned to Naples, and, on seeing the disastrous turn of affairs, seems to have thought only of effecting a reconciliation with his father and with the allies He was aided in these views by Florestan Pepe, who had adopted a course of policy quite opposite to that of his brother William The latter hastened to Naples, and urged the formation of a new plan for the defence of the kingdom; that the parliament and the royal family should retire into Sicily; that a new army should be reorganized at Salerno, and, if necessary, should retire upon the Calabrias, where they might reckon upon a general rising. These views were overruled; and, though the general received at first permission to assemble a corps at Salerno, counter-orders were afterwards issued. On the 12th, the parliament were induced by the Prince and the royalist party, to write a letter of submission to the King. After expressions of the warmest and most dutiful attachment, they recalled to him, in a respectful manner, all the pledges which he had given in favour of the constitution These they gave as a reason for believing him to have been in a state of constraint, when he made communications of so contrary a tenor. They then concluded: "If your Majesty now thinks it desirable that we should deviate in some points from the system previously adopted, condescend to appear once more in the midst of your people—disclose to us, in full confidence, your real inclinations—and state frankly what ameliorations you think necessary in our present system. But let not foreigners, Sire—let not foreigners interpose between the people and their ruler. Let it not be said, that their presence was necessary to inspire with devotion, obedience, and fidelity, a people who love and respect their monarch Let not our code be stained with the blood either of our enemies or of our brethren. Let your Majesty's throne be founded upon the hearts of your people, not upon the sword of the *Oltramontani*." It was far too late now to entertain any such hopes. The powers at Laybach had decided, in the most peremptory manner, that even the most unqualified submission was not to exempt Naples from the doom of foreign occupation. Having made the full attempt to resist, and failed only from want of courage, they became liable to all the penalties pronounced by that supreme

board of European judicature The letter was carried by General Fardella, to the King, who was then at Florence The Monarch received him well, and sent a courteous reply; in which, however, he took no notice of the demands so strongly, but vainly, urged by the parliament.

The unsatisfactory return of General Fardella, and the approach of the Austrian army, were nearly simultaneous. On the 20th, a suspension of hostilities with General Carascosa was agreed to, and, on the same day, the capitulation of Capua and Averza was signed. The Austrians were within only a day's march of Naples, when the final operation took place, of signing the capitulation of that city, including those of the fortresses of Gaeta and Pescara In all these capitulations, the surrender was made to the King, and the garrisons introduced consisted partly of Austrians, partly of that part of the Neapolitan troops who were considered as worthy of confidence

The fatal moment now approached, when the short-lived flame of Neapolitan freedom was to be for ever extinguished The greater number of the members of parliament had fled, either to retired situations in the country, or beyond seas There remained, however, a few firm spirits, who resolved to hold their station to the last On the 19th March, the Deputy Poerio urged, that, though the unheard of catastrophes which had befallen the army had deprived them of their strength, they had not diminished their rights Before, therefore, a foreign army compelled them to separate, he called on them to protest before God and man for the independence of the nation and the throne. A protest was therefore drawn up, in which, after stating the rights by which they exercised their functions, and the deplorable circumstances which were about to compel their suspension, they added, "We protest against the violation of the law of nations; we reserve the rights of the nation and the King, we appeal to the wisdom of his Royal Highness, and his august father, and we commit the cause of the throne, and our national independence, into the hands of that God, who directs the destinies of kings and people" This chosen remnant were still sitting, while the Austrian vanguard entered the capital, and they remained till two, the usual hour of parting They then separated for the last time, and an hour after, an armed force entered the hall.

The entrance of the Austrians into Naples, was accompanied by a royal edict, emitted at Florence on the 10th, by which six persons were named to administer the government till the arrival of the King. The utmost activity was now employed to undo all that the parliament and the chiefs of the revolution had done, during the last eight months. A decree of the 28th March, pronounced the sentence of death against all who, from this date, should enter the sect of the Carbonari, or who, being members, should continue to attend any of their meetings All the volunteer and free corps, which had been instituted in the course of the revolution, were abolished, and the members ordered to give up their arms,—domiciliary visits were appointed to search for arms, and the severest penalties decreed against any in whose possession they should be found Measures were at the same time taken to prosecute the authors and chief supporters of the revolution The most obnoxious, among whom was General Pepe, had already left the kingdom, and repaired to Barcelona, where they experienced, not only protection, but a cordial welcome

Naples, notwithstanding the total dissolution of its armies, was not entirely tranquil Morelli, Conciliri, Minichini, and other heads of the revolu-

tion, endeavoured to collect the scattered fragments, to form them into guerillas, and carry on a desultory warfare. The Austrian troops, however, forming themselves into movable columns, and traversing the provinces where this new war was attempted, in a short time reduced them to subjection. A more serious effect was produced in Sicily. The Archbishop of Palermo and General Rossaroll proclaimed the abolition of royalty, and the establishment of a republic Rossaroll, having obtained possession of Messina, assumed the title of General of the Constitutional Army of Sicily and Calabria He embarked on the 2d April, with the view of carrying the war into Calabria, but, being opposed by a flotilla, which he had expected to aid him, he was obliged to return. On attempting to enter Messina, however, he found the gates shut, and the cannon turned against him. He had then nothing left but to set sail for Spain In the view of keeping down similar movements, a detachment of 8000 men was immediately embarked for Palermo.

On the 15th May, the King made his entry into the capital. He now published a proclamation, in which he expressed, in very severe terms, the light in which he viewed the recent proceedings The calamities and crimes which had taken place were numerous and grievous, and had produced in him a deep affliction He professed, however, that no personal resentment would influence his decisions. The only thought which would occupy him, would be to banish, by days of peace and prosperity, the memory of those disastrous errors, by which some guilty men had stained the last pages of Neapolitan history A council of enlightened men would be immediately formed, who, by sound fundamental laws, would secure to them every real good, and banish from their mind those chimerical projects, which could occasion only bitter regret and lengthened adversity They were warned, however, that nothing could avail without an inviolable attachment to the rights of the legitimate sovereignty, and to the order of things legally established.

The first steps taken by the King were, as might be expected, rather conformable to the temper which this proclamation displayed, than to the actual professions which it contained Three days after, four courts martial were formed, to try the officers accused of being concerned in the affairs of Nola, Monteforte, and Aquillino, while the members of the parliament, who had distinguished themselves most by their patriotic zeal, were delivered into the hands of Austria, which immured them in strong castles on the German frontier.

Agreeably to the promise made by the King, a junta of consultation was immediately appointed, to prepare a new constitution, and it soon produced one as free certainly as the Neapolitans had reason to expect, after the valiant stand which they had made for their rights. This deliberative assembly was indeed appointed, with a member for each district in the kingdom; but when we state, that all these members were *appointed by the King, and removable by him*, nothing more need be said on the subject This paternal Prince, indeed, exercised his administration with such a degree of rigour, that even Austria thought herself bound to interfere, and urge the adoption of more moderate policy as the only security for the maintenance of tranquillity But the King, however acquiescent to the demands of his allies, when they went to re-establish and enlarge his own power, made a bold stand when they went to limit it in any degree. Austria could not insist, in any accordance with her principles, and was therefore obliged to leave the King to govern his dominions as he chose. Sicily, however, was now sepa-

rated from Naples; but, as it was only to have imposed upon it a government equally absolute, this change afforded very little satisfaction.

Towards the close of the Neapolitan contest, the opposite quarter of Italy experienced a grand movement, which, had it been in any degree seconded from the quarter which gave it birth, might have produced extensive and permanent effects The fine kingdom of Piedmont had fully shared the general impulse, which, during the last twenty years, had been given to the Italian mind Its union with France, though not affording any practical experience of a free system, had yet broken the habit of submissive reverence for the aristocracy, and had excited men's minds to reflection on political subjects. Generally speaking, the spirit both of Italian independence and of constitutional government had taken deep root. It was not wonderful, then, that the examples of Spain, of Portugal, and of Naples, countries closely united in national character, and local connexion, should powerfully influence the minds of the Piedmontese. Another sentiment gave new force to their present feelings. They shared the general indignation felt in Northern Italy, at seeing so large a portion of that fine country trampled beneath the iron yoke of the ultramontane powers. It was not without deep umbrage, then, that Austria was seen pouring in army after army, and carrying forward operations, the success of which would fix her sole and sovereign arbiter of Italy.

These dispositions had been for some time fermenting among a considerable number of the citizens and military. Writings were circulated among the troops, tending to inflame their hatred against Austria, and to excite them to vindicate the independence of Italy. The students, who, all over the continent, are foremost in the popular cause, were the class among whom the first movement manifested itself. A party of them went to the theatre, attired in red caps, a revolutionary ensign, though their friends insist, that it was worn merely by accident, and as a piece of dress common in some parts of the neighbouring country The unfavourable inference, however, was rendered probable by the tumultuary expression of their sentiments at every passage, which could be considered as having any political allusion. The disturbance which they excited, was so considerable, that a despotic police judged itself called upon to interfere. They attacked this youthful party as they went out, dispersed them, and carried off two as prisoners All the students were in a ferment at this treatment of their comrades; they exclaimed against it, as contrary to the privileges of the university; and, seeing, next day, the arrested individuals conveyed through the street to the state prison, they assailed with cries and hisses the carabineers who escorted them No notice being taken by the troops of this disorderly behaviour, the students became emboldened by impunity; they worked themselves up to a kind of boyish frenzy, and, repairing to the university, determined to establish themselves in it as a fortified position. They compassed the court, threw up the benches in the form of a wall, and walking under the piazzas, like madmen, exclaimed, "We demand our comrades, and will have them, cost what it may;" then wrung each others hands, and swore to live and die together. Count Balba, minister of the interior, and also president of the university, repaired to the spot, and endeavoured, by mild remonstrances, to recal them to order, but without any success. The Count then determined to proceed at once to extremities. Four companies of grenadiers were ordered to the spot, to put down this

juvenile insurrection. The commander, in advancing, called upon them to yield, but was answered by a shower of stones. The order to charge was immediately given; the feeble entrenchment was at once carried; and the unfortunate youths, feeling the bayonets at their breasts, fled in every direction. They are said to have been pursued with vindictive fury along the stairs, into the lecture rooms, and even into the chapel. It was remarked by their friends, that many of the wounds inflicted on this calamitous occasion were with the sabre, which shewed that they were given by officers Twenty-five were carried to the hospital; others, though wounded, were able to make their way home

This disturbance, which never had anything formidable in its physical character, left, however, deep impressions on the minds of many of the principal inhabitants, who were connected with the sufferers, and thus tended to heighten that effervescence, which so many circumstances had united in exciting The mission of the Austrian Count Bubna gave rise to the report, that the cession of some fortresses was about to be demanded from Piedmont. Men's minds were worked up to a high pitch, and were evidently ripe for some desperate enterprize According to the testimony of a personal observer, "they silently watched each other, and asked questions with their eyes oftener than their voice, with a view to discover each other's sentiments" Several daring young men, immediately connected with the court and the ministry, had determined to take the lead in the impending revolution. Among these were Count Santa Rosa, the Marquis of St Marsan, son to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Chevalier de Collegno, equerry to the Prince of Carignan, and Count Lisio, commander of the light horse. They hoped to find support, and an ally, even in the royal house. The young Prince of Carignan, who, after the King's uncle, Charles Felix, Duke de Genevois, was nearest heir to the throne, was a young man of a popular and aspiring disposition. He was, indeed, only seventeen, and wanted the energy and steadiness necessary to guide him through any great political crisis The conspirators, however, found it easy to inspire him with enthusiasm, at the idea of becoming the hero of renovated Italy With the plan of making Piedmont a constitutional kingdom, they combined that of extending it over Lombardy, the inhabitants of which they trusted were ready to rise in support of any power which afforded the hope of delivering them from the hated yoke of Austria. The kingdom of Piedmont was to have become the kingdom of Italy, and, thus enlarged, would, in fact, have held an almost uncontrolled sway over that fine country

What we are now to state was necessarily secret, and rests only on the authority of a pamphlet since published, and understood to be from the pen of Santa Rosa. Everything having been arranged for a rising on the 8th, the Prince was told that his consent only was waited for He gave it; Santa Rosa shook his hand; and this ardent enemy of Austria, this gloomy enthusiast in the cause of Italian independence, left the palace full of the most sanguine hopes. The evening of the 7th arrived, and everything seemed to insure the approaching success, when the report was spread, that the Prince had retracted his word It was true; he had declared to Marsan and Collegno the failure of his resolution, or at least he was in such a state of confusion and indecision, that it was considered impossible to carry into effect any measure which depended upon his concurrence Scarcely was the moment past, when the Prince appeared to repent of

this indecision, and even reproached the conspirators with a want of courage in abandoning their purpose. Encouraged by the display of such dispositions, they renewed their plan, and fixed it for the 10th, though concealing from the Prince the precise period Meantime, they learned with dismay that he was secretly counter-working them, that, at his warning, measures were about to be taken for rendering their designs abortive, and even for securing their persons On this intelligence, they precipitately left the capital, and proceeded to Alexandria, Fossano, Pignerol, and other points, where they had influence or secret understanding

Fossano was the first point where a revolutionary movement took place. Its garrison began their march for Alexandria, but, before their arrival, the revolutionary standard was already hoisted in that city The Count de Palma, commanding a company in the citadel, caused it to take arms and proclaim the constitution The rest of the garrison making no resistance, he introduced a detachment of dragoons and federal volunteers Ansaldi, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Savoy, quartered in the town, though able to prevail with only a small part of it to follow him, placed himself at the head of the insurrection, and constituted a junta Meantime the revolutionary chiefs from Turin were busily at work At Feriellı, St Marsan failed with his regiment, to whom he was scarcely known, but Lisio, accompanied by Santa Rosa, was more fortunate with his regiment of light-horse, stationed at Pignerol On his arrival, he sent for several of the officers who were devoted to him, and called the troops instantly to horse. The major attempted to procure some delay, but Lisio exclaimed, "No; we must depart this instant Mount, my friends, mount, in the name of your king and country." Three hundred cavalry instantly set off, with Lisio at their head They halted for a few hours during the night, at Carmagnola, where they drew up, and sent to Alexandria, a declaration, importing that they took arms solely to rescue the nation from Austrian influence, and to secure to it a just and honourable liberty, at the same time, that they would defend, against every enemy, the person of the sovereign, and the dignity of his crown At Asti, they were joined by St Marsan, and were received with enthusiasm by a vast crowd of the citizens Passing by the house where Alfieri was born, they hailed it with acclamation; "they thought, in their enthusiasm, that the era of glory, predicted to Italy by the poet, was opening before them."

On the morning of the 12th, they entered the citadel of Alexandria Their arrival decided the governor of the town, De Varax, to enter into a capitulation, in virtue of which the troops which still adhered to him evacuated the place At noon, the constitutional troops made their entry, and proclaimed the constitution in the great square, where it was hailed by the unbounded plaudits of the multitude, though sadness was impressed on the countenances of a few still attached to the ancient order of things

Alexandria being thus established as the head-quarters of revolution, while the royal party were still masters of Turin, these opposite powers were employed in considering how to overthrow each other A royal council was immediately called, in which the plan of granting a charter similar to that of the French, was brought under consideration. Against this were urged, not only ancient engagements entered into with Austria, but the uniform professions of faith emitted from Laybach, which anathematized in the strongest terms every change originating in military interference, or which was not

prompted by the spontaneous will of the monarch Concession was therefore rejected A proclamation was published, in which the King enumerated all the benefits conferred by him on the nation, and represented, that the change now demanded was impossible, without involving Piedmont in foreign war. An amnesty was, however, offered to those engaged in the conspiracy, an increase of pay was granted to the army; and the King declared his intention of placing himself at the head of the troops, to march against Alexandria

These troops could be little depended on, either for acting against their comrades, or remaining steady themselves Ferrero, a captain of light cavalry, having been sent to Carignan, stopped his troop, and, having gained them to his party, marched them back upon Turin He entered the suburbs, was joined by a few students and zealous patriots, hoisted the tricolor flag, and proclaimed the constitution The people were well disposed to second this daring movement, but durst not trust themselves to the slender means by which it appeared to be supported A considerable body of troops was sent against him, but, fearful of contagion, hesitated to attack The two parties remained for some time in presence of each other, when Ferrero, seeing no prospect of success, drew off, and marched to Alexandria.

The Alexandrian patriots now began to move, with the hope of speedily inducing Turin to follow their example. Before they reached that city, however, all was decided The garrison of the citadel, which alone constitutes Turin a military position, contained several officers who had warmly embraced the principles of the revolution These, having made the previous arrangements, at one in the afternoon of the 12th, the day after the retreat of Ferrero, hoisted the tricoloured flag of the Carbonari, and opened the gates to a party of students and patriotic citizens. Desgeneys, major of artillery, making a courageous resistance, was unfortunately pierced by the bayonet of a soldier. A discharge of three guns announced the event to the population of Turin, which thronged in vast crowds to the foot of the ramparts. Soon, from the garrison and the multitude, was heard, mingled with the roar of artillery, the united cries of "The King!" "The Constitution!" "War with Austria!" The court, struck with alarm, sent the Prince de Carignan to treat with its mutinous subjects, and learn their demands. The officers of the citadel professed the strictest fidelity to the King, but declared that nothing could satisfy the nation but a change of counsels, the Spanish constitution, and war with Austria The Prince, on his return, was accompanied by the crowd, eagerly entreating him to intercede with Victor Emmanuel to comply with their wishes A regiment of cavalry, which was under arms in the *Place Royale*, with difficulty prevented the multitude from entering the palace

The court now felt itself called to deep and solemn deliberation. The commandants of corps, being asked how far they could depend upon their troops, replied, that they could do it fully, so far as regarded the King's personal safety, but no farther. The night was spent in deep debate. The Marquis of St Marsan, foreign minister, and just returned from Laybach, is reported to have taken the lead in opposing all concession to the popular party, though his son had placed himself at their head. The council closed, however, with a very different resolution on the part of the King, which was, to abdicate the crown, and appoint the Prince de Carignan regent

in the absence of Charles Felix, his brother and heir He reserved to himself merely the title and dignity of King, an annual pension of a million of livres, the right to all his private property, and liberty to choose his residence. Having put forth the act of abdication, in which these articles were contained, he departed without delay for Nice. He travelled slowly, from illness, and was viewed by his subjects with respect and regret

This measure struck the revolutionary chiefs with the deepest dismay. Most of them appear to have been personally attached to the Sovereign, and, with the desire of a free constitution, to have combined extensive plans for the aggrandizement and glory of the monarchy All these vanished, when its only representative was a weak, volatile young man, not even the rightful heir However, the career was entered upon, and could not be stopped The multitude, with loud and confident cries, called upon the Prince for the Spanish constitution, which he seemed placed there for the sole purpose of granting The Regent, however, paused He held out, that he could fix nothing definitive, without the orders of Charles Felix, now King Meantime, the impatience and irritation of the multitude daily increased, and the palace was with difficulty defended against their entrance At length Crivelle, a physician, found admittance to the Prince, in the character of deputy from the people As the Regent urged all the motives which put it out of his power to grant immediately the wishes of the people, Crivelle answered only, "But blood is about to flow!" Although this argument was repelled in the first instance, it gradually made its impression The Prince agreed to receive a deputation from the municipality, and, in a council composed of them and of the ministers it was at length determined to grant the Spanish constitution At eight in the evening, this was announced from the balcony, and was received with loud acclamation. Illuminations, and every form of public rejoicing, terminated the day, which, notwithstanding its tumultuary and eventful character, had not been stained with any species of outrage In the proclamation issued next day, the Prince pretty strongly expressed the reluctance he felt to change the fundamental laws of the kingdom, without knowing the intentions of Charles Felix The exigency of circumstances, the safety of the kingdom, and the common will, expressed with indescribable ardour, are the grounds on which he rather excuses than adopts the measure

The Prince now proceeded to organize anew the different branches of administration A junto of fifteen, afterwards augmented to twenty-four, was appointed to exercise the functions of parliament, previous to its convocation A new ministry was also formed, at the head of which was placed Dalpozzo, a man who had filled the first offices under the Imperial government He was generally and highly esteemed, and, though not at all instrumental in bringing about the revolution, his appointment gave entire satisfaction to the constitutional chiefs The next measure was a general amnesty to all who had taken any share in the revolution, but this term displeased the Alexandrian chiefs, who sent a deputation to say, that, far from considering their conduct as standing in need of pardon, they accounted it their glory The expression was then explained, as having applied to those irregularities, which, in the tumult of so sudden a change, could not fail to have occurred These chiefs were continued in their military commands, and employed themselves actively in spreading the range of the revolution St

Marsan marched on Novara, where La Tour, who commanded the garrison of 1500 men, agreed, after some discussion, to accede to the new order of things The constitution was proclaimed at Novara, amid the acclamations of the troops and inhabitants, and La Tour was continued in his command, a measure of which they found afterwards reason bitterly to repent

The tidings of this revolution caused an extraordinary agitation in the north of Italy To the inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, who were attached to Carbonaric principles, the moment appeared now come when their vows were to be fulfilled Numbers of Milanese, and particularly of Pavian students, hastened to offer their services to the new government of Piedmont The Vice Queen, at Milan, had packed up all her effects to set out, though the alarm was allayed, by subsequent advices

In the junto of Sovereigns at Laybach, the Piedmontese revolution was felt as a subject of extraordinary alarm The issue of the expedition to Naples was yet unknown, and there was probably no anticipation of the instant success with which it was to be crowned To the hostile party there, the accession of Piedmont was likely to inspire extraordinary courage, and, in the present temper of men's minds, nothing less could be anticipated than the general insurrection of all Italy Austria was, at the moment, without a field army, but the Emperor ordered a body of troops to be formed by draughts from the Italian garrisons. It was placed under the command of Count Bubna, on the left bank of the Tesino, to guard that boundary between Lombardy and Piedmont Orders were sent to reinforce it with whatever troops could be spared from the German and Hungarian territories, At the same time, Alexander sent orders that the army on the frontier of Poland should put itself instantly in motion upon Italy All the force of both empires seemed scarcely sufficient to put down a movement, which threatened to assume so formidable an aspect

In the Duke de Genevois, who stood now as King of Sardinia, the allies found a most determined adherent. Having received from the Prince of Carignan intelligence of all that had taken place, he readily, indeed, accepted the crown, but disowned entirely whatever had been done relative to granting a constitution, or calling a parliament, and declared all rebels who continued attached to the party at present in power This proclamation being circulated through Piedmont, caused a deep dismay in the adherents of the revolution The Count de la Tour immediately declared for Charles Felix, and placed at his disposal Novara, and the troops there stationed

Meantime, the military chiefs at Alexandria were by no means satisfied with the conduct of the central government They complained, that though the ministry contained able men, yet the two most efficient departments, those of war and of foreign affairs, were not filled, in consequence of the illness or the refusal of the individuals appointed; that the military preparations were on no scale adequate to the emergency, that the junto, though honest and well-meaning, were ill fitted to guide the vessel of the state through the midst of the tempest They exclaimed, that the first step which should have been taken, was, to declare war against Austria, and to pass the Tesino, that this bold proceeding would have called out the Milanese, given new courage to Naples, and moved all the States of Italy. To attempt, by pacific measures, to soften that haughty confederacy, was altogether chimerical.

Impressed with these views, the

Alexandrian patriots determined, that Count Santa Rosa, accompanied by Lesio and Colegno, should repair to Turin They arrived on the 21st, and immediately craved an audience of the Prince, who declined the interview, on pretence of illness He immediately, however, appointed Santa Rosa Minister of War But this step was taken only to cover his real design. At the beginning of the following night, he collected all the cavalry that were attached to the royal cause, and set out secretly for Novara He reached it in safety, and proceeded to the Austrian camp, where Count Bubna received him politely, yet scarcely making a secret of his contempt He is reported to have said to his army, in the Prince's hearing, "See the King of Italy!" The Prince went on to Modena, the residence of Charles Felix, but he had already offended beyond forgiveness that lofty assertor of absolute power, who refused to see him. The unfortunate Prince, overwhelmed with universal contempt, went to hide his shame at Florence

The revolution, which had stood so many terrible shocks, seemed about to sink under this Even its boldest defenders formed the design of abandoning Turin, and retiring to Alexandria, as the last citadel of liberty At this moment, however, news arrived that the Queen's regiment of dragoons had quitted the camp at Novara, and joined the constitutional cause Emboldened by this event, Santa Rosa seized the floating reins of government, and published a proclamation, in which he announced, and excused, as far as possible, by reason of youth and evil counsel, the departure of the Regent The King, a prisoner in the hands of Austria, could not be considered as the author of any proclamation that might appear with his name attached to it. In these terrible circumstances, he, legitimately appointed War Minister, felt it his duty to call on his companions in arms He could point out only one means of deliverance,—it was, to rally round their colours, to seize them, and fly to plant them on the banks of the Tesino and the Po He encouraged them to hope for the aid of France, and of all Europe, in so heroic an effort

This bold step electrified the Piedmontese, and, in the absence of any other power, commanded general obedience. Fresh encouragement was derived from events which took place at Genoa The revolution there had been effected in a manner remarkably tranquil, under the auspices of Desgeneys, the governor Desgeneys, however, on learning the proclamation of Charles Felix, and the flight of the Prince of Carignan, determined to restore the ancient *regime*, which, from the tranquil deportment of the Genoese, he hoped to effect without difficulty On the 21st, therefore, he issued a proclamation, declaring illegal all that had taken place, and commanding the citizens to submit to the orders of Charles Felix. Upon this announcement, large assemblages took place, and considerable discontent was manifested by the populace The following day, they took a still more formidable attitude, and, the military shewing a manifest reluctance to act against them, affairs remained during the day in a state of alarm and uncertainty. On the 23d, the multitude carried all before them; they burst into the governor's palace, and would have sacrificed him to their fury, had he not been saved by some young men of the popular party, who conveyed him to a place of safety. A junto was immediately installed, and the constitutional system restored.

Santa Rosa, meantime, shewed himself determined to be no longer accused of taking timid or indecisive measures Everything possible was done to infuse activity into the system of government All the troops in the

kingdom were ordered to march upon Alexandria, with the view of carrying the war beyond the Tesino They obeyed with tolerable alacrity; and the cause of revolution seemed beginning to present a fairer prospect, when it was struck by its final and fatal blow Tidings were received of the sudden and total cessation of Neapolitan resistance From that moment hope expired in the breasts of all but the most sanguine. Every one, of whom interest was the ruling motive, hastened to make their peace, by a timely desertion to the cause of which they foresaw the triumph Several of the military chiefs in whom most confidence had been placed, repaired to Novara, and joined their troops to those of La Tour, whose detachment soon swelled to a little army.

In this extremity, an overture was made, which it might have been wise and fortunate in the Piedmontese to have accepted The Count de Mocenigo, Russian ambassador at Turin, made proposals to Dalpozzo, and to Marentini, president of the junto, from himself, indeed, but with a pretty confident assurance that they would be supported by Alexander In case of submission, he held out that the Austrians would not enter Piedmont; that a general amnesty would be extended to all who had been concerned in the revolution, and they might even hope for "a statute that might guarantee the interests of society,"—in plain terms, for some kind of constitution

In the desperate circumstances of the nation, the minister and the junto made no hesitation in accepting the above offer They signed a declaration to that effect, insisting particularly upon the importance of the *statute*. Santa Rosa was not insensible of the expediency of this step, and gave a passive consent, but he declined affixing his signature, fearful that it would commit him with the chiefs at Alexandria, which was still considered as the focus of revolution Accordingly, these rash young men loudly protested against any agreement which should admit an abatement of the strict articles of the Spanish constitution Santa Rosa, yielding to theirs his own better judgment, determined to make a trial, by arms, to retrieve the sinking cause Having collected all the disposable troops, which did not exceed 6000, he marched against Novara. He was aware that La Tour was now at the head of upwards of 7000; but he entertained sanguine hopes that they would not fight against their countrymen, and that there might be even a general desertion to his side, which would place him again in an imposing situation La Tour, besides, had commenced offensive operations, had crossed the Sesia, established himself at Vercelli, and pushed his advanced posts towards Turin.

It was on the morning of the 8th April that the constitutional troops, under Colonel Regis, presented themselves beneath the walls of Novara Their instructions were, to avoid, if possible, coming to action with their countrymen; merely to shew themselves, and to receive the first fire without returning it Scarcely had the army begun to file beneath the ramparts, when they were saluted with a brisk fire, but, to their utter amazement and dismay, it was from Austrians La Tour, dreading the effect of his troops being brought into contact with their countrymen, had invited over the Austrians, who, in the course of the preceding night, crossed the Tesino, and reached Novara at two in the morning. The constitutional troops were now exposed to too fearful an odds to leave any hope in the continuance of the contest. They began their retreat, which they continued in good order as far as the Bridge of Agagna; but, being to pass there through a nar-

row defile, repeated charges of cavalry threw the rear-guard into confusion The disorder was soon communicated to the rest of an army composed partly of new levies, and, before reaching Vercelli, the whole was in a state of almost total dispersion The catastrophe of the Piedmontese army was less dishonourable than that of the Neapolitan, but it was equally complete

When these fatal tidings arrived at Turin, Santa Rosa gave up all hopes of maintaining that city, which contained numerous votaries of the old system Hopes were, however, entertained of making a stand at Alexandria and at Genoa, both which places had displayed much revolutionary energy, but, all the royalists now declaring themselves, and the well affected shrinking from the support of a hopeless cause, and of sieges without the chance of relief, such plans were found to be abortive All except the most marked chiefs hastened to make their submission, these, in their extremity, were hospitably sheltered by the Genoese, and provided with the means of retreat into Spain Austrian troops occupied Alexandria, Voghera, Tortona, Casal, Vercelli, and Novara. Turin and Genoa, occupied by native royalist troops, were spared the humiliation of their presence.

Charles Felix had thus the throne open to him, but he declined to occupy it, still continuing to invite his brother to resume the reins of government Victor Emmanuel, a mild and easy prince, shrunk from the idea of reascending the throne in such painful circumstances. On the 19th April he confirmed, by a new deed, his act of abdication Charles Felix then took up the reins of government, though he did not quit Modena till the month of October From every feature of the Prince's conduct, the unfortunate Piedmontese had reason to expect whatever was most hostile to their liberties This expectation was not disappointed A commission was immediately named to prosecute, with the greatest rigour, all who had been concerned in leading or promoting the revolution Santa Rosa, Ansaldi, St Marsan, &c were executed in effigy, and all their effects sequestrated The Universities of Turin and Genoa were shut up for the space of a year Then, indeed, an act of amnesty was published, but there was appended a list of exceptions, which, as it included all who had written, done, or spoken, anything in favour of the revolution, it became a mysterious question what the class of citizens was to whom the amnesty could apply After all, the main reliance was to be placed on the Austrian bayonet, and, on the 28th October, a treaty was concluded, by which the kingdom was to be occupied by 12,000 men, whose pay and equipment were to be provided for at 300,000 livres a-month, besides which, they were to be supplied with lodging, fire, light, food, and forage. The number of rations issued was to be for 13,000 men, and 4000 horses The occupation was to continue till September, 1822, when the question of its prolongation was to be decided by a new congress

CHAPTER XI

THE GREEK REVOLUTION

State of Turkey —Improvement of the Greeks—Their Plans of Emancipation —Movement of Ipsilanti —General Insurrection —Alarm of the Porte — Outrages at Constantinople —Execution of the Greek Patriarch —March of Ipsilanti—His Defeat —Sailing of the Turkish Fleet, which loses a Ship of War—Its return —Subsequent Operations —War in the Morea —Proceedings at Patras —Demetrius Ipsilanti —Capture of Tripolizza—of Corinth — Athens —Thessaly —Macedonia —Western Greece —Operations against Ali. —Capture of Arta by the Greeks.—Proceedings in Candia—Cyprus— Rhodes —Negotiations with Russia

WHILE despotism in the centre of Europe was inveting afresh her chains upon mankind, in the east, her long established seat sustained a shock, at once unexpected and terrible Revolts, and even successful revolts, were nothing new to the Turkish empire, they were of perennial growth No former one, however, had ever the interests of the people, or the rights of mankind, in any degree for its object Pachas, who had acquired a footing in the districts intrusted to them, who, by their valour and largesses, had secured the attachment of the army, and inured the people to a habit of obedience, endeavoured to establish, not free and well ordered states, but despotisms more entire and uncontrolled than that exercised by the Sublime Porte itself. These ephemeral dominations, having no root in the popular feeling or interests, vanished whenever the Porte could play off against them a more popular chieftain, or could bribe the nearest friends or humblest slaves to step in and draw the bow-string round the neck of the usurper He was usually a fierce and bloody tyrant, from whom the people were happy to be freed, and their transference to a new master was viewed with pleasure, or at least with indifference.

There is scarcely, perhaps, an example of an empire so extensive, so powerful, and so wealthy, as the Turkish, which has admitted so little of any kind of improvement The Mahometan religion, indeed, as compared at least with the Christian, has everywhere shewn itself hostile to the liberties and improvement of mankind Yet every other Moslem throne and dynasty had its illumined period. The courts of Bagdad, of Ispahan, of Cordova, and even of Fez, could boast of their ages of classic glory,

and threw in their contributions to the great mass of human intelligence But the most powerful and the ablest of the Ottoman princes never distinguished themselves as the patrons of any elegant art or pursuit Their gratifications consisted solely in barbarous pomp and sensual indulgence. In continual intercourse with the most civilized states of Europe, Turkey remained impenetrably shut against their arts and knowledge She remained still entirely Asia, not refined, polished, and effeminate Asia, but such as that continent presents itself among the predatory hordes who rove over the expanse of its high inland plains They present still the aspect of a mere camp, covering up and burying all the brightest and most favoured seats of ancient greatness and refinement.

While we thus admit and proclaim the sins of the Ottoman system, our readers must not consider these observations as prefatory to sounding a crusade against it. It is not intended to join with those modern statesmen, who call upon the powers of Europe to arm for the purpose either of annihilating the Turk, or even of driving him beyond the precincts of Europe We do not think it either desirable or likely that Christianity or civilization should extend their empire by such means The prevailing impression of the Turkish empire as an edifice which would fall to pieces at the first external shock, is founded perhaps upon very superficial views Its councils, indeed, compared with those of European cabinets, are now blind and stupid. Its army, though brave, is undisciplined, and cannot cope in the field with that highly effective regular force which follows the Russian standard Considered as a nation, however, the Turks still retain much of that fierce and warlike energy which distinguished them during the ages of Mahomet and Solyman Greece, Syria, and Egypt, were always rather appended conquests, than the main body of their empire. Its integral mass was always situated in Asia Minor and Rumelia, which remain entire portions of it The whole of this region, comprising a population of ten or twelve millions, may be considered as a huge barbarous camp. All the people are armed, and ready on a call to fly to the field. The call is even welcome to many, particularly to those tribes, which, in the high interior plains of Asia Minor, unite the character of shepherds and robbers, and form a cavalry, which, though unable to stand the shock of regular battle, is equal as light horse to any in the world These hordes may not hesitate, at the instigation of a favourite chief, to turn their arms against the Sultan, and to seek warlike occupation and plunder in the very bowels of the empire But a war, which had for its object to impose upon them an European and Christian yoke, would be to them a more than national war It would be inflamed by the fiercest religious antipathy. Rather than submit to the execrated yoke of the Giaour, they would brave perils to which no nation was ever impelled by the mere sense of national independence. Russia, besides, has most powerful natural barriers to overcome, before she can execute this boasted scheme of seating herself on the throne of Constantinople. She must possess the line of the Danube, guarded by a chain of fortresses, which the Turks have always defended with obstinacy. She must transport not only her army, but her artillery and magazines, across the cliffs and eternal snows of Haemus and Rhodope. She would find it, we are convinced, a worse undertaking than the conquest of Spain was found by Buonaparte. In

a frontier war, the Turkish army, destitute of discipline, is almost always beaten; destitute of commissariat and supplies, it cannot long keep the field But, in the interior, the beaten troops would continually rally, and be reinforced by successive swarms, they would rise like a hydra beneath the sword of the invader. Even after their territory was regularly conquered, it would contain a fountain of perpetual insurrection, and would prove a source of weakness rather than of strength, to the power by whom it was occupied

Having thus, in our apprehension, disposed of the question relative to overthrowing the Ottoman empire, and expelling the Turks from Europe, the inquiry is narrowed to the part which ought to be the policy of the powers of Europe in favouring or not the efforts made by the Greeks for their own emancipation Have the Greeks a right to shake off the yoke under which they have groaned for so many ages? Or must the shield of legitimacy protect the successors of Othman in the perpetual possession of the vast tracts which they have conquered and desolated? However little we are advocates for rash revolution, or for governments purely popular, we cannot be very vehement sticklers for the right divine of the Turk to govern so very wrong as he has hitherto done If for the subjects of such an administration there existed any means or materials of placing themselves under a better rule, we should think them very fairly entitled to avail themselves of such. The Greeks, however, can advance other strong claims, quite peculiar to themselves. Subjected by mere brute force, to a race strange, foreign, and odious, they have never received the treatment of subjects, or even of men They have been treated as *rayas*, an abject and degraded race, the slaves of slaves, and this beneath a people much inferior even to what Greeks are now We do think, then, that it would be a most unwarrantable extension of the laws of legitimacy to debar this high-sprung and long-suffering race from the benefit of any means by which they can extricate themselves from the oppression under which they have groaned Admitting, however, this right to exist in the Greek people, it is a different question whether there is any right, much more any call, for the nations of Europe to interfere in their support. Nearly four centuries have now elapsed since the conquering Mahomet subverted the throne of Constantinople, and covered the Morea with his armies Since that time, the Turks have been left in the uninterrupted dominion of Greece, for the occupation of the Morea by the Venetians at the end of the seventeenth century, could not be considered as more than a temporary inroad. They have been recognized as its sovereigns by repeated treaties In short, though Greece, considered within itself, may have a full right to seek its own emancipation, it is, *quoad* the other powers of Europe, an integral part of the Turkish empire For them, therefore, the fomenting and supporting a Greek insurrection would be an interference in the internal concerns of another state, only to be justified by actual hostility, or by some other very peculiar circumstance

Many causes had at this time concurred to rouse the Greeks out of that overawed and benumbed state, into which they had been thrown by the first torrent of Ottoman conquest Connected with the European nations by ties of religion and of ancient alliance, they imbibed some of those lights of science which were jealously excluded from the Mussulman world Silently and cautiously,

schools and little colleges began to be founded The first of the latter was formed at Scio, with the consent of Sultan Selim, it was followed by one at Kidonia, a large town of Asia Minor, composed almost entirely of Greeks; by one on a larger scale at Smyrna, and by others at Salonica, Mount Athos, several towns in the Morea, and even at Constantinople Of late, schools on the Lancastrian system have been introduced into many of the villages Not content with this, the more opulent Greeks sent their sons to the European universities, particularly those of Italy and Germany. Here, being initiated into all the branches of human knowledge, they attached themselves particularly to philosophical and political inquiries, which made them feel with peculiar force the evil condition of their country and race. Everywhere they heard the name of Greece pronounced with the profoundest veneration, and, contrasting that ancient glory with its lost state, when the Greeks were no longer accounted a people, they felt every day deeper regret and indignation at the fate of their country

A new feature which, during this age, has marked the politics of the east of Europe, tended to raise the condition and hopes of Greece The preponderance of Russia, and the success of her arms, humbled the Ottoman Porte, and stripped its name of the terrors which it had hitherto borne This new power was united to the Greeks by the tie of a religion which, being exclusively professed by these two nations, and calculated, from its very defects, to exercise a powerful influence on superstitious minds, formed a closer tie than perhaps could have been produced by any other coincidence The ambition of Catherine, wholly directed to the raising her own empire on the ruins of that of Constantinople, led her anxiously to cultivate and strengthen the national attachment The Greeks were encouraged and favoured in every possible manner, at St Petersburgh, a college was formed, and handsomely endowed, expressly for their education As that people in general had more cultivated minds, and more aptitude for business than the Russians, they made their way at court, and many of the leading political characters in the Russian cabinet have been Greeks The Greeks thus found in Russia a prop, and, as it were, a country, they established themselves in great numbers in her southern provinces, and carried on great part of the trade in her ports on the Black Sea. This leads us to another circumstance, which tended greatly to improve the condition of the Greek nation. Amid the great maritime war which shook the continent, the Porte was long the only neutral power, and, as the inhabitants of the Grecian coasts and isles were the only part of her subjects who cultivated marine affairs, they had the liberty of navigating seas in which no other flag could fly without danger. They soon engrossed the pilotage of the Levant, and, having accumulated some capital, began to employ it in greater enterprizes. In process of time, their transactions extended over all the Mediterranean At Malta, in the ports of Italy, at Marseilles, and even at London, Greek houses were established. The three small islands of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsaria, were the centre of this trade, and these spots, before scarcely noticed by the geographer, had become possessed of an extensive navy, and contained a number of individual merchants of large fortune Commercial wealth, especially when newly acquired, usually generates feelings of independence. It strengthened in the Greeks

the sentiments of national dignity, and it made them feel more strongly the precarious tenure by which their possessions were held, under so despotic a sway

These various motives and impressions were gradually condensed and organized into a general combination of all the Greeks of the empire to throw off the Ottoman yoke Associations, formed originally for literary or religious purposes, are supposed to have been employed for secretly planning and maturing the conspiracy Many in particular of the opulent families in the Fanar, or Greek quarter of Constantinople, the descendants of the ancient princes of the Greek empire, were afterwards charged as having been deeply implicated in these designs The war in which the Porte was engaged with Ali, the discontents in Servia and Wallachia, and the general distracted state of the empire, appeared all to render the present a favourable moment Russia again, now extricated from all dangers in the west, would, it was prematurely supposed, be ready to embark anew in her favourite scheme of subverting the Ottoman power

M. Raffenel, in his "History of the Events of Greece," asserts, that the 6th of March was fixed for the general rising of the Greeks throughout the empire, and that the central movement was to have been made at Constantinople The Greek population of that capital, amounting to 30,000 souls, was to have risen at once, and surprised the three points of the Seraglio, the Topana, or depôt of artillery, and the harbour They would thus have obtained possession of the capital, and the Greek corps from every quarter directing their march upon this point, would, it was hoped, have crushed at once the Mussulman power The plot is asserted to have been discovered and reported by an individual belonging to the English embassy The ringleaders, finding their intentions discovered, hastily embarked, and sought safety in the ports of Russia, particularly at Odessa

Whatever we may think of this report, which is not given even by its author as very positively ascertained, it is known, that, on the following day, (the 7th March,) the standard of insurrection was first raised in Moldavia The leader here was Alexander Ipsilanti, a Greek of noble birth, whose father, after being named hospodar of Wallachia, had been expelled by the Grand Seignior, and had died at Kiono, under the protection of Russia. Alexander, educated at Petersburgh, entered early into the Russian army, distinguished himself there, lost an arm in the service, and rose to the rank of major-general These circumstances at once gave him distinction among his countrymen, and were supposed to secure at least the tacit approbation of the Czar. Proclamations were circulated in every quarter, and even posted in the streets of Jassy, by which he offered himself to his countrymen as their leader in the glorious undertaking which was to kindle anew the flame of liberty, and to break the shameful yoke under which they had groaned. At the same time, he assured the native inhabitants who did not belong to the Greek nation, that they might repose in perfect security, and that their persons and property would be strictly respected

This call was answered with enthusiasm by the Greeks, not only in the principality, but throughout the whole of southern Russia All who were of an enterprizing and military character hastened to the scene of action, and among the merchants of Odessa large subscriptions were raised for their equipment and supply The

courage of the expedition was raised by seeing, under the banners of Ipsilanti, numerous officers in the Russian service, and even Prince Cantacuzene, though holding a higher rank, hesitated not, amid the general enthusiasm, to place himself under his command Michel Suzzo, a prince who boasted a descent from the Constantinopolitan dynasty, held, under the Porte, the place of hospodar of Moldavia. His feelings as a Greek, however, and probably the hope of establishing himself as an independent sovereign, prevailed over this connexion He embraced the cause of Ipsilanti, and, on his arrival at Jassy with a body of Greeks and Arnauts, immediately joined him. They carried everything before them, the few Turks in the city were either expelled or cut to pieces Already, in the city of Gulacy, on the other side of the Danube, an insurrection had broken out, whether in concert with Ipsilanti or not, is not certainly known The Turks were overcome, and most of them massacred, it is to be feared, with circumstances of very serious atrocity

Ipsilanti was now in a full train of success. Multitudes espoused his cause, not only as popular, but as promising to be crowned with success He soon found himself at the head of upwards of 15,000 men, and directed his march upon Wallachia, where a force nearly equal, though roused by very different motives, was already in arms against the Porte That province had been driven almost to despair by the joint oppression of the boyars or nobles, and of the Greek hospodars, who, being elevated by the Porte according to the amount of revenue which they undertook to pay, had recourse to every exaction in order to fulfil this engagement Theodore, a young soldier of low rank, having collected a few disbanded troops, established himself in a fortified convent, and summoned his countrymen to seek by arms the redress of their grievances He was soon joined by crowds of Pandours and peasants; the troops sent against him either joined his standard or fell back Finding himself at the head of 12,000 or 13,000 men, he marched upon Bucharest, the capital, which he entered in triumph. Although his views bore no affinity, but were in some respects hostile to those of Ipsilanti, yet the latter, hoping that the common hatred and fear of the Turks would form a sufficient tie between them, proceeded to join him at Bucharest

The insurrection was not now confined to Moldavia The standard of the cross already waved on the classic shores of the Ægean. Although the Greeks were generally considered in Europe as a degenerate race, and those who in the great cities crouched under the tyranny of the Turks really were so, there were still portions who retained an ample portion of that energy which made the tyrants of the ancient world tremble It was not long since the Suliotes had justified their descent by the terrible resistance which they had made against Ali In Peloponnesus the Maniotes or Moriotes, inhabitants of the mountain district of ancient Laconia, had repeatedly proved that the Spartan spirit still lived among them. Tenants of the rocks and caverns of the Taygetus, they had never fully yielded, even to the most powerful of the Sultans. Still living nearly independent, they were governed, and a small tribute drawn from them, by beys of their own race Unfortunately, their love of liberty was combined with fierce and predatory habits, and with a thirst of blood which rendered them too apt to stain with crimes any cause of which their valour rendered them the support. Their Bey, Mau-

ro Michale, had eagerly embraced the cause of emancipation In conjunction with Colocotroni, formerly a major in the Russian service, he employed himself, during the winter, in providing the materials of success The recesses of these mountain districts easily afforded the means of collecting and concealing a quantity of arms and ammunition Although they undoubtedly carried on their measures in concert with Ipsilanti, yet they do not appear to have moved till a time when they must have heard of his movement It was on the 30th March that the *Messenian Senate* constituted itself at Calamata, with Mauro Michale at its head In his name, and that of the *Spartans*, two declarations were issued, one addressed to the people of Europe, calling upon them to aid, at least with arms and money, to deliver from tyranny a land once so illustrious for genius and valour, and to which Europe itself was indebted for arts, knowledge, and all the benefits of civilization Another proclamation was addressed to the Turks, making to them, in case of submission, promises of protection and of security to person and property, which were never fulfilled

These proclamations did not evaporate in empty words, but were the prelude to immediate action Responsive, as it were, to one cry, all the mountain sons of Greece rushed down to assert anew her long-lost liberty On the same day that the senate of Messenia met, the Archbishop Germano raised the cross, as an ensign of independence, at Patras, a large town on the Gulf of Lepanto He was driven out in the first instance; but, returning soon after with Procopius, Bishop of Calavrita, and a number of Achaian peasantry, he succeeded in occupying the town, and forcing the Turks to retreat into the citadel Misitra, the ancient Sparta, fell immediately into the hands of the Maniotes The whole of the Morea, like Western Europe during the middle ages, was studded with little fortified castles, seated on rocks, and erected during former insurrections, with the view of keeping in awe the Greek inhabitants Long security, however, had led to the neglect either of keeping in repair or provisioning them. The Greeks, therefore, though destitute of every means of siege, soon reduced almost the whole, either by surprise or famine, and it is feared that only the bloodiest laws of war were observed, and with unrelenting rigour Thus, however, in a very short time, the whole peninsula was in the possession of the insurgents, with the exception of Tripolizza, the Napolis, Modon, Coron, and a few more of the large fortified places The monk Gregoras had already collected a body of men, with which he occupied the isthmus of Corinth Athens was not forgetful of her name, the standard of liberty already floated in the city and on the Piræus, though the Acropolis was still occupied by a Turkish garrison The Suliotes and Acarnanians roused themselves to equal deeds of valour as those which they had displayed in their vain contest against Ali Bœotia was not behind, Thebes was soon free, and a detachment was sent to close against the Turks the Straits of Thermopylæ The movement even extended to Thessaly, and a body of Greek troops threatened Larissa

But there was no part of Greece in which the flame of independence blazed with such enthusiasm and energy, as in the Cyclades. The little rocky islets of Hydra, Spezzia, and Ipsara, were the first to hoist the blue and white flag of the *Hellenia* Their merchants, many of whom, from causes already mentioned, had acquired considerable for-

tunes, devoted them entirely to the cause of liberty These three little rocks immediately made preparations to commence a maritime war against the whole Ottoman empire In Hydra a single house, undertook to arm thirty vessels, mounting each from fifteen to twenty guns In Spezzia, a lady, Bolbina, whose husband had been killed by the Turks, not only equipped three vessels, but personally commanded and led them to action Here, as elsewhere, representative assemblies were formed, the principal seat of which was established at Hydra In a short time, they had equipped a marine of from one to two hundred armed vessels, and, though these were far inferior in magnitude to those of the Imperial navy, yet, as the Greeks monopolized all the maritime skill, and almost all the capacity of navigating ships, in the empire, they were not afraid to face those huge masses, which had nothing to give them life and activity They immediately detached four squadrons, one to shut the entrance of the Dardanelles, another to the coast of Syria, a third to the Gulf of Smyrna, while a fourth remained to guard the coasts of Attica and the Morea. Vessels were at the same time despatched in all haste to Leghorn, Trieste, and Marseilles, and other ports on the Mediterranean, with which they communicated, to procure supplies of arms and ammunition

The intelligence of these events was received at Constantinople with a mixture of alarm and maniacal fury. The tidings, indeed, of the disturbances raised by Theodore, which arrived first, caused very little discomposure A popular insurrection, excited by the misconduct and extortion of the chiefs, formed part of the regular system of the Turkish empire, and it was only supposed necessary to give orders to the nearest Pacha to collect all the troops within his reach, when his arrival would soon be marked by rout and massacre, and his success announced by the suspension of several hundred heads from the gates of the Seraglio But the present, it was evident, came from a deeper source, and was not likely to yield to the application of these simple remedies Even if no positive information had been obtained, the universality of the movement in all the *raya* territories, with the confusion and flight of the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople, left little doubt that these troubles were the result of a general plan, and one which only the whole united powers of the empire would be sufficient to crush Measures were instantly adopted, which shewed fully the depth of the alarm with which the Divan had been seized The black standard of Mahomet, never hoisted unless in signal of extreme danger to the empire, was exhibited from the towers of the Seraglio, and was accompanied by all the insigna most venerable in the eyes of a Mussulman. An address was published from the Sultan to his minister, in which he complained, that the effeminate conduct of the Ottomans had given rise to this unheard-of audacity on the part of their slaves He called upon them to resume those hardy and active habits, which distinguished their ancestors, when, under Archanes and Mahomet, they subverted the empire of the east. The whole nation were called upon to arm, and take the field against those impious rebels, who sought nothing less than the common overthrow of their empire and their faith

The hatred of the Turks to the Greek name was like a torrent pent up by the strong sluice-gates of state policy, but which, when these for a moment gave way, threw open all

barriers, and burst forth with irresistible fury The whole population of Constantinople rose, not to combat the Greeks in the field, but to massacre them in the streets All of that unfortunate race who were met were immediately surrounded, and, after a series of tantalizing torture, were saluted with the cry of *Nie bolze*, (fear not,) when their heads were immediately struck off Those who could remain in their houses, were for some time safe, but soon muskets began to be discharged into the windows, and at length the houses themselves were violated, the whole Greek quarter of Constantinople became like a city given up to pillage The mandate was daily called for, and expected from the Divan, for the general extermination of that impious race, and it was loudly boasted, that the sword of the faithful would never be sheathed, till the last drop of Christian blood in the empire had flowed beneath it

During these dreadful days, the European residents, and particularly those attached to the different embassies, were in a state of the most mortal alarm Individuals belonging to them were frequently insulted, and the moment seemed on the brink of arriving, when all the forbearance hitherto shewn would cease The country house of a member of the Russian legation was broken into, and plundered, and it was supposed to be only by escaping by the roof, that the owner saved his life An attack was made upon the hotel of the Spanish ambassador, though without effect, and it was only wondered that the mob spared that of the Russian ambassador, M de Stiogonoff, who was peculiarly odious to them Meantime, this ambassador, as well as those from the other courts, made incessant remonstrances upon the state of frenzied anarchy in which Constantinople was allowed to be plunged Exertions were at length made to restore tranquillity, the police resumed its activity, and the outrages became at least less frequent The Vizier, being supposed destitute of the vigour requisite for such a crisis, was removed, and Benderli Ali Pacha appointed in his stead The new Vizier arrived from Asia, and made his entry on the 21st May His presence was marked by the immediate dispersion of the bands of murderers, who had hitherto roved uncontrolled through the streets and villages His administration, however, was immediately distinguished by an enormity more monstrous even than any which had yet marked this era of crime

The Patriarch of Constantinople, the head of the Greek church, was an old man of eighty, who, by his character, had commanded the veneration and esteem even of men of the most different creeds In a country torn by the most furious bigotry, he had always observed and promoted toleration and forbearance His influence had been often powerfully exerted in maintaining the authority of the Porte amid former partial revolts. On the first breaking out of the present insurrection, he had fulminated against all who should engage in it, an anathema, expressed in the strongest terms, and which had produced a considerable effect. Yet it was pretended that the Porte had obtained the clearest proofs of his having secretly abetted the conspiracy. No such proof was ever laid before the public, nor was there ever any appearance of inquiry or examination. It was therefore inferred, that the purpose was merely to inflict, in his person, a signal vengeance on the Greeks, and to paralyse the whole nation by such a terrible example

The 22d of May was Easter Sunday, yet, notwithstanding the super-

stitious veneration in which the Greeks hold this high festival, every mind was so frozen with terror, that only a very few attended The pontiff, however, faithful to his high functions, notwithstanding the sinister rumours that were circulated, proceeded to the metropolitan church, where he duly performed all the august ceremonies of the day. On leaving the church, in his full pontifical robes, accompanied by three archbishops and eight priests, he was met and surrounded by a band of janizaries, whose ferocious looks indicated the most fatal purpose The aged prelate gave himself up to death, but without yet suspecting the unworthy and ignominious form in which it was to be inflicted A rope being fastened round his neck, he was suspended in front of the great portico, and the venerable head of the eastern church suffered there the fate only destined for the vilest of criminals. The three archbishops were also hanged in front of their respective churches, or palaces The bodies were then left for three days, without one of the horror-struck Greeks attempting to remove them. Turkish ingenuity then invented a refinement of insult The bodies were taken down, and delivered to the Jews, the basest part of the populace, and who surpassed even the Mussulmen in their animosity against the Christian name These wretches dragged the bodies through the streets, amid outrages and imprecations, from which even Mussulman ears revolted They then threw them into the canal, whence, however, they were secretly taken by their countrymen, and conveyed to Odessa, where they were interred with every funeral honour

The whole Greek world was frozen with dismay and horror at this dismal catastrophe. Such a treatment of the august head of their name and nation, seemed only to be accounted for by supposing both devoted to final destruction. A universal cry for vengeance arose, and there seemed even no safety but in the last extreme of resistance. Inflaming their zeal beyond all bounds, it impelled, and in some degree palliated, those too terrible retaliations, by which their cause was stained. On the part of the Turks, however, no measure could have been more impolitic, or more fatal to their hopes of bringing back the Greek nation to a state of submission

The proceedings at Constantinople were followed up by the execution, at Adrianople, of the arch-priest Cyril, who had formerly held the office of patriarch, and of twenty others of the principal Greeks in that city. Adrianople became also the scene of massacres, which only the smaller number of Greeks there resident rendered less dreadful than those of Constantinople This catastrophe of the heads of the Greek religion was the signal for the fanatic multitude to profane and subvert its temples In a few days, the magnificent churches of Constantinople were stripped of all their wealth, polluted by every species of profanation; and, finally, the greater part of them razed to the ground

During these dreadful scenes, the European ambassadors, and particularly that of Russia, ceased not to address to the Porte the most urgent remonstrances on the conduct which it was permitting and pursuing. It was stated as impossible, that the other powers could maintain any relation, even of amity, with one which thus trampled upon every law of nature and humanity. Cessation of farther outrages, reparation for the past, and mercy even to her offending subjects, were stated as the only conditions which could avert measures that

might issue in the total destruction of the empire To these warm and menacing notes, the Porte replied in a polite but haughty manner. The executions ordered by itself, it justified as rendered necessary by the proofs of treasonable correspondence which had been laid before it, and of which itself was the only judge Some excesses, it was allowed, had been committed by the populace, which would be speedily repressed The Porte claimed to herself the entire right of putting down, by force of arms, the insurrection which had spread so wide among her Greek subjects, and, for the period when that object should be completely accomplished, she reserved the rebuilding of the demolished churches, and the restoration of the Greeks to their political rights The sequel of these negotiations, however, we must postpone, in order to proceed now to the more active operations of this terrible conflict

Amid the fury of its proceedings against its unarmed subjects, the Porte was not inactive in preparing to take the field against the portion which was in arms She derived a strength, for some time unknown, from the circumstances which gave to this the character of a religious war That ferocious bigotry, which forms the leading feature of the Turkish character, made the whole nation eager to fly to arms, when a conflict with the Giaour, and the extermination of the Greek name, were in question From the heart of Asia Minor hordes of barbarians rushed to the shores of the Bosphorus, eager, in the cause of God and his prophet, to satiate their thirst for plunder and massacre The Russian ambassador urged, that the Turkish armies should not enter the principalities, or, at least, should act only in concert with the Russians The Porte, however, treated as nugatory any treaty which could restrain her from taking instant measures to crush so formidable and urgent an insurrection The Asiatic troops were, therefore, pushed forward to the Danube, and the Pachas of Ibrail, Silistria, and Widdin, were ordered to co operate with them

The hopes of the Greek cause on this side of the empire were already on the wane These hopes rested from the beginning entirely upon the support of Russia The insurrection had no proper root in these countries Their population was not Greek, and the Greek name was even odious among them By treaty with Russia, it was required that the hospodar should be of this nation, but this hospodar was a mere despot, who, in order that, after paying an enormous tribute, he might enrich himself, practised every species of extortion Ipsilanti, therefore, from the first, proclaimed his confidence in the support of the Emperor Alexander, and he lost not a moment in sending a deputation to that monarch, then in congress at Laybach, entreating him to extend his aid, in this extremity, to the Greek nation, and particularly to the two principalities, which, if freed from the Turks, would be placed under his protection and virtual sovereignty The messenger could not have arrived at a more unfortunate place and time The object now presented to view was, of all others, the most favourite, both with the court and people of Russia, and there was scarcely a former period, unless when under the immediate pressure of the French arms, that it would not have been eagerly grasped at But, at this moment, every other sentiment was swallowed up in the mind of Alexander by that dread of popular encroachment, and of everything like popular insurrection, with which Austria had succeeded in inspiring him. Thus prepossess-

ed, and in council with a power which was the sworn enemy of innovation, Alexander formed the resolution to strike with his decided reprobation the movements taking place in the east Ipsilanti received immediate orders to repair to the Russian territory, and there wait the orders of his majesty, in failure of instant obedience, he was stripped of all his employments, his name erased from the military list, and even his character as a Russian citizen withdrawn The same anathema was pronounced against all his Russian partizans Even the Greeks inhabiting along the frontier were ordered into the interior, the Moldavians were admonished to return to their duty, and all the Russian authorities were carefully warned against giving the smallest countenance or support to the insurrectional movements

These decisions, so fatal to the cause of independence, were announced at Jassy on the 11th April Michel Suzzo, on receiving the communication, immediately renounced all hope, threw up his command, and sought to secure the protection of Alexander by repairing immediately to Odessa The Boyars then assumed the administration, and, sending a deputation to Constantinople, represented that they had no share in the rebellion, that they were in a state of entire submission to the Porte, and were ready to receive any hospodar whom it might choose to appoint. The same tidings were communicated to Ipsilanti, while he was in full march upon Bucharest The blow could not but be severe, but he was still too high in determination and hope, and felt too full confidence in the steadiness of his followers, to sink under it He even ventured to read the proclamation of Alexander to his little band, at the same time expressing his assurance that no European sovereign would take arms against them The Greeks replied with enthusiasm to this address, they declared their firm adherence to the cause, and their courage only rose to a higher pitch, when they found that they were to contend alone for the liberties of their nation

The main object of Ipsilanti was now to secure the co-operation of Theodore That chief, as already observed, had taken the field with separate and, in some respects, opposite views and interests, and he shewed now no inclination to enter into any combination with him Some disposition even appeared, on the approach of Ipsilanti, to fortify Bucharest against his entrance On his arrival, however, an apparent change took place, and his army was received, and even welcomed He had then an interview with Theodore, who agreed, or at least pretended, to make common cause with him, and share his fortunes A much closer union, however, than really existed, would have been necessary to meet the crisis which was now at hand

The barbarous levies, which the Porte had summoned by such extraordinary calls and denunciations, were now arrived on the Danube. Three corps, of about 10,000 each, were placed respectively under the command of the Pachas of Ibrail, Silistria, and Widdin. The first active operation was made by the former of these chiefs against the fortress of Galacy, which had been so early a theatre of insurrection The Greeks in garrison made a desperate but vain resistance, the place was taken, and the Turks commenced a dreadful and indiscriminate slaughter, in revenge for that which their countrymen had suffered when the place was last wrested from them Moldavia had hoped, by the flight of Suzzo, and the abject submission of the Boyars,

to escape the horrors of a Turkish visitation The Barbarians, however, were not to be cheated of those hoped-for spoils which had attracted them from their distant plains A numerous body entered Moldavia, laying all waste before them with fire and sword, and Jassy, though it yielded without resistance, was treated as a town taken by storm At the same time, the main body was advancing upon Bucharest Ipsilanti, who had marched towards the Danube with the view of opposing their progress, found his force inadequate, and could only harass them by occasional skirmishes He had made preparations, however, to defend Bucharest, but finding that no reliance could be placed on his Wallachian confederates, he abandoned it to the Turks, and retreated to a strong position at Tergomitz Theodore, at the same time, retired with his corps upon Pitesht He was already, however, in secret communication with the Turks, to whom, it is said, he had disclosed all the movements of Ipsilanti, and, in reward of his treachery, had raised his hopes even to the hospodarship of Wallachia Ipsilanti, informed of these intrigues, took a step, on which only a full knowledge of the circumstances could enable us to decide. Ghiorgaki, one of his most faithful and enterprizing officers, set out secretly for the camp of Theodore, surprised him in his tent, and brought him bound to Ipsilanti The latter immediately caused him to be tried by a council of officers, and a sentence of high treason being forthwith pronounced, he was shot in an hour after. After this proceeding, which was at least very prompt, the Wallachian army was invited to join the Greek standard A great part, however, disbanded, some joined the Turks, and, though a considerable proportion ranged themselves under the standard of Ipsilanti, their co-operation was destined to be more fatal to him, than their enmity could have been

The Pacha of Ibrail, having occupied Bucharest, delayed to attack Ipsilanti only till he had established such correspondences in his army, as might render victory secure He then put his troops in motion, and came up to his antagonist, who had taken a strong position at Dragaschan. Ipsilanti displayed a skill and activity, worthy of an occasion which was finally to decide the fortunes of his cause. By a feigned retreat, he drew the Turks into an ambuscade, when two Wallachian chiefs, Kaminari Sawa and Constantin Douka, were to have fallen on their rear, and their total destruction was confidently anticipated But these traitors had already sold themselves to the Porte, and, instead of falling on the Turks at the critical moment, went over to them, and joined in attacking the Greeks At a desertion so unexpected, dismay and confusion spread themselves through the troops of Ipsilanti, and the greater part took to flight One small and sacred band still stood It contained the flower of the Grecian youth, who had been sent to study in the universities of Europe, and who, at the first dawn of their country's liberty, hastened to constitute themselves its champions. The vicinity of the principalities, and the early intelligence of Ipsilanti's movements, directed them to this quarter. They might have enlightened Greece by their knowledge, as well as defended it by their valour, had fate conducted them to a more auspicious theatre. Here they could only shed a bright expiring lustre on a ruined and dishonoured cause Surrounded and overwhelmed by vastly superior numbers, they still disdained to yield,

and the greatest part of them, like the band of Thermopylæ, perished on the field of battle *

Ipsilanti, with only a scattered wreck of his army, among whom were Ghiorgaki and Cantacuzene, who still remained faithful to him, effected his retreat to Rymnick Here he emitted a proclamation, upbraiding in the bitterest terms the greater part of his troops, who, in the hour of need, had betrayed or deserted him He gave up to the contempt of mankind, to divine justice, and to the malediction of their nation, Kamnari Sawa, and the other chiefs, whose treason had blasted his hopes The cowards who had fled at that critical moment, he declared unworthy of the name of soldiers, renounced the title of their chief, and exhorted them to place themselves under the Turkish yoke, for which they were alone fitted "But you," said he, "shades of the true Hellenians of the Sacred Battalion, who have been betrayed, and have sacrificed yourselves for the deliverance of your country, receive through me the thanks of the Greek nation, who will soon raise monuments that will render your name immortal"—As it was necessary, however, to lose no time in providing for his personal safety, he hastened to pass the Austrian frontier, and to throw himself into the defiles of Transylvania The pursuing Turks were obliged to respect the cordon, which secured the neutrality of that district Ipsilanti now only sought to reach Greece, which he might do by passing through the territories either of Russia or of Austria The severity experienced from the monarch of the former state, and which had proved so fatal to his hopes, disinclined him to throw himself upon his mercy He did not consider that Alexander, however devoted now to the principles of the monarchical alliance, had personal clemency and amability, and would not probably have proceeded to any extremities Austria, on the other hand, considered no severity too great for the votaries of innovation Although Ipsilanti reached Trieste, he was there discovered, arrested, and thrown into the castle of Munkatch along with some of the chief of the Piedmontese revolution So closely was he immured, that the place of his confinement was not known till four months after

Although Ipsilanti had thus given up the cause in despair, Ghiorgaki, and some other chiefs, resolved to make another effort in its support Having collected some of their scattered adherents, they carried on a partizan war for some months with considerable vigour This desultory contest cost the Turks a considerable number of men, but it could produce no permanent effect, and Wallachia was finally reduced to a state of entire submission

While the Porte was thus carrying on these successful operations against the first theatre of insurrection, it was not neglectful of that equally formidable one, which had broken out in the Morea and the islands To carry it on with success a fleet was indispensable, yet the means of equip-

* Amid conflicting statements, we have given that which appeared to us the most probable, of the catastrophe of the Greek cause in Wallachia According to the majority of narratives, there were two battles, one at Tergoutz, and one at Dragaschan, but, from the reported circumstances of both being identically the same, as well as from the whole aspect, we give more credit to a writer who professes to have been an eye-witness, and asserts that there was no battle, unless one at the latter place.

ping one formed the greatest difficulty under which it laboured. There was no deficiency, indeed, of the necessary *materiel*, but there was an absence of any living instruments, by which it should have been moved. The Greeks, who were the only sailors in the empire, having all disappeared, left no resource for manning the imperial navy. In this extremity, various shifts were resorted to. A few Barbary sailors were found and employed. The boatmen on the canal of Constantinople were then pressed into the service. A certain number of deserters from the European navies, who had repaired to Constantinople, were induced by high pay and privileges to go on board. There being still a great blank, a number of the troops, newly levied for the land service, were thrust on board, and obliged to practise seamanship as they best could. Still the vast mass was little more than a body without a soul, and had nothing in its superior force which could enable it to cope with the vast superiority of skill and address on the part of their adversaries. The command was intrusted to an able man, newly raised to the situation of Captain Pacha, but, as the accounts from Smyrna represented the state of affairs as urgent, and pressed the sending of vessels to convey the troops destined against Samos, *Tombek Zade*, the second in command, was sent forward with a squadron of two ships of the line, three large frigates, and five transports. The Captain Pacha promised speedily to follow in person. Tombek Zade appears to have been a person of very inferior courage and capacity. He spent nearly a fortnight in coasting along the Bosphorus. Passing Cape Sigeum on the 19th May, he descried the numerous flotilla of the Greeks, but made no movements to attack it; while they, on the other hand, contented themselves with following the track of the Turkish fleet, and watching its course. The Turkish admiral continued to move slowly along the coast, till he arrived in the anchorage of Mytilene. Disconcerted then at seeing and hearing nothing of the Captain Pacha, he took the extraordinary measure of sending back a seventy-four to the Dardanelles, to inquire after the rest of the fleet. The captain set sail with fear and trembling, but, on entering the strait which separates Mytilene from the main land, he was agreeably surprised not to discover a single hostile sail. He was not aware that the Greek squadron kept itself carefully concealed behind the numerous rocks by which this channel is bordered. In this ambush they remained till they saw the ship so far advanced, that it could no longer receive succour from the rest of the fleet. A signal being then given, they were all in motion, and four of the most active were soon in close pursuit. The Turkish captain, struck with alarm, instead of making for the open sea, where everything would have been in his favour, had the incredible stupidity to throw himself into the Gulf of Adramyti, which scarcely afforded secure navigation for large merchant vessels. The ship soon ran aground on a spot whence, from its bulk and unwieldiness, it could not be extricated for several days. It remained motionless, exposed to the attack of the pursuing squadron. The Greeks were thus enabled to escape the terrible discharge, which would have ensued from the artillery ranged along its sides. Dividing themselves into two parts, placed at opposite ends, they directed their fire at once against the poop and the stern, where there were only one or

two guns to answer them The huge vessel agitated itself like a whale under the multiplied strokes of the harpoon. All its artillery on both sides was furiously discharged, as if its mere sound rolling through empty air could have intimidated the Greeks An attempt was also made to reach them with musketry, but those skilful mariners kept beyond its reach They maintained an unremitting fire, which raked the vessel from end to end The Turks maintained the combat with frantic courage, till the ship was completely perforated with balls, its masts cracking, its deck covered with dead, when they set up frightful howlings, and demanded, that the boats should be launched, that they might make for the shore The boats were launched, but the fire being still kept up, many of them were sunk, and it is not supposed that of one thousand men, of which the crew originally consisted, two hundred ever reached land The captain, before leaving the vessel, having failed in an attempt to blow it up, set it on fire in numerous places, and it was consumed to ashes No sooner did the Turkish admiral, still at anchor in the road of Mytilene, receive intelligence of this catastrophe, than, instead of seeking to avenge the loss, he thought only of his own safety, and resolved on making the best of his way back to the Dardanelles In passing through the channel of Mytilene, he descried the four Greeks employed in dragging up the cannon of his lost ship; but, far from his thinking of attacking them, notwithstanding his vast superiority, they commenced a pursuit of him, from which he fled with all speed, and, considering himself too happy to avoid any rencounter, never slackened sail, till he found himself under the cannon of the castles of Asia

This victory was celebrated with unbounded exultation in all the shores and havens of Greece Thus easily, with their flotilla, to have discomfited the grand imperial fleet of the empire, seemed almost to renew the glory of their ancestors, when they vanquished, at Salamis and Mycale, the navies of the great king They deemed themselves now the undisputed masters of the sea, and equal to any enterprize, the success of which could be attended with benefit to the general cause. In this view, their eyes were attracted by the coasts of Asia Minor, which, even amid their decline, were still fertile and populous, and contained several commercial cities of great importance

No modern city has risen more rapidly to such a height of prosperity, as Aivali, or Cydonia, situated on a little bay in the Gulf of Adramyti. Forty years ago, it was a mere fishing village, inhabited by a mixture of Turks and Greeks, who were engaged in continual conflicts with each other Economos, a Greek native, having insinuated himself into the favour of some individuals who were all powerful at Constantinople, had the address, not only to obtain for himself the government of the place, but a firman, by which no Turk was to reside there in any official capacity. This happy immunity drew from all parts of the empire the members of this nation, who were suffering under persecution, but who here dwelt in security, and carried on without interruption their industrious pursuits Cydonia also shared in its full extent the general commercial prosperity of the nation It thus attained a population of 40,000 inhabitants, had established large manufactures of oil, leather, and soap, and carried on a very extensive trade It had become a sort of capital of the

Greeks; and the college, founded there in 1803, was the most distinguished in Asia On the approach of the troubles, the Pacha of Boursa, within whose jurisdiction the place was, sent a corps of 600 men, to guard against any sudden landing. The inhabitants, however, unaccustomed to such occupants, and to their tumultuary licence, rose and drove them out Hereupon the Pacha sent a body of 3000, which overpowered all resistance, and forcibly occupied the principal positions of the place Amid these conflicts, the principal inhabitants hastily sought refuge in the small island of Mosconissi at the mouth of the bay, whither the Turks were unable to follow Next [illegible] was also sent to the Grecian fleet, then hovering near Smyrna, but which immediately preferred this as a more urgent call. In the morning of the 15th June, the bay appeared covered with numerous barks filled with troops The Turks endeavoured to prevent the landing, by occupying in force all the houses bordering on the quay, but their efforts proved vain against the Greek artillery, and, after a desperate resistance in the streets and houses, they were finally obliged to yield to the superiority of numbers and valour. Before evacuating the city, they set fire to it in more than twenty places The flames, favoured by a violent wind, rapidly spread, and every effort was vainly made to stop the devouring conflagration In two days, Cydonia was no more That splendid city of the Greeks presented only a heap of ashes The Turks avenged themselves by pillaging the adjacent villages, and carrying off the inhabitants into slavery The population of the city were conveyed away by the Greeks, with all their movable effects, and were distributed in the islands and in the Morea

The dismal result of this expedition proved to the Greeks that they were proceeding on an erroneous system, in attempting to form establishments on the main land of Asia Minor That region contained a numerous and warlike population, fanatically attached to the Mussulman faith These now poured down in vast crowds upon the coast, demanding the means of transporting themselves to the islands, where they might bathe themselves in the blood of the infidels The catastrophe of Cydonia inflamed the passions of these barbarous hordes, and placed all the Asiatic Christians in the most awful and alarming situation

Smyrna, the capital of Asia Minor, and the commercial metropolis of the empire, could not long escape those violent agitations. Its situation was the more critical, from being the rendezvous of all the levies made in the interior, to be employed against the islands The administration, indeed, kept them carefully encamped without the city, and exerted itself, with very considerable diligence, to preserve internal tranquillity Their vicinity, however, and the ravages committed by them in the surrounding districts, kept up a continual apprehension The crowds of Greeks, who embarked at Smyrna, both from the city itself and the interior districts, expressed and spread their own alarm, and fed the irritation of the Mussulmans, who suspected them as going to join the insurrection In such delicate circumstances, the slightest accident, a momentary quarrel between the governor and the French ambassador, a single gun discharged in the streets, spread universal dismay, and drove crowds of the inhabitants to take refuge in the neighbouring mountains No actual violence, however, ensued till the month of May,

when single murders began to be committed The bands in the vicinity, being straitened for provisions, and having exhausted the country, stole into the city, and plundered a number of the shops Once, upon a false alarm, a dreadful tumult arose, all the houses in a particular quarter were sacked, and about twenty Greeks murdered The alarm of the Greeks was now unbounded, all to whom it was possible had already left Smyrna, and about 2000 sought shelter in the quarter of the French Consul Authority, however, was still maintained, and the tumult confined to individual and transient impulses, till news arrived of the destruction of the Turkish vessel in the Gulf of Adramyti The fury of the Turks then rose to the highest pitch United in a body, they scoured the streets, putting all whom they met to the sword It was in the middle of a night, when their passions had been worked up to this state of frenzy, that the additional accounts arrived of the combat and fate of Cydonia Smyrna, next morning, became one scene of blood and massacre, neither age nor sex were spared, not content with slaughtering their unhappy victims, they mutilated and disfigured the lifeless bodies The infuriate crowd rushed to the consular residences of Russia and France, demanding that the unhappy Greeks who had taken refuge there, should be delivered up to them; and, on refusal, force would have been employed, had not several armed vessels been brought up in front of them Soon all Smyrna became like a field after a battle, strewed with dead, and through which bands of murderers still wandered in search of further victims, that were no longer to be found Still thirsting for blood, they hastened to the *Molah*, or chief of the Mahometan religion, and demanded, with loud cries, a *hilam*, or permission to set the city on fire, that they might force all the Greeks to come out, and be massacred The venerable pontiff and magistrate, indignantly refusing their demand, was struck, and fell beneath their daggers. The Ayan-bachi, or chief of police, and several other officers, who attempted to resist them, suffered the same fate, while the cowardly Pacha, hiding himself in his house, left them undisturbed masters of the city

The anarchists, after striking these terrible blows, suddenly stopped short. They gave up all thought of the meditated enormities; and, finding the power in their hands, began to use it for the protection of the city. An end was put to bloodshed, and some kind of regular police established But just as Smyrna was beginning to breathe, the plague, too natural a consequence of the scenes that had just passed, came to complete her calamities

The fate of Scala Nova was, if possible, still more disastrous than that of Smyrna This city, which, though on a much smaller scale, was tolerably rich and prosperous, enjoyed a lot peculiarly fortunate It was governed by Elez Aga, a chief far superior to the rest of his countrymen in equity and humanity. Under him, person and property were respected, and equal justice rendered to Turks and Greeks He had not, however, influence or energy sufficient to restrain the hordes of tumultuary militia, who poured in from the interior, for the purpose of being employed against Samos. That island is separated from Scala Nova only by a narrow strait, across which, however, the Turks had not skill sufficient to transport an army, till the arrival of the fleet, which was in vain expected. The troops, meantime, suffering many privations, and seeing before their eyes a rich city, partly inhabited by Greeks, eagerly sought permission to plunder. They first entered in small parties, then in greater

numbers, and at length a general sack of all the Greek quarters of the city took place, not without including some of the Mussulman population When they had finished, they set fire to it at several points, and the Turkish inhabitants being unable thoroughly to protect their own quarters, a great part of Scala Nova was reduced to ashes. Having achieved this exploit, the troops, now set loose from all discipline, broke up, and returned to their homes, without inquiring farther as to the objects of their expedition

Meanwhile, the Porte bestirred themselves to put forth again their squadron, which had returned to them in so shameful a plight The whole fleet, consisting of thirty-two vessels now sailed, under the command of the Captain Pacha, and directed its course, in two divisions, towards Samos The Greeks merely followed its traces, and kept themselves in presence, without either attacking or being attacked The Turks attempted to disembark some troops at Samos, but, as the party which commenced the landing were immediately cut off by the brave islanders, they desisted from the attempt After remaining about a month in presence of the Greek fleet, without any movement, they weighed anchor, and sailed towards Rhodes Meantime, the authorities at Smyrna had been busy in embarking troops on board some merchant vessels, to act in concert with the fleet, thinking Smyrna happy in being delivered from their presence Such, however, was the tardiness of their movements, that the fleet was already set sail, and they attempted to follow it under the guard of only two or three small armed vessels This advantage was immediately espied by the Greeks, who bore down and attacked them The Turks employed with courage their feeble means of resistance, but, being soon overpowered, they threw themselves into their boats, and gained the land, after having set the squadron on fire This action being reported through Greece, and over all Europe, as a general victory over the Ottoman fleet, spread over their arms an illusory lustre, which, however, was not unproductive of some advantage to the cause

At Rhodes, the Turks met with a squadron sent by the Pacha of Egypt, as well as with some vessels from Tunis and Algiers Thus reinforced, they made sail for the coasts of the Morea The Greeks having made an unsuccessful attempt to employ fire-ships against them, were seized with a panic, and dispersed each to their respective ports The Ottomans, without attempting to pursue, proceeded along the coast of the Morea, victualled anew Coron and Modon, and went on to Prevesa Here they extricated a fleet, commanded by the Captain Bey, which was blockaded by the Greeks, who retired on their approach. The united squadrons then entered the Gulf of Lepanto, where they discovered six Hydriote vessels so enclosed between them and the land, as to be unable to gain the open sea The Greeks were quickly worsted, and two of their vessels destroyed, while the remaining four sought refuge in the road of Galaxidi As this port, however, had no defences, they were obliged to abandon these vessels on the approach of the enemy, who took them, with a number of smaller craft, and reduced the town of Galaxidi to ashes Proud of this trifling achievement, the Ottoman admiral considered himself as having made a brilliant campaign, and determined to return to the Bosphorus After rounding the Morea, he passed close to the island of Tino, the inhabitants of which, struck with dismay, fled into the interior, but the hostile fleet, carried forward by a rapid gale, did not even attempt to land On the 22d of October, it entered the Bos-

phorus, making a parade of the small number of Greek vessels which it had taken, and the sides of which were adorned with a number of Greeks suspended by the hair The populace of Constantinople, to whom such spectacles were always agreeable, applauded, but the Sultan, on inquiring into the particulars of the expedition, was so ill satisfied, that he disgraced the Captain Pacha and several of his officers

However favourable and satisfactory these operations were, it was in the Morea, and in Thessaly, that the question was to be decided, whether the Greeks were to be again a people? Having, therefore, surveyed the maritime and insular campaign, as well as that unfortunate one which opened on the Danube, we are ready to take a connected view of the transactions on that main and decisive theatre of conflict

After the first enthusiasm had subsided, and when the Porte, recovering from its surprise, began to muster its strength, the Greeks could not but feel their inadequate means to meet the force of a great empire, roused by fanaticism to a sort of preternatural energy The Morea, Thessaly, and Western Greece, could not contain above a million of inhabitants, and these, when they attempted to form an army, had few arms, no discipline, none of the supplies and resources of war Fortunately the chief attention of the Turkish armies was engrossed, in the first instance, by the operations on the Danube. A small interval was thus allowed to prepare, in the course of which, resources came in from several quarters The terror inspired by Turkish cruelty, produced, as already observed, an immense emigration from Constantinople, Smyrna, and all the coasts of Asia Minor. The fugitives, being at first accumulated in the small islands, appeared in danger of perishing by famine, but, when there was time to distribute them through the several territories of Greece, they brought a large accession to her population and resources A great proportion, destitute of any regular subsistence or employment, were ready to enter the ranks of the army; while those who preferred pacific occupations, filled the void left by the natives who had joined the standard of insurrection At the same time, a high enthusiasm was kindled in Western Europe, at the promised revival of the existence and glories of Greece The mighty wars which had shaken that region, left still an internal heaving and agitation, which sought for vent The bold and romantic spirit of the German found here a quite congenial cause. In France, the disbanding of the imperial army left many who were ready to seek in a foreign theatre advancement and employment. Of the numbers who flocked with these views to the Greek standard, many were severely disappointed Instead of regular professional employment, and of those accommodations, and even luxuries, to which our troops are now accustomed, they found a mere barbarous crowd, without pay, clothes, or even food, except what their own shifts could procure. Many were soon disgusted, and returned to Europe, where they spread the most unfavourable reports of the Greeks and their cause But others, supported by a genuine enthusiasm, braved every hardship, and not only fought themselves, but imparted some portion of their own military skill and discipline to these tumultuary levies.

The Morea, which formed the main theatre of action, was in so far favourably situated, that the outer districts of Thessaly and Macedonia broke the first force of Turkish invasion, and it reached the isthmus of Corinth only in shattered fragments The Greeks were therefore unopposed in the first

instance, unless by the garrisons of the fortresses, which were numerous in a country that had been long the theatre of warfare between the Porte and the Venetians They were in very bad condition, indeed, but they were not the less impregnable against the total want of all means of regular siege on the part of the assailants The Greeks, however, were masters of the whole open country, and of all the unfortified towns Among these were Argos and Calamata, where Senates were formed, composed of the leading men in the country. At the same time, they found themselves numerous enough to lay siege to the fortresses of Napoli de Malvasia, Navarin, Tripolizza, and Patras. These sieges, indeed, were only loose blockades, formed by crowds of half-armed peasants, who strolled about the ramparts, firing shots at random Thus, however, they confined to their fortresses the Turkish troops, who, as they had no allies in the country to assist in throwing in provisions, were soon reduced to considerable straits

Patras was the first scene of active operations The Archbishop Germano, combining the sword with the mitre, had placed himself at the head of a large body of his militant flock The Turkish Aga defended himself with skill and vigour, so that the place was exposed to danger only by the extreme zeal of the Governor of Corinth, who, supposing it in real distress, sent a detachment to reinforce the garrison This body, as it arrived in sight of Patras, was surrounded, overpowered, and entirely cut to pieces The Turkish troops beheld this disaster of their comrades, they heard the shouts, and songs of joy, which echoed during the whole night in the Greek camp. These circumstances struck them with discouragement and dismay, while they worked up the minds of the Hellenes to the daring purpose of next day attempting to storm the fortress. Animated by a sort of preternatural courage, they rushed upon the batteries of the enemy, and, bursting open the gates, made their way into the place A terrible combat was maintained in the streets and houses; but, at length, after dreadful slaughter on both sides, the Turks retired into the citadel, and left the Greek army masters of the town Wondrous, however, are the vicissitudes of barbarous warfare The victors, intoxicated with success, lost all fear, and gave themselves up to inconsiderate joy. This was soon espied by the Turkish chief, who fell upon them in the middle of the night, and forced them to evacuate the place with total loss and discomfiture Germano had only time to cause the town to be fired in different places; in consequence of which, he had the dismal satisfaction of seeing it reduced to ashes

After this disaster, a considerable dispersion took place in the Greek army, and Germano was obliged to retire By the month of July, however, he had reassembled and reinforced his bands, and was able again to march to the attack of Patras For undisciplined troops to attempt storming the citadel, now better fortified than ever, seemed a most hopeless undertaking; but the governor, trusting to the precipitous character of the rock on one side, had left it without any defence but that of nature. The agile mountaineers, taking advantage of a stormy night, made their way up these formidable steeps, and burst on the astonished garrison The place was soon taken, and only a few Turks made their escape by sea to Lepanto After gaining, however, this important advantage, the Greeks were so careless in keeping it, that Jussuf Pasha, having entered the Peloponnesus with 4000 or 5000 men, and pushed into Patras, found it unguarded, and retook it without resistance, nor have the

Greeks ever since been able to regain this important place

At the first commencement of the insurrection, the Greeks had been headed by Colocotroni, Mauro Michale, the Archbishop Germano, and the Monk Gregorias, and any person of talents and note who happened to be at hand About the beginning of July, however, a new and more dignified personage appeared on the scene This was Demetrius Ipsilanti, the younger brother of Alexander Demetrius, full of the claims of his house to the throne of the east, demanded the chief command, as his right in the room of his absent brother, whom he almost announced as the future Emperor Such claims were not found to suit the views of the rising republic, but his name, and the lustre which still surrounded the enterprize of his brother, induced the Greeks to invest him with the title of Generalissimo of the Morea This arrangement was of great advantage to the cause. Demetrius, though young, was a man of cultivated mind and enlarged views, he aided greatly in combining into one plan the hitherto desultory and merely local efforts of the insurrection At the same time he laboured, with slow but gradual success, to impart to his barbarous countrymen some portion of civilization, and to infuse into their proceedings a measure at least of that humanity which characterizes the system of modern warfare

Soon after the arrival of Demetrius, the Hellenic arms were crowned with their first permanent success The castle of Napoli de Malvasia, having been closely invested since the beginning of the insurrection, was reduced to the last extremities of famine After having consumed every species of food, even the vilest, which the place contained, they seemed at last disposed rather to perish than to yield to the infuriate Greeks. Demetrius, however, by pledging his honour, prevailed upon them to accept a very favourable capitulation, by which the garrison were to be transported to the coast of Asia The Greeks, however, were too much disposed on these occasions to act in such a manner as to afflict their best friends Fired with the deadliest antipathy against their oppressors, scarcely were the keys of the place delivered up to them, when they rushed forward, to commence an indiscriminate massacre It was at the hazard of his own life, that Demetrius was able to save the Turkish garrison; nor was he able, though contrary to the provisions of the treaty, to preserve the place from general plunder At length the garrison were embarked, but the sailors, instead of conveying them, as promised, to the coast of Asia Minor, threw them on the little rock of Casso Nissi, where they must have perished, but for the interposition of Bomford, the French consul, who procured their conveyance to Scala Nova About the same time, the fort of Navarius, on the eastern coast of Messenia, surrendered, after a siege of four months A similar capitulation was granted, but was equally ill observed Demetrius was so indignant at this repeated infraction of engagements, that he publicly threatened to desert altogether the cause of Greece These menaces stimulated the senates to form a general Congress of the Morea, and the three islands, which constituted itself at Calamata, and did everything in its power, to invest him with the authority requisite to preserve discipline and subordination

The Peloponnesians were now able to turn their undivided attention to the most important object which the peninsula presented—the reduction of Tripolizza, its capital In this capacity, as well as on account of the strength of its fortifications, it had been the common centre, to which all

the most opulent and distinguished Turks resorted for refuge, and lodged their treasures, as in a place of security The population was thus swelled to about 36,000 men, a large proportion of which were in arms Nazir Bey, the governor, considered himself in full security Besides the strength of the garrison, the place was surrounded by fortifications, which, however imperfect, were completely proof against the Greeks, notwithstanding the acquisition of battering cannon, which they had recently made at Malvasia and Nevarius The scarcity of provisions, though beginning to be somewhat felt, was expected to be soon relieved by the Ottoman fleet, which was already cruizing in these seas Amid this security however, danger was coming from an unforeseen and unsuspected point One quarter of the fort was held by about 3000 Albanians, a race inured to treachery, and who, feeling little or no zeal in the Turkish service, were soon tired of the toils and privations to which their present situation exposed them It is believed, that, under the influence of these motives, they entered into an engagement with the Greek commanders, to deliver up the place, upon being merely allowed to march off with their arms and baggage On the evening of the 5th of October, a select body of Greeks suddenly scaled the ramparts at this point, and hoisted the standard of liberty Amid the dismay occasioned by this spectacle, Colocotroni and Mauro Michale succeeded in forcing their way into the city, and turning against it the cannon of its own batteries The place was now taken, but the Turks, as usual, still maintained a terrible resistance in every street and in every house The assailants were repeatedly forced to make their way by setting fire to the houses, and, by the light of these flames, the contest was prolonged throughout the night The triumph of the Greeks was at length complete, but a fatal scene followed, over which liberty and humanity must seek to draw a veil It is impossible to deny or to palliate atrocities, which the enemies of the Greeks made to resound throughout Europe, yet it is but fair to remark, that the capture of a city by storm can scarcely be made, even by a civilized army, without serious excesses; the soldiers claiming, even by the laws of war, an almost unbounded licence. In the present instance, the Greeks were goaded, not only by the terrible wrongs already enumerated, but they had recently seen eighty of their priests, that had been detained in the fortress as hostages, inhumanly put to death The highest estimate of those who perished is eight thousand, not quite a fourth of the supposed population, though it is added, we fear with truth, that a proportion were of a sex and age which ought to have exempted them from every species of outrage, and that death, in many instances, was aggravated by torture. It is asserted to have been the last very flagrant instance of this nature; the troops becoming thenceforth more amenable to the voice of their chiefs, when continually urged a more civilized and humane system of warfare

The taking of Tripolizza formed a new era in the history of the contest, and brought a great accession of resource and consolidation to the rising state They found in it very considerable treasures, and an ample store of all the munitions of war Their troops, which before were only irregular assemblages of half-armed peasantry, could now be equipped in the full style of a regular army A general amelioration was observed in the whole aspect of the nation, and, from a horde of insurgent banditti, it began to acquire the character of a regular and civilized society

The troops rendered disposable by the reduction of Tripolizza, were directed partly upon Patras, and partly upon Corinth The siege of this last place was pushed with peculiar vigour, on account of its forming, as it were, the key of the Morea, since its possession would, in a great measure, shut the peninsula against the invader The town had been repeatedly penetrated; but the surrender of the citadel, named the Impregnable, formed the brilliant close of the present year The general Congress, which had been transferred from Argus to Epidaurus, was now removed to Corinth This body had just completed the plan of a general constitution for Greece, which was not, however, promulgated till the close of January in the following year

Thus the campaign in the Morea had been almost one continued train of success, which issued in the conversion of a tumultuary insurrection, into a regular and organized republic In the outer parts of Greece, more directly exposed to Turkish inroad, the scene had been much more chequered Athens, whose mighty name and monuments seemed to present almost entire the image of her ancient glory, shared the earliest movements of the Greek nation In the beginning of May, the inhabitants, by a general rising, drove the Turks out of the city, and obliged them to take refuge in the Acropolis Although this point could not be forced, yet the standard of liberty floated on the Piræus, and a senate was installed, under the venerable title of Areopagus Presently the inhabitants of Attica arming themselves, to the number of about 8000, laid close siege to the Acropolis. These antique bulwarks presented an impregnable front to the rude assailants; but the continuance of the blockade had reduced it to considerable distress, when, in the beginning of July, a Turkish division, under Omer Brion, succeeded, with difficulty, in penetrating through Thessaly The Greeks prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance, yet, on the first approach of the Turkish vanguard, they were seized with one of those sudden panics to which raw troops are liable They fled in confusion, either to the mountains, or to their ships Athens returned under the full dominion of the Turks, except that the flag of independence still waved in the Piræus In the course of some months, however, the Turks, receiving no reinforcements, were gradually worn down by disease and partial conflicts, while the Greeks rallied, and were reinforced by their victorious countrymen in Thessaly and the Morea They were at length enabled to advance upon Athens in such force, that Omer judged it necessary to evacuate the town, and retire into the citadel The Greeks made desperate efforts to carry it, but, though they had established themselves at the very foot of the parapet, they were unable to mount the rock, and were obliged to trust to blockade for the reduction of this post In this state of things, the year closed It is gratifying that the war at this point was marked by no violence or atrocity on either side At the instance of the British ambassador, the Porte had given directions, that the magnificent ruins of Athens should, if possible, be kept entire. This direction was strictly observed; and what was still more important, the laws of humanity were respected in all the combats which took place on the spot rendered sacred by the remains of Athens.

That extensive territory, reaching from the Morea to Macedonia, which was chiefly occupied by the ancient Thessaly, had made no delay in declaring for the cause of independence The wide plains, of which it was chiefly composed, were traversed in many parts by lofty chains, which afforded

favourable points for the operations of irregular infantry A chief here arose, exactly suited to the wants of this rude warfare. Odysseus, or, as we still translate it, Ulysses, notwithstanding his celebrated name, had been hitherto distinguished only as chief of a band of robbers, who haunted the mountainous tracts between Thessaly and Albania In this character he might have lived and died, had not propitious fate given him a cause to defend, his exploits in which raised him to the rank of a hero As soon as the standard of independence was raised, Ulysses was acknowledged as its chief, and the numerous forces assembled under it, soon enabled him to overrun nearly the whole of Thessaly, and to threaten Larissa, its capital. This territory, however, lay too near to the centre of Turkish power, to be abandoned to its fate Successive reinforcements were poured in from Macedonia and Roumelia, which relieved the capital, and obliged Ulysses to take up a defensive position The train of events is now indistinct and various The steeps of Tempe, of Parnassus, and of Pindus, once the chosen seats of the Muses, now afforded a sacred refuge to the champions of liberty Thermopylæ again became the bulwark of Greece, and its defenders, if they could not altogether bar the passage of the invader, at least made him suffer such loss, as to cripple his subsequent exertions. The close of the year found the Greeks masters of the greater part of Thessaly; they had reduced the citadel of Thebes, recovered Levadia, and began to place Larissa again in a state of alarm

Macedonia, in its plains, and in its mountains of Athos and Olympus, contained a numerous Greek population, which rose in arms as soon as the trumpet of liberty was heard to sound Having assembled a numerous force, they prepared to form the siege of Salonica This city, enriched by an extensive trade, particularly that carried on by land with the interior of Austria, formed a sort of capital of modern Greece It is supposed to contain a population of 70,000 souls The capture of such a place would have been a decisive blow in favour of the cause The enemy, however, made immediate exertions to avert this catastrophe. All the disposable troops were drawn from Roumelia; the whole Mussulman population of Salonica were put under arms, even the Jews were induced, by their superior hatred of the Christians, to enlist for the first time under the banners of Mahomet The Greeks, though still superior in number, yet, being ill armed, and wholly destitute of artillery, could not resist the shock of the Ottoman force. They were defeated with great slaughter in two successive actions, and finally obliged to take shelter in the peninsula of Cassandra, which they had fortified The Pacha, having attacked them in this position, was repulsed with loss, and obliged to give up the attempt.

It was very difficult, however, for the Greeks to maintain themselves in a quarter at which all the reinforcements from the interior of Turkey first arrived In the end of October, a large army was formed, and placed under the command of Mahommed, a new Pacha, possessed of uncommon vigour and energy This chief proceeded to attack the intrenched lines, with which they covered the peninsula On the 9th of November, the first assault was given, but so obstinate was the defence, that he was obliged to retire in disorder On the 12th, however, he returned with fresh troops, particularly of horse After a desperate struggle, the line was forced, particularly by a charge of cavalry The Greeks then could no longer contend against supe-

rior numbers; they made desperate attempts to defend the village of Cassandra, and several forts which they had erected, but this vain resistance tended only to prolong the slaughter Three thousand of this unfortunate nation are supposed to have perished in this dreadful combat, a vast number were taken, and sold as slaves in the market of Salonica, a few escaped by sea to Skiothos

The Pacha now turned his arms against Mount Athos called by the moderns Monte Santo, to whose recesses a considerable portion of the Greeks, after their original defeat, had fled for shelter Before proceeding to action, however, he made them an offer of being allowed to depart upon the payment of 250,000 piastres The Greeks, though intrenched in very strong positions, were so overawed by the fate of their countrymen, that they accepted the conditions, and hastened their retreat to more fortunate climes The Pacha, by a mixture of vigour and clemency, succeeded in putting down all the minor insurrectional movements; and Macedonia was finally reduced to a state of full submission to Turkish dominion

The only remaining continental theatre of war was in Albania We have formerly seen how Ali, after being reduced to the last extremity had succeeded in obliging the Turkish commander to raise the blockade of Janina, and to retire upon Arta, and had thus begun in some degree to retrieve his affairs. At the same time, a difference arose between Ismail Pacha and the Suliotes, who demanded a greater measure of independence than he chose to consent to, and they were thus induced, if not to act in strict concert with him, at least to operate a diversion in his favour The Porte, meantime, dissatisfied with the slow progress of this war, called from the Pachalic of the Morea, Chourschid, once Grand Vizier, and a chief of high reputation They placed under his command all the troops and Pachas in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Albania, and assured him of having 50,000 men at his disposal Chourschid made no delay in assuming the command, and proceeding to the theatre of action Having placed himself at the head of the troops, he was not long of driving back Ali into his own fortresses, Letharitza, and the castle on the lake of Janina Just, however, as the old tyrant was reduced to extremity, the great Greek explosion burst forth, and the attention of Chourschid was distracted by the blaze of insurrection on every side Ali, a second Proteus, proclaimed himself the champion of liberty, it was even published, that he was ready to become a Christian, and to devote himself to defend and avenge this new faith The Greeks, however, mindful how their blood had flowed beneath the sword of this cruel and treacherous chief, declined, imprudently perhaps, to enter into any close combination, or even to take any direct measures for his relief They, therefore, merely pursued their own private ends against the now common enemy, leaving him to reap the benefit as he best could

The whole nation of the Suliotes, so well known for the most desperate bravery, were now in arms They reduced Salona, and were preparing to form the sieges of Arta and Prevesa To relieve these places, as well as to throw succours into Thessaly and the Morea, Chourschid was obliged to detach large portions of the force with which he was acting against Ali He thus prevented the Suliotes and their allies from effecting anything of importance, but, at the same time, he had his own operations crippled; so that the greater part of the year passed in

mutual marches and movements, without any decisive result The confederates, however, benefited greatly by the arrival from the Morea of Alexander Mauro Cardato, a Greek of high family, and whose ancestors had reigned over Moldavia and Wallachia Though not possessed of much military experience, he was a man of extensive information, and great political address He had, therefore, a most beneficial influence in combining and directing the varied elements, of which this western confederacy was composed Under his auspices, a senate, consisting of the principal inhabitants, was formed, first at Suli, and then at Urachori, and a communication for mutual aid was formed with Thessaly Mavro Cardato himself was afterwards raised to the presidency of the General Legislative Senate of Greece

Towards the close of the campaign, both parties seemed to determine upon performing some exploit of importance Chourschid, having obtained reinforcements, pressed Ali so close, that, in the end of November, he became master of Letharitza, one of his two remaining fortresses, and left him only his last hold, the castle on the lake of Janina While he was busy in this undertaking, the confederates, on their side, were no less active They united all their forces to attack Arta, the most important sea-port on this coast It was defended by a large force, under the command of Hassan Bey, and of Ismail Pascho Bey, who had been now long employed in this quarter The Turkish troops came out and gave battle, which was most furiously contested The left wing of the Greeks was nearly overwhelmed by the numerous cavalry of Hassan, but the right wing, being victorious, came to its aid, and finally decided the battle in their favour Next day, they made a general attack in the town; and, though the Turks defended themselves with the greatest obstinacy in the streets and houses, the desertion of a body of Albanians turned the day entirely against them, and they were obliged to retreat into the citadel The Greeks, having received some reinforcements, and having unsuccessfully offered terms, hesitated not to undertake the storm of that fortress It was tolerably strong, and well defended by cannon, but the assailants had established themselves so close to the rampart, that the artillery could not play with effect. The two Greek chiefs, Ranghos and Hiscos, placing themselves at the head of their troops, scaled the heights, and hoisted the ensign of the cross on both sides of the fort The defence was still desperate, but the place was finally carried, a great part of the garrison put to the sword, and the rest made prisoners The Greeks, unable to forget old enmities, treated very ill the Albanians who had come over to them in the course of this conflict, and, by this repetition of a similar conduct after the siege of Tripolizza, imprudently cut the thread of an alliance which might have proved of the greatest benefit to the cause The present campaign was terminated by this exploit, destined to be followed, in the commencement of next year, by other events still more critical

Having thus traced the varied fortunes of continental Greece, we have now only to notice some detached insular theatres of war. The principal was Candia The Candiot Mussulmen were distinguished, beyond all the other Ottoman subjects, by an excess of bigotry and ferocity. The unfortunate Greeks, who inhabited the cities and sea-ports of this large island, were held in the most cruel thraldom, and exposed to every species of outrage In the interior, however, there was quite a different Greek race, called the

Sfacchiotes, who occupied the mountains and high plains, and subsisted by pasturage and hunting Brave, and constantly armed, they maintained a rude and simple independence, in which the Turks were obliged to acquiesce Neither of these classes shewed at first any disposition to share the general movement of the nation The Greeks of the cities were bent to the dust by the bondage under which they groaned, their spirits, broken by slavery, had not energy enough to make any attempt to effect their own deliverance The Sfacchiotes again, so long as they were left unmolested in the possession of their native plains and hills, made little inquiry as to what was passing in other parts of the empire The tyrannical rashness of the government broke this tranquillity The general order, issued at the beginning of the revolution, to disarm all the Greeks in the empire, reached Crete only about the beginning of June, and it was put in execution without difficulty, in regard to those inhabiting the towns and sea-coast The Turks, however, had the temerity to attempt its enforcement also against the Sfacchiotes Notice was sent to the chiefs of their tribes, that all the arms in their possession should be brought to certain appointed places, under pain of the severest chastisement The Sfacchiotes made at first a courteous excuse, representing, that the execution of this decree was impossible, or at least fatal to them; that, without arms, they could not defend themselves against the wild beasts with which all their quarters were infested This reply was met by reiterated menaces, unless the mandate of the Porte was immediately complied with Fire was now struck into the Sfacchiotes, they communicated with each other, and determined to vindicate by their arms themselves, the continued possession of them The Mussulmen met them, but were defeated with great slaughter, and in a short time Canea, and all the towns in the island, were closely blockaded, and were kept in that state through the rest of the year, without either the Turks being able to relieve, or the Greeks to reduce, any one of them

Cyprus, the ancient seat of the pleasures and graces, was still distinguished by the indolent and voluptuous character of its inhabitants The Turks and Greeks, who were here nearly in equal number, lived in a state of union unknown in any other part either of the islands or continent. There was every appearance, therefore, that the storm, which was desolating the rest of the empire, would pass over their heads It came upon them, however, from an unexpected quarter The Pachas of Syria, dreading a rebellion in Cyprus, similar to that of Samos and Candia, collected a force of 12,000 men, and threw it upon the island These troops, either old soldiers of Djezzar, or banditti from the bordering Arab deserts, arrived in full confidence of having an opportunity to satiate themselves with blood and plunder. They soon began to commit individual assassination, and acts of rapine, and, finding that the Aga had not firmness to punish these, gradually went into a system of indiscriminate pillage The Greeks were not only robbed, but treated with every species of outrage, and murdered on the slightest provocation. Peculiar enmity was shewn towards their priests, the objects of their highest veneration. These excesses, which began at Larmica, were spread to Nicosia and Tamagusta, by detachments, which soon excited the original Mussulman garrisons to imitate their enormities Thus Cyprus, merely in consequence of its passive and unoffending character, continued, during the whole year, a prey to the greatest calamities Rhodes experien-

ced a fate nearly similar; and the Turks, in general, seemed studious to show, that a still more dreadful fate awaited those who passively submitted, than others who opposed the most violent and determined resistance.

While all the mountains, seas, and islands of Greece, were the theatre of fierce and terrible conflict, the Divan was agitated by negotiations involving the deepest interests of the empire These were viewed with intense anxiety by Greece, and by all Europe On them was suspended the question, whether Russia was to avail herself of a crisis so opportune to her ambition, when, by joining her arms to those of the Greeks, she might, it was supposed, march almost unresisted to the Ottoman capital This decision seemed the more probable, as she manifested, in the first instance, the highest indignation at the outrages offered to the Greeks, and to that religion which she shared with them The Baron Strogonoff, who seemed in these respects even to go beyond the views of his master, addressed remonstrance upon remonstrance, to which the Porte returned only haughty answers, justifying its own proceedings, and reproaching Russia with the protection which she granted to the fugitive revolters. The fulfilment of the treaties respecting the Greeks, and the reparation of the injuries which they had suffered, she referred to the period when the whole of that rebel nation should have laid down their arms The Russians, on the other hand, announced, that, so long as the Porte persevered in her present career, Russia would not cease to afford shelter to the victims of her fury. The continued exchange of such notes worked up the two parties to a considerable pitch of irritation, which was heightened by several acts of violence towards individuals, whom Strogonoff claimed as Russian subjects The latter at length quitted the ordinary mansion of the Russian legation at Pera, and retired to his country-house, where, declining all communication with the government, he waited the arrival of further instructions The accommodation seemed to become more distant than ever, when the rage of the people, inflamed by tidings of the disasters of the fleet, and the destruction of Aywali, gave rise to scenes of tumult and massacre, more outrageous than any that had yet occurred At length Strogonoff sent a note, reiterating all his former demands, and announcing, that, unless a satisfactory answer was received in the course of eight days, he, with his whole legation, would immediately quit Constantinople. For the period specified, and for two days longer, the Ottoman government maintained a proud silence, but when, at the end of that time, the ambassador demanded his passports, an extraordinary fermentation was excited It was strongly rumoured, and would have been highly approved by a great part of the population and troops, that Strogonoff should have been committed to the Seven Towers, and such an intention probably floated in the mind of the ministers. Serious reflection, however, and the urgent representation of the other European ambassadors, induced more moderate resolutions. The passports demanded were sent; and, before the vessel set sail, a reply was even transmitted, conceived in tolerably moderate terms The measures taken against the Greeks, were represented as either necessary for the suppression and punishment of so criminal an insurrection, or as excesses committed by the lowest populace, which the government had not been able to prevent. At the same time, all the promises were reiterated, which had so often

been made, eventual upon the final putting down of the insurrection, and the delivering up of Michael Luzzo and his adherents The Russian ambassador, however, conceived, that this note, having been delayed beyond the time prescribed, could not now be received, or even afford a ground for delaying his departure On the 31st July, he set sail for Odessa

An extraordinary emotion was felt throughout Europe at this event, which seemed to prognosticate an immediate rupture, and the approach of the fatal era of Ottoman downfal England and Austria, above all, the one in a maritime, the other in a territorial view, trembled at such a gigantic accession to the already colossal power of Russia. Their ambassadors at the Porte spared no pains to induce this haughty and barbarous potentate to adopt a conciliatory course, more suited to his weakness and the perils by which he was surrounded Lord Strangford, who, by his address, had succeeded in gaining an influence beyond that of any other diplomatist, obtained several important concessions An embargo, which had been laid upon the Russian vessels at Constantinople, was taken off, and a general amnesty proclaimed for the Greeks who should submit. The Pacha of Ibrail, who had been guilty of the most horrible outrages in Wallachia, was changed. Lord Strangford then undertook to transmit to St Petersburgh the note intended for, but refused by, M. Strogonoff, with such observations from himself as might favour its acceptance.

Whatever might be the skill and diligence employed to avert the dreaded rupture, they would probably have been unavailing, had not other circumstances produced an entire change in the views of the Russian cabinet The ambition of conquest had yielded to the dread of losing actual power, in consequence of the popular spirit, now fermenting throughout Europe. Alexander, established as head of the monarchical alliance, placed now his glory in the fulfilment of the obligations imposed by this character. Instead, therefore, of catching at the tempting prospects offered by a Turkish war, he addressed a note to the cabinets, stating his readiness to abstain from hostilities, provided they could point out any other method, by which he could obtain those conditions which the honour of the crown, the maintenance of treaties, humanity, and the protection of the Christian religion, rendered it his duty to exact from the Porte

This note drew the anxious consideration of the European cabinets, and, in a meeting, which took place at Hanover, between Prince Metternich and the Marquis of Londonderry, measures were concerted for fulfilling its object. Instructions were sent to their ambassadors to use every means, at once of obtaining concessions from the Porte, and of persuading Russia to be satisfied with them In the month of October, a note was transmitted from Russia, repeating the demands formerly made. More than a month, however, elapsed, before Lord Strangford could prevail on the Turkish cabinet to send an answer He obtained, however, the dismissal of the Reiss Essendi, and the substitution of a more moderate character At length, on the 10th December, the new Reiss Essendi delivered to Lord Strangford a note, couched in more moderate terms than any hitherto communicated The Porte now agreed to waive, for the present, what it called its just pretensions, relative to the delivery of its rebellious subjects who had found refuge in Russia Although it could not evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, without delivering up those provinces to anarchy, it promised to maintain in them only

such a number of troops as would be necessary for the preservation of order It then renewed its promises of protection and restitution to the Greeks, as soon as they should have laid down their arms This note was transmitted to the cabinet of St Petersburgh, accompanied by a representation, that, though it did not contain all that could be wished, yet the Turks were making concessions, and shewed no disposition to engage in war, and that, at all events, no serious evil could arise from delay. These various events brought the year to a close, without any decisive issue to these important negotiations.

CHAPTER XII

AMERICA.

State of Affairs in Mexico —Defection of Iturbide.—Triumph of the Independents —Cortes called —Peru.—Defeat of the Viceroy's Troops —San Martin enters Lima.—Constitution established by him —Revolution completed in Columbia —Affairs of Buenos Ayres —Brazil —Revolution at Bahia—At Rio Janeiro —King returns to Europe.—St Domingo —United States.

THIS year decided the destinies of the New World The long and terrible contest which Spain had maintained, to preserve her dominion over her vast Transatlantic empire, was, at every point, brought to a close No events could affect more deeply the interests of the European states, and the destinies of the species, yet, amid the crowding concerns and vicissitudes of the Old World, these great distant revolutions attracted comparatively little attention The character of the actors, the particulars of the events, and all the hinges on which the political system moved, have been transmitted to us in so little detail, that we can do little more at present than state the general results

The Mexican insurgents had for some years disappeared from the scene, they no longer threatened the capital or the central seats of trade, they were supposed in Europe to be confined to a few guerilla bands, traversing the remoter districts The fact, however, was, that civil war had been raging, without intermission, in all the provinces, that the independents, though they could not carry any of the capitals, had been in uninterrupted possession of extensive districts, while, by perpetual conflicts, maintained with various fortune against the royalists, they had been acquiring those qualities which would at length enable them to cope with regular troops. Their strength was now so far extended and matured, that it required only to be collected and regularly pointed, to be an overmatch for the reduced strength of the party in power That strength, worn down by successive conflicts, was recruited by only a very small portion even of those slender reinforcements which Spain was still able to send, but which were directed towards quarters in which the resistance wore a more active and alarming aspect.

That rallying point, which the independent cause wanted, was supplied

by a very unexpected circumstance The revolutions of the peninsula and of Italy, had suggested to all armies the idea of becoming the champions of liberty This impression, blended, perhaps, with hopes of personal aggrandizement, worked on the mind of Don Augustin Iturbide, a native of Mexico, and commanding a regiment almost entirely composed of Creoles. About the beginning of January, he and this regiment suddenly disappeared, and were soon after announced as having joined the insurrectionary bands in the province of Mexico Another colonel, of the name of Civaleri, followed his example, and, on the 24th February, they published the basis of a new political arrangement for the Mexican empire The terms were, that New Spain should be independent of the old, under a limited and constitutional monarchy, that the King, Don Ferdinand VII, should be Emperor of Mexico, provided he should choose to come and reside there, if not, the crown should be conferred upon any one of the princes of his family, who might comply with this condition An army was to be formed, called the Army of the Three Guarantees, which were of the Catholic religion, of the independence of Mexico, and of the union between Americans and Europeans

After this declaration, all the independent forces ranged themselves, without hesitation, under Iturbide, who found himself soon at the head of 20,000 or 25,000 men The governor Apodaca lost no time in sending against him all the disposable troops, composing still a force with which Iturbide did not venture to cope in the field, but, operating on a vast extent of territory, he carried on with such advantage a desultory and skirmishing warfare, that the royalists were soon obliged to give up the open country, and shut themselves up in the fortified towns

An unfortunate ruler must usually bear the blame of all the disasters which befal under his sway The high partizans of Spain ascribed to the weakness of Apodaca the distressed state of their affairs. They were thus impelled into measures very inconsistent with those high principles of authority and subordination which it was their pride to support An association of the principal officers was formed, in which it was determined to divest Apodaca of all his functions, and send him back to Spain, nominating in his room Don Francis Novella, whom they highly esteemed for his popular talents, and attachment to the mother country. So unanimous was this resolution, and so well concerted the plan, that Apodaca found himself in no condition to resist, and was obliged to publish a declaration, in which he professed himself content with the safety of his person and family, and with having the means provided for him of returning to Spain, and that he left all power in the hands of Signor Novella. Novella then gave out a proclamation, in which he expressed the satisfaction he felt on account of the confidence reposed in him, exhorted all classes to combine for the maintenance of the good cause, and concluded,—"Brave veterans, faithful citizens, whose loyalty has been proved by eleven years of constancy and hardship, defenders of the integrity of the Spains, display that glorious union which is the precursor of victory! Ah, how much does your companion in arms long to see you crowned with laurels!"

This revolution was the less to be justified, that a new viceroy, Don Juan O'Donoju, was daily expected, and, in fact, before the installation of Novella, he had landed at Vera Cruz. He found that place closely blockaded by the independent force, under St Ana, which had even more than once penetrated into the city, and, though it had been hitherto repulsed by the

brave exertions of General Davilla, yet the whole country, between the sea-port and Mexico, was in the hands of the enemy, and the communications cut off Even if he could penetrate to Mexico, he had no means or certainty of enforcing his authority against Novella, whom his fellow officers had chosen in a manner which they were not likely easily to retract. Under these considerations, O'Donoju formed the resolution, certainly very contrary to the purpose of his mission, to treat with Iturbide, and this step he endeavoured, though, as might have been foreseen, without success, to justify to the government at home He alleged the hopelessness of a successful issue, and the calamities in which it involved thousands of opulent families in both continents. In pursuance of this resolution, he repaired to Cordova, where an agreement was formed, which was less a treaty than an unqualified acquiescence in all the views of Iturbide The basis was similar to that of the project already formed on the 24th February, establishing Mexico as independent, and to be governed by a member of the royal family of Spain, only on condition of residence A junto, composed of the chief persons in the empire, was to be formed, and to take immediate steps for assembling the Cortes. At the same time, it was to name a regency of three persons, in whose hands the executive government was to be placed, till it should be seen how the Spanish princes would receive the offer made to them O'Donoju agreed to use his authority with the troops then in Mexico, to induce them to quit it on an honourable capitulation For himself, though he retained the title of Viceroy, no stipulation appears to have been made in his favour, except that he should be a member of the junto, while Iturbide retained the office of commander-in-chief, and the real direction of all affairs

This agreement being concluded, it was announced to Novella, who was called upon in consequence to lay down his usurped authority, and to open the gates of the capital. Novella held this demand greatly at nought, and denounced O'Donoju as the real traitor to his country Iturbide, who expected nothing else, was already in march to carry the treaty into effect by force of arms A check, however, which he experienced in the neighbourhood of Mexico, taught him the necessity of adhering to his former system of harassing and desultory warfare The details are not known, but the result was, that Novella, finding himself nearly blocked up in Mexico, with all the inhabitants of the country, and the majority even of those in the capital, hostile to him, judged it necessary to give up the cause On the 27th September, he entered into a capitulation, by which he merely stipulated the safe embarkation of himself and his troops

On the 27th September, the "Army of the Three Guarantees" made its triumphal entry into the capital of Mexico A complete apparent unanimity marked this great crisis in the history of the western hemisphere As the successive divisions, upwards of 15,000 strong, passed through the streets of the celebrated capital, they were hailed by the universal acclamations of the multitude The event was celebrated by a grand festival, and by all those religious ceremonies which the Catholic religion appropriates to rejoicing Iturbide issued a proclamation, in which he congratulated the Mexicans on the peaceful manner in which so great a revolution had been effected, exhorted them to strict union, and promised the speedy convocation of the Cortes, and the formation of a

code of laws, which should secure the national liberty He concluded with a declaration, probably very little sincere .—"All I ask is, that you respect the laws; that you allow me to return to the bosom of my beloved family, and that you sometimes recollect your friend"

On the 8th October, only ten days after this revolution, O'Donoju died. This event, occurring at so critical a moment, could not, it was supposed, be imputed to mere natural causes. Some ascribed it to poison, administered by Iturbide, in order to rid himself of a dangerous competitor; while others supposed that O'Donoju himself, repenting the course he had taken, and mortified at the little consideration with which he was treated, fell a victim to his chagrin.

Iturbide, thus freed from rivalry, disposed all things at his pleasure His partizans even held out the idea of proclaiming him Emperor; and for this there appeared more room, when there was received from Spain an entire rejection of the arrangement of the Three Guarantees. Nothing, however, could be done, with any shew of legality, till the assemblage of the Cortes, which, at the close of the present year, the Mexican people were busied in electing. Iturbide, meanwhile, lost no time in taking measures to revive industry and commerce, which had suffered deeply under the continuance of internal commotion His most important measure, and one highly useful, was, to allow the free import and export of all goods, with very few exceptions, among which bullion (that jealous object of Spanish restriction) was not included

In PERU, the other grand branch of the Hispano-American empire, the power of the mother country was, even at the commencement of the year, in a tottering condition. The two parties were in presence, without either being in haste to commit itself against the other;—on the one side, San Martin, with the Chilian army, and the fleet under Lord Cochrane, on the other, Pezuela, the viceroy, with a superior military force, but with the disadvantage of acting in a country, of which the inhabitants were generally hostile to him. The Spanish officers, not duly allowing for this circumstance, imputed it to Pezuela's want of energy, that he had not before triumphed over the inferior forces of the enemy By a conspiracy similar to that, which some months afterwards took place at Mexico, they compelled the Viceroy to abdicate, and placed in his room La Serna, a general who enjoyed their full confidence La Serna's first movement was, to send a detachment, under General Ricaforte, to attack the body of troops stationed at Pesio under Arnales San Martin, however, had time to reinforce them with three battalions before the enemy came up At Pisco a battle took place, which was maintained on both sides with the greatest obstinacy, but it terminated in the total rout and destruction of the division of Ricaforte He himself was wounded, and his whole force either killed or taken, with the exception of a very few detached cavalry, who made their escape to Lima. At that capital, the dismay of the one party, and the exulting hopes of the other, knew then no bounds San Martin did not allow his foes to breathe, but marched direct upon Lima, scattering proclamations, addressed to every class of the inhabitants, even the women. La Serna, in these circumstances, judged it no longer possible to attempt maintaining himself at Lima, but, on the 6th July, evacuated that city, and marched to take up a position in the mountain tracts of Upper Peru He left a garrison, however, in Callao, the post which was capable of standing a siege.

On the 10th July, San Martin, with the liberating army, entered Lima, and was hailed by the sincere acclamations of the majority of the inhabitants He assumed the title of Protector of Peru, abolished all distinctions of country and colour, and declared free all who should be born thenceforth in the empire, of whatever parents At the same time, he nominated a junto, under whose auspices the Act of Independence was drawn up, and signed by the principal inhabitants, at the head of whom was the venerable Archbishop of Lima.

La Serna, meantime, being joined by another division, under Canterac, conceived himself in a condition to attempt offensive operations Canterac, being dispatched with a large force, threw succours into Callao, and menaced Lima, which was filled with alarm A difference of opinion now arose between Lord Cochrane and San Martin the former, always bold and enterprizing, urged an immediate attack upon the royalist general, while San Martin conceived that this would be putting affairs to unnecessary hazard, and that want of provisions would soon oblige Callao to surrender It surrendered, in fact, on the 22d September, the garrison being allowed to march out with their arms and effects The capitulation, however, being concluded without any concert with the admiral, proved a new source of discord Lord Cochrane also complained that his crews had obtained no share of that booty, in hope of which they had crossed so many seas, and endured such hardships. Seeing no prospect of obtaining redress from the "Protector of Peru," he distributed among his sailors part of 600,000 dollars which he held from the government of Chili, and sent back the rest, he then set sail in search of some Spanish ships of war which were understood to be cruizing in those seas.

San Martin, thus freed from the presence of a troublesome rival, now arranged everything according to his own views He formed a marine, the command of which he gave to Captain Guise, a personal enemy of Cochrane. On the 8th October, he issued, from his protectorial palace, a "Provisional Statute for the Administration of the Free Departments of Peru" This statute consisted in centring in himself, without control, all the powers of administration He commanded the forces by sea and land, could increase or diminish the military and naval force, impose taxes, contract loans, conclude treaties, make peace or war This constitution was said to "emanate from the empire of necessity, and the exigence of the public interest" It was to continue till independence should be declared through the whole extent of Peru, when a Congress was to be called to establish a form of government which might appear best suited to the welfare of the state

We left COLUMBIA in such a state, that only one finishing stroke was wanting, to put the seal to its independence That finishing stroke was given in the battle of Calabosa Bolivar, having refreshed and recruited his army, advanced such demands, as induced La Torre the Spanish general, on the 10th April, to declare the truce at an end By the 23d June, Bolivar had united his three divisions in the plains of Tinaquillo, while La Torre held his army in a position almost inaccessible, and strengthened by artillery, near Calabosa The forces which were to decide the destiny of this great country were about 6000 on each side. The daring Paez succeeded in guiding his division through a narrow ravine to the left, which brought him upon the right flank of the enemy This division consisted only of two battalions of Spanish foot,

one of horse, and of the English battalion, of 300 men, under Colonel Ferriers; yet, without waiting for the rest of the troops, he threw himself upon them In half an hour the conflict was decided. The Spanish army was totally routed, and fled, with the loss of more than half its number, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Cedeno, commander of another Columbian division, in despair at seeing it impossible that his troops should arrive in time, and impelled by headlong valour, rushed forward individually, and, coming upon a mass of hostile infantry, perished on the field. It was with difficulty that the Spanish commander, with a wreck of his troops, could regain Puerto Cabello

The war might now be considered as ended. Bolivar, however, still offered an armistice to La Torre, but on such terms, that it was rejected by the Spanish general. The independent army then invested at once Carthagena, Cumana, and Puerto Cabello The first yielded in the end of September, the second in the end of October. Puerto Cabello, however, now the last strong-hold of Spanish domination, held out, and the independents were even obliged to raise the blockade of this place.

The General Congress met, according to appointment, on the 1st January, 1821, at Rosario de Cucuta It sanctioned the union of the whole of this part of America into one republic, under the name of Columbia It loaded with honours the generals, who, under its eye, achieved the final independence of the state In the course of the year, it organized a new constitution, formed nearly according to the model of the United States The legislative power was vested in a Senate and House of Representatives, the executive in a President and Vice-President. The first of these dignities was conferred upon Bolivar, and, though he modestly wished to decline so arduous an office, the Congress made a point of his accepting it General Santander was appointed Vice-President. The seat of government was transferred to Santa Fe de Bogota, probably in order to be nearer the frontier of Peru

BUENOS AYRES shared in the general good fortune of America, by seeing the termination of its internal dissensions. Ramirez, commander of the provincial, or federal army, having approached Buenos Ayres, was attacked, totally defeated, himself killed, and his head sent into Buenos Ayres, in token of victory A negotiation was then entered into with the provincial authorities, the result of which was, that the whole of the provinces, with the exception of Monte Video, should be united into one republic; that the first federal constitution, which had formed the republic of the United Provinces of La Plata, should be provisionally established; that deputies should be immediately named for a general congress at Cordova, for the purpose of revising the ancient constitution, and making the requisite modifications, before submitting it to the general acceptance of the provinces A good understanding being thus established, Buenos Ayres, which, for more than a year, had been like a blockaded city, opened its communications anew with the vast provinces of the interior, the piracies by which its coasts had been infested were suppressed, commerce, and every branch of public prosperity, began to revive

BRAZIL, though the present year did not close its connexion with the mother country, experienced yet the most important revolutions in her internal economy The King, though he had given an enforced consent to the establishment of a popular government in Portugal, sought still to keep his Transatlantic subjects beneath

the yoke of absolute power This, however, was out of the question, when, to their former eager desire for liberty, was added the example of European Portugal Bahia, the city of Brazil which ranks next in importance to Rio Janeiro, was the first in which the flame burst forth. On the 10th February, at five in the morning, a regiment of artillery seized the powder magazine, in a short time, all the troops in the city rallied round it A military council was immediately formed, and was called the Senate. It being understood that the governor was preparing opposition, a detachment was immediately sent to arrest him Resistance being made by his servants, five or six of them were wounded, and the governor himself, obliged to yield, was carried to the public square, where he agreed to all the terms demanded. These were, that a junto should be immediately named, and should give directions for electing deputies to the Portuguese Cortes, who should be sent with instructions to accept the constitution settled by that assembly. All, however, was to be done in the name of King John VI.

These tidings being conveyed to Rio Janeiro, it was easy to foresee that the example would not be long of being followed A council was held at court, and different opinions were given The Conde dos Arcos, though understood to be attached to the system of absolute power, advised the King to yield for the moment, as to an inevitable necessity. But the lingering love of power induced his Majesty to prefer the counsel of the Conde de Palmela, in pursuance of which, it was announced, that he would immediately call a congress of all the authorities in Brazil, to deliberate upon the changes which were proper to be made, and the modifications under which the constitution of the Cortes might be applied to that country This dilatory and evasive course was in no degree suited to the present temper of men's minds A general understanding prevailed among all the troops, and, in the morning of the 26th February, they assembled in the great square of the theatre, which echoed with cries of "The King!" "The Constitution!" At the same time, a council of the leading supporters of the revolution was met in the great hall of the theatre

When the news of this tumult were conveyed to the King, then residing at his country-house of San Christovao, it was resolved that the Prince Royal, who was somewhat a favourite with the people, should repair to the spot, and endeavour to treat with them The Prince was received with loud cries of "The King! the Constitution!" and, finding the troops and people firmly bent on their purpose, agreed to convey their wishes to the monarch. After passing and repassing several times, he at length came and read a royal decree, which terror had wrung from the King, and by which he gave his full consent that Brazil should enjoy the constitution which was to be made for Portugal. His Majesty, moreover, acceded to the wish of the now all powerful multitude, that he should remove from his country-house to his palace in the city Thither he was drawn by a band of negroes, yoked in the chariot, amid the acclamation of vast multitudes, but, amid all their delight, it was impossible not to perceive visible marks of paleness and agitation on the royal visage. On the King's arrival at the palace, however, repeated marks were given, by himself and the rest of the royal family, of a fixed acceptance of the constitution, and determination to adhere to the oath which he had taken.

The King immediately changed his ministry, and issued decrees, suppressing the censorship on the press, and

ordering the election of deputies to the Cortes. But, a few days after, the public were electrified by another, in which he stated, that, "to prove his entire and absolute attachment to the constitution, he had resolved to set out for Lisbon, to sanction it in person." This unexpected step, unwelcome in itself, and imputed to motives very opposite to the professed ones, excited a great agitation, which was increased by the replacement of the Conde dos Arcos in the ministry The consequence was, that, when the citizens met in the Town-house for the purpose of election, they prolonged their meeting beyond that object, and sent a deputation to the King, to demand the formation of a provisional government, which, in his absence, should share the authority with the Prince-Regent This deputation received at first a tolerable reception, but, upon farther consideration, the court determined to resist the overture, and sent orders to empty the Town-hall by military force The troops employed, after summoning the citizens to retire, commenced a general discharge against the Town-house, which was pierced with bullets on every side Forty were, in consequence, killed, and two or three hundred wounded, the rest, in dismay, sought their homes The very day after this dreadful scene, the King set sail for Lisbon

This catastrophe impressed for some time a sort of speechless terror upon Rio de Janeiro, but, as that feeling abated, rage and discontent began more and more to ferment The Prince-Regent, Pedro d'Alcantara, in vain attempted, by a number of popular acts, to appease the people. On the 5th May, a fresh military revolution broke forth, by which he was ed to dismiss the Conde dos Arcos, and to send him to Lisbon, and to create a junto of nine members, without whose consent nothing of importance could be determined Explanations relative to the massacre at the Town house were also demanded, which the Prince contrived to elude

After this revolution, the Prince's popularity at Rio Janeiro daily increased. The junto of Bahia, on the contrary, maintained that his authority was illegal, since, by the letter of the constitution, the Cortes alone could appoint a regency The Cortes, on being acquainted with this view of the subject, highly approved it, and, seeing the inevitable tendency in the colony to separation, they entered upon a series of measures, which, in endeavouring to avert that issue, tended, in fact, to accelerate it They divided Brazil into four provinces, which were to have all their communications with the mother country, and none with each other; they deprived Rio Janeiro of its Supreme Court of Justice, its Chancery, its Treasury, and every establishment which rendered it a capital; finally, they ordered the Prince-Regent, without delay, to return to Europe. These decrees roused the highest indignation at Rio Janeiro. The junto presented a petition to the Prince, entreating that he would not, by his departure, expose the state to the evils of anarchy The Prince allowed himself to be persuaded to what, probably, he most wished, and agreed to remain till their remonstrances could be transmitted to the Cortes, and an answer received The results of these discontents will appear hereafter.

ST DOMINGO was this year threatened with a fresh revolution In the former territory of Christophe, a very extensive combination was formed, headed by Richard, Duke of Marmelade, to re-establish this territory as a separate state, and as a monarchy The vigilance and activity of Boyer crushed the conspiracy in its bud The ringleaders were apprehended, and a

partial insurrection which broke out was speedily suppressed.

The Spanish part of St Domingo imitated, this year, the example of the other Hispano-American states It shook off, without difficulty, the yoke of the mother country, and the only question was, what state it should join? A pretty strong party was in favour of Columbia, but a majority preferred the republic in their immediate vicinity, and overtures to that effect were made to Boyer No final arrangement, however, was concluded during the present year

The UNITED STATES enjoyed, during the whole of this year, a profound tranquillity The treaty for the cession of the Floridas was at length ratified, and, on the 17th July, General Jackson took possession of St Augustin and Pensacola He was accused, however, of unwarrantable severities, both towards the inhabitants and the Spanish authorities who were left there, and complaints were transmitted to Congress, in consequence of which he was induced to resign

The only distress to which the inhabitants of the United States were exposed, during the present year, arose from the stagnation of commerce, and the want of demand for the production of their soil These evils, which had been felt for several years preceding, rose to their utmost height at the commencement of the present, but, in the course of it, began sensibly to abate The revenue, which arises almost entirely from the customs, had fallen so low, that, in the month of March, it was necessary to raise a loan of five millions of dollars Matters had, however, so far improved with the increasing prosperity of the country, that a surplus of revenue for next year was confidently anticipated.

PART II.

LITERARY AND MISCELLANEOUS.

PART II.

LITERARY AND MISCELLANEOUS.

CHAPTER I.

BIOGRAPHY—POLITICAL.

Mr Grattan —Earl of Sheffield —Sir Home Popham.—Earl of Malmesbury. Kellermann.—Lefebvre

Among the public men of whom Britain was this year deprived, the first place may be assigned to Henry Grattan, who, for more than forty years, had been the greatest of Irish, and one of the greatest of British orators. His father was a barrister, recorder of Dublin, and representing that city in Parliament By his mother's side, he was grandson to Dr Marley, a man of great wit, and a favourite, as such, of Lord Townsend. Having entered a fellow commoner at the university of Dublin, he made a distinguished figure, and obtained a premium at every public exhibition. He at one time entertained the design of competing for a fellowship; but, terrified by the enormity of the labour, and at the same time dissuaded by his friends, he preferred the bar Repairing to England, he spent the requisite time as a student at the Middle Temple In 1772, he entered on his career as an advocate; but, like many young men of superior abilities, he had for some time to struggle against the frowns of fortune, and obtained scarcely any practice In time, however, his powers must infallibly have penetrated through the prejudice felt against the young candidates in this profession. But an event occurred, which gave a different and higher colour to his future life.

Ireland at this time began to feel strongly the chains in which she was held by the sister kingdom, and strenuous exertions for emancipation began to be made by her most distinguished citizens A weekly meeting was held for the purpose of debating these subjects; and Grattan, who was a member, soon made his oratory be felt on this theatre. He was particularly distinguished by the late patriotic

Lord Charlemont, who also frequented it, and who soon afforded a substantial testimony of the high idea he had formed of the young speaker His brother, Colonel Caulfield, being unfortunately drowned in his passage from Parkgate, the borough of Charlemont, which he had represented, became vacant. Lord C., by bestowing it on Grattan, enabled him to emerge from obscurity, and opened an ample sphere to his ambition He broke forth at once one of the foremost leaders of the whig interest in the Irish House of Commons The moment was critical, Ireland, favoured by the distress in which Britain was involved towards the close of the American war, was straining every nerve to extort a declaration of right, by which her legislature and courts of law might be rendered independent of the sister country The efforts of her parliamentary advocates were seconded by those of the nation, which, associating itself in volunteer corps, seemed determined to assert by arms those rights which should be denied on any other footing Mr Grattan stood forth, the leading parliamentary advocate of this great cause, and, from the brilliant eloquence with which he supported it, became the pride and idol of the nation To his oratory was, in a great measure, ascribed the resolution to which government at length came, to grant to Ireland the main points for which she contended With the exulting joy of the nation at this crisis, were mingled expressions and marks of gratitude to Mr Grattan, the most extraordinary, that were ever shewn to any individual statesman Not only were addresses poured in from corporate bodies of every description, but parliament voted the sum of 50,000l. to purchase an estate and house for himself and his heirs, in reward of so signal a service to the nation

Mr Grattan would now have ranked as the most eminent member of the Irish Commons, had not Flood started up to dispute with him the palm of eloquence The rivalry of these great orators was unfortunately carried on with that personal animosity and unmeasured invective, which have always distinguished the political contests of Ireland Flood endeavoured to prove, that the merit of Mr Grattan's exertions in the cause of Irish independence had been greatly overrated, and as this was perhaps in some degree the case it had considerable influence on the public mind, and diminished the popularity of his rival On occasion, however, of Mr Orde's celebrated propositions, Grattan exerted himself with such vigour and success, as completely replaced him in the character of leader of the whig interest in the Irish Commons He did not, however, carry on an indiscriminate opposition In particular, on the great and trying question of the war with France, he joined with ministers in justifying its necessity, and he maintained this opinion whenever it came under discussion. He never slackened, at the same time, in his pursuit of internal reform, and of concession to the Catholics During Lord Fitzwilliam's administration, he came into office, and enjoyed a large share of the confidence of that nobleman, but when a change of policy led to his removal, Mr Grattan was again thrown into the ranks of opposition. Accordingly he condemned the measures of government prior to the insurrection of 1798, but, after the commencement of that fatal period, he withdrew into retirement. He was only called forth anew by the proposition for the Irish Union, a measure which he strongly reprobated, and vainly exerted all his eloquence to oppose. Since he could not succeed, however, there was no inconsistency in his accepting a place in the Imperial Parliament, and pleading before it the inte-

rests of Ireland He was elected, first for Malton, but, in 1806, he was named among the representatives of the Irish capital. In the British Parliament, his main efforts were unremittingly devoted to the cause of the Catholics. He came over, in 1820, to present their petition, though in a state of health which ill admitted of such an exertion Accordingly, soon after his arrival in London, he expired at his house in Baker Street, on the 14th May, 1820, in the 70th year of his age

Political men of all parties vied with each other in honouring the memory of this great man on this solemn occasion. A number of the most illustrious members of the House joined in addressing a letter to the family, requesting their consent to a public funeral The letter is expressed in the following terms —

"Filled with veneration for the character of your father, we venture to express a wish, common to us with many of those who most admired and loved him, that what remains of him should be allowed to continue among us.

"It has pleased Providence to deprive the empire of his services, while he was here, in the neighbourhood of that sacred edifice, where great men, from all parts of the British dominions, have been for ages interred We are desirous of an opportunity of joining in the due honour to tried virtue and genius Mr Grattan belongs to us also; and great would be our consolation, were we permitted to follow him to the grave, and to place him where he would not have been unwilling to lie, by the side of his illustrious fellow-labourer in the cause of freedom"

At the motion also of a new writ for Dublin, the most warm testimonies were afforded by all descriptions of public men

Mr Plunkett afterwards, in introducing the bill for relief of the Catholics, on the 28th February, said, "A similar petition had been presented in that House the year before last On that occasion, the prayers of the petitioners had come forward to that House with all the eloquence, with all the experience, with all the authority of the late Mr Grattan. In now undertaking the duty devolved on him, he felt his heart melted with the public sorrow and private regret, with which he had followed to his grave, that great man, by whose confidence he had been honoured—by whose wisdom he had been encircled—by whose example he had been guided After the warm and unrivalled eloquence with which he had been lamented in that House, and after the distinguished honours with which the justice and liberality of Englishmen had accompanied his remains to the tomb—for, at his death, as during life, he had been the bond of union between the two countries—after these tributes to his virtues—tributes as distinguished as they were merited, he would not disturb the solemnity of his obsequies by his feeble praise and unavailing sorrow" His opponent, Mr Peel, replied, "In attempting to follow him, he would first allude to that subject with which the right honourable gentleman had prefaced his powerful speech, when he paid that feeling and eloquent tribute to the memory of the departed senator under whose auspices this question had been first brought before the English Parliament. He wished, and felt it his duty, to state, that all which that eulogium said of the late Mr Grattan, had his full and heartfelt concurrence, there was not a word of it to which he did not fully subscribe It might seem presumption in him to

follow the orator who had so well characterized departed worth, and arrogate to himself the right of praising so great a man He had not, like the right honourable gentleman, enjoyed with the man who was the subject of his eulogium those early habits of intimacy—he had not maintained with him that political relationship—that unity of political object—that *necessitudo sortis*, as it was expressed by an elegant writer, which tended to draw so closely the alliance of the intellect and the heart. Though such was not his knowledge of the late Mr Grattan, he knew him well enough to be able to concur in anything which his eloquent friend said of him; and he felt that he had not exceeded the strictest truth, in bearing testimony to the lustre of virtue and of talent by which he was so eminently distinguished."

The following character, written during his life-time, seems the production of one who had closely observed him, and marked with a good deal of discrimination —

"No man, perhaps, was ever raised to such an astonishing height of popularity as Mr Grattan. Perhaps the unblemished character of his acknowledged patron * was not a little instrumental towards uplifting him in the opinion of the idolatrous multitude, inasmuch as a part of the highly venerable properties of the good old peer, was collaterally reflected upon himself; and the public gave him credit for a participation of those laudable opinions, which were *known* so purely to exist in the bosom of his illustrious protector.

"As a public speaker, Mr Grattan's voice is thin, sharp, and far from powerful; not devoid of a variety of tones, but these neither rich nor mellow; and, though not harsh, its want of an harmonious modulation is often striking Unequal to impassioned energy, it is shrill when it should be commanding, and in its lower notes is sometimes scarcely audible, from its hollowness of sound His management of it is but ill adapted to remedy its natural defects or to supply its deficiencies, as he allows it to expatiate at large, unrestrained by any curb from rule; now raising it to an elevation that it cannot bear, and then sinking it to a depth where its distant murmurs can be barely guessed at.

"His language is lofty, magnificent, copious, and peculiarly his own. Not tricked out with the gaudy dress of poetic phrases, nor fatiguing the attention with pompous terms, high sounding and unmeaning, but familiarly combining strength with beauty, conciseness with ornament, and sublimity with elegance. Adapted to the exigence of the occasion, it is now a wide-spreading conflagration, and anon a consecrated fire now abundant and splendid, then brief and pointed; equally fitted to instruct, delight, and agitate; to soothe the soul to peace, or to awaken and arouse all its exalted and elevated energies.

"His delivery admirably accords with the style of his oratory; never languid, insipid, or cold, but always possessing a pleasing warmth, expressive of feeling and imparting spirit: whilst his pronunciation, generally correct, though frequently rapid, is never crowded or redundant, but distinct and articulate, leaving ample space for strength and propriety of emphasis. In his manner, life, animation, and ardour, predominate, and that to such a degree, that they fascinate

* The Earl of Charlemont.

the prejudiced, and invigorate the torpid

"To the praise of grace, his action has few pretensions; always forcible, and often expressive, it is seldom elegant: with much of that vehemence which all must condemn, it has little of that delicacy which the judicious can admire, and, when it offends not, is hardly pleasing. With comprehensive intelligence embracing a great object, not catching at its parts by detail, he takes in the whole at one glance, and sees instantly the pivot whereon it turns with almost intuitive acuteness In argument he is strong, pointed, close, and conclusive, never deviating from his subject, never straying in search of extraneous matter, but explaining with success what he understands with facility He conducts not the mind to the conclusion he aims at by a long train of abstruse disquisition, but guides it with seeming ease through the pleasing path of natural illustration. Every man thinks he could reason like him, but when attempted, it is found to be the bow of Ulysses In the refutation of his opponents, he puts forth all his might, and accumulates his force to overwhelm and oppress them; but his superior greatness is most apparent when he enforces what cannot be denied; when he defends the rights of a nation; when he portrays the hopes, the fears, the expectations of a magnanimous people; when he threatens the vicious and appals the proud; when he pronounces the panegyric of departed excellence; —then, indeed, he is magnificent, sublime, and pathetic.

"In invective, a species of elocution, in our opinion, ill suited to the purposes of public deliberation, he has endeavoured to excel, and, we think, very unsuccessfully; as his weapons, though sufficiently sharp, were totally destitute of polish; and the composition of his famed philippic had much more of the broad and coarse ribaldry of the bar, than of the pointed, elegant, and witty raillery of the senate; whilst his reproaches had a sting that refused to be healed, which Cicero must have told him the orator should avoid

"His fund of knowledge is great, and his diligence of acquisition still greater; hence the matter of his speeches is ever of the first impression Early in life distinguished as one of the best scholars in the university of Dublin, which had the honour of his education, no time since has been lost to increase his first acquirements, and to add to classic and scientific lore a competent skill in the law, a profound acquaintance with the constitution, and a mastery of polite literature. Thus, to every subject of discussion, he comes perfectly prepared, familiar with what it requires, and instantly bringing it forth as the contingence demands; instructing the youthful, and delighting the aged, with the mature fruits of a capacious mind, rich in its native produce, and richer from careful cultivation."

Mr Grattan, early in life, married a Miss Fitzgerald, by whom he had thirteen children, one of whom now represents the city of Dublin in the Imperial Parliament

The following view of his private life is also given by a cotemporary —

"Of his private life there is but little generally known, because little has occurred in it to interest attention. It has passed on in a smooth manner, marked equally by the practice of every conjugal and domestic virtue. If there be any of his good qualities which verges on the confines of vice, it is his economy, of which it has been asserted, that it approaches towards penuriousness, if it does not reach that point. It has been often said, that, though he received, in early life, from the liberality of his country, a very

handsome addition to his patrimony, he never displayed, either in private or public, a munificent disposition * But it should be remembered, that the fortune which Mr Grattan obtained then, constituted nearly the whole of his acquisitions he practised in no profession, he accepted no place, and he soon saw a young family rising around him, for which the whole was not a very ample provision, for he has four children, the eldest a boy of fifteen years of age

"In private life, Mr Grattan displays manners that are in a high degree pleasing. Wit he seems not to possess, and he has a cast of mind too lofty for humour, but, if he does not 'set the table in a roar,' or dazzle with the radiance of fancy, he diffuses over the convivial hour the mild charms of good-humour, and softens society with unassuming gentleness

"In conversation he appears to great advantage, for, with a mind well stored with useful learning, and conversant on every topic which occurs, he has a felicity of expression, which communicates his meaning in the most concise and impressive manner. he is not argumentative, but when an argument is instituted, his opinions are urged with great modesty, but with great strength, and, if victor in the contest, he generously relinquishes the field to the vanquished"

JOHN BAKER HOLROYD, created EARL OF SHEFFIELD, deserves notice as one of the first British statesmen who devoted themselves to the promotion of British commerce and national industry, and though he did not always embrace the most enlarged and liberal views, his exertions were certainly of use in drawing the attention of the public to these important objects. He was of a Yorkshire family; but his fortune came chiefly by his mother At an early period of life, in the course of his travels, he visited Lausanne, where Gibbon resided. He became the intimate friend and correspondent of that celebrated historian, whose posthumous works he afterwards gave to the public, and by whom his political opinions appear to have been considerably swayed On returning home, having imbibed some of the views of the French economists, he applied with great zeal to agriculture,—a pursuit hitherto not viewed with the respect due to it, and he set an honourable example of that ardour to promote it which has since so distinguished the British landed interest At a critical period of the American war, his loyalty was proved by raising at his own expense a legion of hussars and light infantry, of which he received the command In this capacity he was very active in suppressing the riots raised by Lord George Gordon, whose proceedings he viewed with peculiar antipathy,—always declaring there was in them more of malice than of madness

This tenor of life was not favourable to study, yet Mr Holroyd, created in 1780 Lord Sheffield, pursued without intermission his researches, particularly into commercial subjects After the peace, he opposed the bill by which Mr Pitt, as he conceived, applied in too unqualified a manner the principles of free trade enforced by Smith He argued, that it would have deprived the navigation laws of their efficacy, and thus impaired the naval power of Britain, and his remonstran-

* "It is but candid here to state, in opposition to the above, that Mr Grattan has patronized and assisted a painter of great expectation, now in Italy, who had no other claims on his generosity, than his merit, his youth, and his poverty"

ces had a powerful influence in preventing the bill from passing into a law The mercantile interest considered itself highly indebted to him for his exertions on this occasion, the city of Glasgow presented him with its freedom, and afterwards, supported by the influence of Dean Tucker, he was elected member for Bristol This character he supported rather too well by his opposition to the abolition of the slave trade At the same time it must be noticed, that he supported with zeal the proposition of Lord Melville for the gradual emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies.

Lord Sheffield incurred some rebuke from his friend Gibbon for a supposed partiality in favour of the French revolution This opinion had been formed on very hasty and erroneous grounds His lordship, on the contrary, peculiarly reprobated the excesses attendant on that convulsion, and extended very ample bounty to the sufferers under it Here he was peculiarly seconded by his lady, a person described as of uncommonly amiable and humane dispositions

Lord Sheffield interested himself particularly in the sufferings of the nation from the scarcity of grain at the close of the last century He appears to have been more alarmed than there was room for at the sums of money paid for foreign grain In other respects, his views were sufficiently liberal He repelled the vulgar clamour against rich farmers as hoarders of grain, and turned his attention chiefly to the enclosure of waste lands, and the setting aside a part of them for the clergy, so that the rest might be exempted from tithe

In July 1802, Lord Sheffield's services had been rewarded with a British peerage, and on the 30th May, 1821, he closed his life, with the reputation of an intelligent and public spirited statesman The following character of his works is from the pen of Gibbon.

"The sense and spirit of his (Lord Sheffield's) political writings have decided the public opinion on the great questions of our commercial interests with America and Zealand The sale of his 'Observations on the American States' was very considerable, their effect beneficial. the navigation act, the palladium of Britain, was defended, and perhaps saved, by his pen, and he proves, by the weight of fact and argument, that the mother country may survive and flourish after the loss of America My friend has never cultivated the arts of composition; but his materials are copious and correct, and he leaves on his paper the clear impression of an active and vigorous mind His 'Observations on the Trade, Manufactures, and present State of Ireland,' were intended to guide the industry, to correct the prejudices, and to assuage the passions, of a country which seemed to forget that she could be free and prosperous only by a friendly connexion with great Britain The concluding observations are written with so much ease and spirit, that they may be read by those who are the least interested in the subject"

SIR HOME POPHAM, who combined the character of an enterprizing naval officer with, in some degree, that of an adventurer, was born at Gibraltar on the 12th October, 1762, his father being then consul at Tetuan, in Morocco After studying at Westminster school and Cambridge, he went to sea under the auspices of Commodore Thompson, who employed him as a maritime surveyor, a branch in which he ever afterwards excelled Receiving an appointment to Bengal, he was employed by the Marquis Cornwallis to survey New Harbour, in the river Hoogly Afterwards, when commanding a country ship, he rendered an im-

portant service, by tracing the practicability of what was called the "southern passage," by which the China vessels might pass Prince of Wales's island, and that place be rendered a convenient station for the formation of a great marine yard For his services on this occasion he received the formal thanks of the East India Company

Mr Popham was now known as a meritorious officer During the campaign in Flanders he was attached to the Duke of York's army, performing on the coasts and rivers many services which could only have been executed by a naval engineer He distinguished himself particularly at Nieuport and Nimeguen In April 1795, he was named post-captain, and, in 1798, commanded the flotilla conveying the expedition destined to destroy the canal of Bruges Notwithstanding a very heavy surf, he landed the troops successfully, and does not seem to have been responsible for the ultimate failure of that undertaking

In 1799, Captain Popham was employed at Cronstadt to superintend the embarkation of the Russian army destined against Holland Here he obtained the cross of Malta, an elegant gold snuff-box, and other marks of the favour of the Emperor Paul. The knighthood thus conferred was recognized by the court of St James's Sir Home again rendered essential service to the Duke of York in the campaign in Holland, particularly in the management of a small flotilla on the canal of Alkmaar

In 1800, Sir Home was employed in conveying from India the troops destined to co operate in the expedition against Egypt He landed them safely at Cossair on the 7th June, 1801, but, the object being already accomplished, it was not necessary to march them across the desert. During his continuance in the Red Sea, he formed the plan of carrying by a *coup-de main* a port on the coast of Arabia, by which he conceived Britain might have obtained the monopoly of the coffee trade The plan was at one time entered into by Marquis Wellesley, but it was laid aside from some unexpected causes. He was afterwards employed on missions to the states of the interior of Arabia, with the view of obtaining their consent to a trade across that continent; but they were found too ignorant and barbarous to appreciate the value of such a scheme. Sir Home, however, repaired to Cairo, where he concluded a very advantageous commercial treaty with the Pacha of Egypt.

Sir Home, having now returned to Europe, found in power the Addington administration, with which he had no connexion; and he was charged by the Commissioners of Inquiry with exorbitant charges on the repair of the Romney He was thus several years out of employment, but, on the return of Lord Melville to power, he again obtained a command, and undertook several expeditions against the French coast, though with little success

In 1805, Sir Home was appointed to the situation which brought him most prominently forward to the public view. He received the naval command of the expedition destined for the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, while Sir David Baird was at the head of the troops The undertaking was successful, and, on 8th January, 1806, Cape Town capitulated. Here Sir Home conceived a daring and brilliant scheme. Having prevailed upon Sir D Baird to give him a detachment of troops under General Beresford, he set sail to make an unauthorized attack upon the Spanish settlement at Buenos Ayres. The expedition made its way to that city across considerable difficulties, and on its approach the Viceroy evacuated the place, and retired into the interior.

When the despatches, however, arrived in England, the state of affairs was greatly changed The administration which had employed Sir Home was succeeded by one diametrically hostile, and by whom his actions were scrutinized with the utmost rigour. His conduct in undertaking such an expedition without authority from home, met the severest censure, and he was immediately recalled to England The public, however, dazzled by the splendour of the acquisition, which seemed to open to them the vast region of South America, took part with the conqueror, and regarded his treatment as the result of party spirit. Sir Home, however, was brought to trial on March 1807, before a court-martial, which decided, "that such conduct was reprehensible in a British officer, and leading to a subversion of all military discipline, as well as subordination to government."

Sir Home seemed now thrown finally out of employment; but the change of ministry which soon ensued, reinstated him fully in his former favour. In the expedition against Copenhagen, he was appointed Captain of the Fleet, and received high testimonies from Admiral Gambier for his conduct in that capacity. On the 8th January, 1808, an elegant sword was presented to him by the Corporation of London He performed several important services in the unfortunate expedition against Antwerp, and afterwards commanded the Venerable, on the coast of Spain, with the view of harassing the French invading army During the last years of his life, the annihilation of the French naval power left no longer a theatre on which his talents could be exerted. He commanded for some time in the West Indies; and was employed in 1815 in extending an improved telegraph from Bridport to the Land's End. His constitution, however, weakened by so many hardships and vicissitudes, was farther affected by the deaths of a son and daughter in the East Indies. Repairing to Cheltenham for the benefit of his health, but without effect, he closed there his active life on the 11th September, 1821, at the age of fifty-nine.

The present period was marked by the death of an individual, who was considered at one time as holding the first place among British negotiators. JAMES HARRIS, EARL OF MALMESBURY, was the son of an untitled father of the same name, who is well known to the public as the author of several ingenious works on philology and the fine arts He was also a member of Parliament, and filled several offices under government. Young James was born on the 9th April, 1746, was educated at Winchester school under Dr Wharton, and studied afterwards at Oxford and Leyden. He made early choice of the diplomatic line, and was first initiated into its mysteries by Sir Joseph Yorke, with whom he spent some time at the Hague. He was then appointed Secretary of Embassy, under Sir James Gray, at Madrid; upon whose recal he was left *charge-d'affaires* at the Spanish court This situation became a very delicate one, in consequence of the discussions which arose immediately after, relative to the Falkland Islands On this occasion Mr Harris gave proof of those qualities which afterwards recommended him to the highest employments in this department To a thorough knowledge of all the complicated interests and relations connected with European diplomacy, he added manners that were at once dignified and engaging,—a combination of firmness and decision, with a courteous and conciliatory deportment. He displayed, above all, that most important requisite, a presence of mind, and command of temper, which

never failed on the most trying occasions These qualities appeared particularly meritorious when displayed by so young a man, as he was not then twenty-six. In 1771, his services were acknowledged by the title of Minister Plenipotentiary, and he continued ever after in full employment as a negotiator In 1772, he was sent as Plenipotentiary to the Court of Berlin, and, after holding this appointment four years, was despatched, in 1777, to Petersburgh. The negotiations there, which terminated in the formation of the armed neutrality, gave scope to all his dexterity and address. In 1784, he was sent to Holland, where he eminently distinguished himself during the troubles of 1797, and was supposed to have mainly contributed to the wished-for restoration of the power of the Stadtholder He was decorated with honours by the King of Prussia and the Prince of Orange, and, on the 19th September 1788, was rewarded at home with the peerage, under the title of Baron Malmesbury of Malmesbury, in the county of Wilts

The occasion on which Lord Malmesbury came most conspicuously before the eye of the public, was when he was appointed to conduct the negotiations opened by Mr Pitt with the French Directory at Lisle and Paris His lordship was placed here in a very new and trying situation He had to deal with persons, who were not only strangers to the rules and courtesies of diplomatic intercourse, but freed from the restraints of honour and principle, and ready to embrace every means of taking advantage of an opponent This was strikingly exemplified in their publication of a pretended intercepted letter from his lordship, in which his views, and those of his government, were studiously represented in the most odious light Lord Malmesbury lost no time in indignantly repelling this calumny Both negotiations failed—a circumstance necessarily unfavourable to the popularity of his lordship with a large proportion of the public Those, however, of both parties, who examined the subject, were obliged to admit, that the failure had arisen from the too high ground taken either by one or the other party, and not from any blame on the part of the negotiator

His lordship, being now advanced in years, spent the rest of his days in retirement He edited, in 2 vols. 4to, an edition of his father's works, with a well written life prefixed He married, in 1777, Harriet Mary, daughter of Sir George Amyard, Bart, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. His death took place in London on the 21st November, 1820, in the 75th year of his age

In France death triumphed over two of Buonaparte's commanders, who, though they did not occupy the very foremost place, were yet eminent—KELLERMANN and LEFEBVRE The former was a complete veteran, being born at Strasbourg in 1735 In 1752, he entered the army as a common soldier, but, in the great German war, in 1758, distinguished himself so much, that, even at that era, he was raised to the rank of officer He afterwards distinguished himself in the Polish campaign No farther opportunity offered of displaying his military talents till 1791 He made himself conspicuous here by his attachment to republican principles, denounced the *incivism* of the other officers, and, at Landau, received a civic crown, for having induced the soldiers to frequent popular societies In August 1792, he obtained the command of the army of the Moselle, where he formed a junction with Dumouriez, and, having occupied the position of Valmy, maintained it with such vigour against an attack of the enemy, as to make this be considered the most brilliant action in the

campaign; and the name became afterwards the foundation of his ducal title He was afterwards successively employed on the Moselle, in the Alps, and at the siege of Lyons. Under the reign of terror, however, he was accused of weakness, and confined for some time in the Abbaye, but was acquitted before the revolutionary tribunal In 1795, he was appointed to the army of the Alps and of Italy, but, being superseded by Buonaparte, who was to open his career on this theatre, he sunk into the command of the army of reserve In 1797, he was employed by the Directory in organizing the body of *gendarmes* Buonaparte, on coming to power, though he had in some measure superseded Kellermann, found him in some respects a most valuable coadjutor In all his campaigns, he was employed along the Rhine in organizing the reserves and provisional regiments, and gave so much satisfaction in this capacity, that he received all the honours of that ephemeral empire, being created Duke of Valmy, Marshal of the Empire, and Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour In the revolution of 1814, having adhered to the cause of the Bourbons, he was, on the 4th June, created a peer, and, on the 23d August, had the Grand Cross of St Louis conferred upon him He was also sent to Metz as Extraordinary Commissary of the King After retaining his faculties of mind and body to the advanced age of eighty-six, he died on the 15th September, 1820. He left the following letter, addressed to the Mayor of the commune —"I beg that the Mayor of Valmy will buy me two feet square of earth, to bury therein my heart after my decease My son will be charged to carry my heart, which cannot be placed but in the midst of my brave brothers in arms who fell on the glorious 20th of September, 1792, and under the safeguard of the ravc"

LEFEBVRE was born in Alsace, in 1755, and was the son of a mason In 1773, he entered into the guards, and rose to the rank of serjeant. Indignant, probably, at occupying a place so inferior to his talents, he embraced with ardour the revolutionary cause, and obtained rapid promotion In 1793, he was employed as general, and distinguished himself in successive actions At Charleroy, in 1794, he commanded the right of the army of reserve, and sustained several bloody attacks He shewed no less courage, first in the passages of the Rhine in 1795 and 1796, and afterwards on the retreat which Jourdan was obliged to make In 1799, he commanded the advanced guard of that general in Suabia, and covered himself with glory at Stockach, where he was seriously wounded On his return to Paris, he was named one of the candidates for the Directory, and afterwards appointed commandant of Paris. On the arrival of Napoleon from Egypt, Lefebvre yielded to, and aided, all his views, and attained thus the entire confidence of the future emperor. In 1804, he was created Marshal of France, and successively obtained every honour which his master could bestow In all his campaigns he accompanied him,—at Jena and at Eylau his conduct was particularly noticed Early in 1807, he was intrusted with the siege of Dantzic, and compelled it to surrender on the 20th May His conduct on this occasion was so highly approved, that Dantzic was fixed upon as the place from which he was to derive the title of duke, conferred upon him on the 28th May He accompanied Buonaparte into Spain in 1808; and, during the campaign against Austria in 1809, had the command of the Bavarian troops Attempting with them to penetrate into the Tyrol, he sustained a signal defeat, but this was always ascribed, not to any failure on the part of the general, but solely to the daring

valour of these hardy mountaineers. Afterwards, he contributed to the gaining of the decisive battle of Eckmuhl He was employed on the whole of the Russian campaign; and, during the long series of adversity, through which the French passed after that fatal period, he was always on foot in the rear, never quitting his post After the crisis in 1814, however, he joined in advising Napoleon's abdication; but, in 1815, again embraced the standard of his old master. He was consequently comprehended in the edict of exclusion of the same year, and spent the rest of his life in a species of disgrace He died on the 14th September, 1820 A few days before his death, he fixed on a place for his tomb beside that of Massena

CHAPTER II.

BIOGRAPHY—LITERARY.

Sir Joseph Banks.—President West.—Mr Arthur Young.—Mr Hayley.—Volney.

Sir Joseph Banks, whose name has for so many years stood in the front of British science, was the son of William Banks Hodgenkson, Esq, of Reresby Abbey, in Lincolnshire, a gentleman of considerable property. The estate had been purchased by the grandfather, with the fruit of his labours in a respectable profession. Joseph, the eldest son, thus enjoyed from his earliest years, leisure and the means of study; and these, which, in others, are only the source of idleness and dissipation, were indefatigably employed by him in extending his own and the public knowledge After a regular course of education at Eton and Oxford, he was left at full liberty to choose his own line of pursuit. The circumstances of the times, were such as strongly to decide him towards a particular branch of science Amid the splendour which mechanics and astronomy had derived from the discoveries of the Newtonian school, natural history in England, and even over Europe, had sunk below its natural level The attractions, however, of this interesting branch of knowledge were now beginning to be felt. The new and scientific form given to it by the creative mind of Linnæus, the exertions made by his disciples in every quarter of the globe, the splendour thrown around it by the eloquence of Buffon, gave to natural history, a pre-eminence in the eye of the public over every other pursuit. The young student, emerging at this moment into intellectual existence, could not resist a science recommended by so many attractions, he devoted himself to the study of it, and particularly to botany. In its pursuit he braved hardships, which few of those who have support and fortune to earn, are willing to encounter. He pursued it over mountain, waste, forest, and thicket His zeal gave rise on one occasion to a ludicrous accident. An alarm of robbery being given, and the officers of justice being in full pursuit, they found our young botanist buried in a mass of rank vegetation, as if for the express purpose of concealment. They concluded it not doubtful that this must be the culprit, and dragged him before the nearest justice of peace. On examining the spoils, however,

they were found to consist, not of money, plate, or jewels, but of various species of plants and wild flowers On the rank and character of the supposed thief being explained, every apology was, of course, tendered.

Mr Banks succeeded to his father at the age of eighteen, and went to reside at his native seat Being fond of the amusement of fishing, he was accustomed to pursue it on the broad surface of Whittlesea-mere, situated in the neighbourhood This light circumstance led to an important connexion, for he here met the late Lord Sandwich in eager pursuit of the same amusement Afterwards, when engaged in London, they were accustomed to pursue it, sometimes for whole nights, in fishing on the Thames Lord Sandwich becoming subsequently first Lord of the Admiralty, the intercourse thus formed proved highly beneficial, by securing his cordial co-operation in every project formed for the advancement of science

Mr Banks's zeal now led him to prosecute knowledge beyond the limits of Europe In 1768, he undertook a voyage beyond the Atlantic, and surveyed the dreary shores of Newfoundland and Labrador But a bolder and grander scene of discovery now opened Under the impulse of that zeal for discovery which animated his late Majesty, an expedition was fitted out to perform, under Lieutenant Cook, the circumnavigation of the globe. This was then a very different undertaking from what, chiefly by Cook's exertions, it has since been rendered The navigators before him had scarcely stripped it of any of its terrors The very idea still presented to the mind nothing but unknown and dangerous seas, coasts beset by savages, the mortal and almost inevitable ravages of one of the most frightful diseases. That one, who possessed so fully the means of reclining at home in the lap of ease and luxury, should have braved such a voyage, is perhaps one of the most signal examples of devotion to science, that has ever been given.

Although the expedition, by the skill and enterprize of Cook, was safely steered through the usual perils which beset such an enterprize, the enthusiastic enterprize of Mr Banks, involved him in others that were not foreseen In sailing along the frightful and inhospitable coast of Terra del Fuego, he was tempted by the view of a mountain covered with a rich variety of plants A party being formed, he and Dr Solander set out, but found the route more tedious and difficult than they had expected They reached the mountain, however, and were amply gratified, but, on their return, though it was midsummer day in this dreary climate, a storm of snow came on, accompanied with a cold so excessive, as gave rise to the most serious danger of perishing Dr Solander's experience enabled him to warn them, that their only hope was to keep awake and moving, and that, if they yielded to the propensity to sleep, which inevitably arises in such circumstances, their fate was certain Dr Solander was the first to verify his own warning, being overcome with sleep to such a degree, that Mr Banks's utmost exertions were necessary to make him proceed, and thus save his life During the residence at Otaheite, Mr Banks's figure and manners made him a favourite with the principal people in the island, particularly the ladies He omitted no opportunity of advancing knowledge, and made important discoveries, even in seas and coasts that had before been repeatedly traversed

Mr Banks, not satisfied with this adventurous voyage, undertook soon after another to Iceland, which, by the

striking peculiarities of its physical structure, presents an object so interesting to the man of science On his way, he visited the western and northern islands of Scotland, a region then almost strange to the tourist He discovered and observed the celebrated cave of Staffa, which, unless by a slight, and scarcely credited notice of Buchanan, had remained hitherto undescribed On reaching Iceland, the party saw, with astonishment, its craggy cliffs vitrified by fire, and its lofty mountain rocks covered with eternal snow They flattered themselves with having been the first who ever reached the summit of Hecla, the natives being deterred by superstitious fears from attempting such an achievement They would willingly have stood a little singeing for the satisfaction of seeing the flames vomited from its crater; but the volcano was then quiescent. A narrative of the voyage was published in 1780, by Dr Von Troil

Mr Banks now established himself at home, and spent his time between the metropolis and his seat in Lincolnshire. His ample fortune continued devoted to the same objects, in promoting which his life had been employed He founded a noble library, and rendered his house the rendezvous of learned men He now became a constant attendant on the meetings of the Royal Society, and presented to that body many valuable communications on the subject of natural history, which, from that and other circumstances, began to take the lead among the objects of its attention. The consequence was, that, when Sir John Pringle, the President, determined, in 1777, to retire to Scotland, Mr Banks was chosen to fill the vacant chair At the same time, the King, in testimony of particular favour, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and elected him a member of the Privy Council.

This shower of honours gave no little umbrage to that class of members, including several of very high attainments, in whose eyes mathematics, and natural philosophy, formed alone the appropriate objects of the Royal Society The lead among them was taken by Horsley, afterwards Bishop of St Asaph, who made no secret of his indignation at the elevation of Sir Joseph to the Presidency He declared "that science herself, had never been more signally insulted, than by the elevation of a mere amateur to occupy the chair once filled by Newton" These grudges soon broke out into open hostility, in consequence of some measures proposed in the Society, and upon which the parties differed On this occasion, Horsley made a memorable attack, in which he said,—"We shall have one remedy in our power, if all others fail, for we can at least secede, sir, when the hour of secession comes, the President will be left with his train of feeble *amateurs*, and this toy upon the table, (pointing to the mace,) the ghost of that Society where science once reigned, and Newton presided as her minister"

Notwithstanding these dissensions, the public soon acknowledged and appreciated the merits of Sir Joseph in his character of President By opening his house not only to the members, but to every person of distinction, both native and foreign, he rendered it, as it were, the seat and centre of science His connexions with government enabled him to procure the most powerful patronage to any undertaking, which promised to extend the boundaries of human knowledge He was one of the most active in planning and forwarding the scheme of the African Association. At the same time, the connexions maintained by him with *literati* and scientific societies of France, even amid periods of the most inveterate national animosity,

afforded means of protection to many distinguished individuals, and presented an honourable exception to the fury of the hostility between the two countries In 1802, being named a member of the French Institute, he appears to have felt very peculiar gratification at this honour, and wrote a letter, in which his feelings are somewhat too strongly expressed. He termed it "the highest literary distinction which he could possibly attain," and named the Institute "the first Literary Society in the world" His old enemy, Bishop Horsley, took this occasion of privately circulating a letter, in which he branded these expressions "as a compound of servility, disloyalty, and falsehood, sentiments which ought never to be conceived by an English heart, never written by an English hand, and least of all by yours, distinguished as you are by repeated (out of respect to his Majesty, I will not say unmerited) marks of royal favour, and elevated to a station, in which the country might be excused for looking up to you as the jealous guardian, not the betrayer, of her literary credit." Referring to the Royal Society, he insisted that the cultivation of science was more indebted to its exertions, than to those of any other institution whatsoever "But I am yet to learn," said he, "the merits of this novel association of revolutionary philosophers, into which you have been enlisted. What acts, but acts of robbery, have we seen of theirs? Where are the proofs of their pre-eminence?" In the dogmatic style of the time, he arraigned Sir Joseph's professions of that esteem, which, in the most disastrous periods, he had always preserved for the French nation, and some compliments which he paid to the existing government of France.

Sir Joseph Banks bestowed particular attention on agriculture, and actively assisted in the drainage of the fens of Lincolnshire, which operation nearly doubled the value of his estate. His attention to the introduction of the Merino breed of sheep, was so great, that the King confided his flocks to Sir Joseph's care. The Board of Agriculture, and the Horticultural Society, were indebted in various shapes to his aids and communications.

Sir Joseph enjoyed sound health to an advanced age, but he then became liable to attacks of the gout, and finally proved a complete martyr to that disease. Large dozes of ginger, and the celebrated *Eau Medicinale* were successively resorted to; but, while they relieved the paroxysms, they probably weakened his constitution still more. Yet, in the most exhausted state of his frame, his mind remained unimpaired By the author of this memoir, he was seen, for the first and only time, in bed, and unable to move, yet displaying still an unabated interest in all those objects, which it had been the ambition of his life to promote Worn out at length with age and illness, he expired on the 9th of May, 1820, in the 81st year of his age.

Sir Joseph possessed a manly form; his countenance was energetic and intelligent, and often beamed with peculiar kindness and courtesy. His will bore strongly the stamp of his love of science To Robert Brown, Esq his librarian, a gentleman pre-eminently distinguished for botanical knowledge, he bequeathed 200*l* a-year, with his library, herbarium, and every kind of scientific apparatus, to be used during his life, and to go at his death to the British Museum. To Mr Frederick Bauer, of Kew Green, whom he had employed for thirty years as a botanical draughtsman, he left an annuity of 300*l*, provided he continued to employ himself in the same manner, and in the same place. To his Majesty, he bequeathed all the drawings and sketches made under his direction by Mr Bauer.

In the same year, Britain sustained the loss of another individual, who stood equally at the head of his own department—BENJAMIN WEST, President of the Royal Academy of Painting The rise of this great artist was attended with some very peculiar circumstances

Benjamin West, born on the 10th October, 1738, was the son of John West, a quaker, residing at Springfield, a village in the interior of Pennsylvania His father might be considered as illustrious in the annals of philanthropy, if, as Mr Galt seems to intimate, his example and exhortation had the chief influence in producing the noble decree of the Pennsylvanian legislature, for a general emancipation of the negro slaves

It was scarcely possible, that any human being could be less favourably situated for the culture of any of the arts which embellish human life, than young Benjamin The sect to which he belonged, noted for so many estimable moral qualities, had adopted in excess the austere creed, which condemns as ungodly and perilous, every art which aims only at amusement and ornament He was therefore bred up under the impossibility of seeing a single specimen of the imitative arts Only the most irresistible strength of natural genius could have enabled him to break through such a host of discouraging circumstances

It was at the age of six, that the disposition of the young painter first displayed itself Being left to rock the cradle of an infant sister, he saw her smile in her sleep, and was so struck with the beauty of her countenance at that moment, that he snatched up a pen, and attempted to delineate it His mother entering, shame led him to conceal what he had been doing, but she, perceiving his confusion, insisted to see it, and, viewing the drawing with evident pleasure, exclaimed, "I declare he has made a likeness of little Sally." Maternal sanction being thus given to the art, the boy was allowed full liberty to pursue it in the intervals of his school, and to delineate with the pen every object which struck his eye A party of Indians who happened to visit Springfield, taught him to prepare the red and yellow, with which they painted their ornaments, and, his mother having presented him with a piece of indigo, he was thus in possession of the three primary colours A painter, as Mr Galt justly observes, who would embody the metaphor of an artist, instructed by nature, could scarcely imagine anything more picturesque than this real incident of the Indians instructing West to prepare the prismatic colours. About this time, he heard the description of camels' hair pencils, and instantly saw how superior these must be to the rude machinery of a pen. The world, however, with which he was acquainted, presented no such object. The only substitute he could contrive, was obtained by the following expedient He cast his eye on a favourite black cat of his father's, and having privily obtained the use of his mother's scissars, employed them in cutting off the bushy extremity of the tail As this lasted only for a short time, he was reduced to the necessity of making large inroads on the back of Grimalkin The worthy man inwardly mourned this naked and altered appearance of his favourite, and could only ascribe it to some serious malady, till the youth, on hearing these lamentations repeated, blushingly confessed the wrong he had done, He obtained an easy forgiveness from the surprised and gratified parent

West was eight years old, when Mr Pennington, a merchant of Philadelphia, came to visit his father, and, struck with the drawings of birds and flowers which hung round the room, inquired about the boy, and promised

to send him a paint-box. This he fulfilled, and accompanied it with six engravings The sight of these objects formed a master-era in the existence of the young painter Enraptured with the view, he could not cease touching them, unable to believe that they were real They made him a culprit with regard to school, the whole of several days being spent in the garret with his box and canvas The schoolmaster lodging a complaint of his non-attendance, his mother hastened up, and surprised her son, but was soon appeased by the view of his work, which consisted not in a bare copy, but a composition from two of the engravings It was so well executed, that he afterwards declared there were some touches in it, which he had never been able to surpass

A few days after, Mr Pennington again visited Springfield, and, delighted with the result of his presents, took the boy with him to Philadelphia Here, in passing along the street, West saw one Williams, a painter, carrying an object which he had never before seen—a picture The emotions which he betrayed at this moment were so extraordinary, that Williams was delighted, took him home, showed him his pictures and drawings, and gave him the works of Fresnoy and Richardson There was no longer any doubt as to his destiny. On returning home, he announced himself as a future painter, and seems to have formed the loftiest ideas of the profession Fired by his enthusiasm, all the boys of the school began daubing pictures, but without being able to rival their model He now began to obtain some employment in portraits, and, in the house of a Mr Flower, where he resided for two or three weeks in that character, an intelligent lady, who acted as governess, initiated him into the first elements of history and general knowledge Being advised by a friend to try historical painting, he produced the "Death of Socrates," which drew so much admiration, that Dr Smith, Provost of the College at Philadelphia, undertook his tuition This judicious scholar directed his attention particularly to those objects and incidents which tended to fire his imagination, and to furnish future subjects for his pencil

Young West had now reached the age of sixteen, and the time was come when he must make choice of a profession His father, however gratified by his son's display of genius, felt still some scruple at making him a painter. Many of his most respected neighbours pressed upon him the duty of giving the youth a sober and godly trade, and not allowing him to exercise an occupation which ministered only to the concerns of sin and vanity The worthy man, troubled by these meditations and discourses, determined to call a general meeting of the Friends of Springfield, and to submit to them the future destination of Benjamin A considerable difference of opinion prevailed, but at last a venerable friend rose and argued, that the talent of the young man was a manifest gift of God, which must have been bestowed for wise ends, and that painting, though liable to abuse, might be employed for the noblest purposes. These reasons were pronounced satisfactory by the meeting, an inspired sister pronounced a blessing upon him; the men laid their hands upon his head, and the women kissed him; and the young artist was sent forth into the world to exercise his vocation

At Philadelphia and New York Mr West found considerable practice as a portrait painter, and he, at the same time, busied himself in copying everything good that came under his eye. He produced, moreover, an original work on the subject of the "Trial of Susannah"

Having raised by his labours a small

sum of money, Mr West determined to embrace an opportunity which offered of visiting Italy At Rome, the arrival of an American quaker to study the fine arts, caused an astonishing sensation. He was introduced to Cardinal Albani, and through him to the most distinguished persons then in Rome Having painted the picture of Mr Robinson, afterwards Lord Grantham, it was shown to a large circle as the production of Mengs, the most eminent painter then in Rome, and was pronounced superior to the usual performances of that artist Mengs was so generous as not to be mortified but contracted a friendship for West, and gave him his best advice The artist was strongly impressed also by an interview with a famous *improvisatore*, to whom the Romans gave the flattering name of Homer, and who, delighted with the novelty of the subject presented to him, pronounced an extempore oration, which, if we may judge by the following specimen, must have possessed considerable beauty "Methinks, said he, "I behold in this young man an instrument chosen by Heaven, to raise in America the taste for those arts which elevate the nature of man,—an assurance that his country will afford a refuge to science and knowledge, when, in the old age of Europe, they shall have forsaken her shores But all things of heavenly origin, like the glorious sun, move westward, and truth and art have their periods of shining and of night Rejoice then, oh venerable Rome, in thy divine destiny! for, though darkness overshadow thy seats, and though thy mitred head must descend into the dust, as deep as the earth that now covers thy ancient helmet and imperial diadem, thy spirit, immortal and undecayed, already spreads towards a new world,—like the soul of man in paradise, it will be perfected in virtue and beauty more and more" Mr West, like Reynolds, was at first imperfectly sensible to the beauties of Raphael and Michael Angelo, of the latter of whom he never became any peculiar admirer Accustomed to the quietude of a Pennsylvanian life, the agitations of Rome threw him into a fever, from which the physicians declared that he could only recover by removal to a more tranquil scene After his recovery, he visited all the great schools of Italy, and made a copy of the famous St Jerome of Correggio

Mr West repaired, in 1763, to England where he soon became acquainted with Sir Joshua Reynolds and Richard Wilson, and was introduced to other eminent men But his chief obligations were to Dr Drummond, Archbishop of York, who engaged him to paint for him the story of "Agrippina landing with the ashes of Germanicus" The Archbishop was so gratified by the performance, that he immediately introduced both the picture and the artist to the notice of his late Majesty. That monarch endued both with taste and discernment in the fine arts, was so delighted with it, that he thence forth made Mr West the object of his especial favour and patronage He suggested to him the subject of "the Final Departure of Regulus from Rome," and the applause which the picture received at the first exhibition, was equally gratifying to the artist and to the royal patron.

Mr West was now frequently invited to spend the evening at Buckingham-house, and his Majesty held long conversations with him on the best means of promoting the arts It was to these that the plan of the "Royal Academy" owed its origin, an institution equally creditable to the nation and beneficial to art. The name of Reynolds, however, was too high to admit the idea of any other person being appointed president, but, on the death of Sir Joshua, in 1791, Mr West, with universal ap-

probation, succeeded to that high place He painted for the King "the Oath of Hannibal," the "Death of Epaminondas," and several other subjects For Earl Grosvenor, he painted the "Death of Wolfe," so well known from the fine print of Woollet, but the novel introduction of coats, breeches, and cocked hats, into a heroic picture, was censured by the King, and by several of the best painters

His Majesty, continuing to bestow his patronage on Mr West, employed him in a truly magnificent work. It was to adorn a private chapel, or oratory, at Windsor, with a series of thirty-five paintings, illustrative of the history of revealed religion. On this work, with the exception of a very short suspension, seemingly occasioned by the influence of the Queen, Mr West was employed without intermission till the Monarch's last illness Then, being deprived of royal patronage, he made an appeal to the public, which was completely successful His celebrated picture of "Christ healing the Sick" was purchased by the British Institution for three thousand guineas, while his subsequent works of "Christ Rejected," and "Death on the Pale Horse," have produced large sums by their mere exhibition Mr West had received from the King 34,187l for various pictures, a bounty, we suspect, surpassing even the boasted generosity of Leo X

Our artist was now far declined into the vale of years. His wife an American lady, and the object of an early attachment, died on the 16th December, 1817, and thus closed a union of fifty years. This loss was deeply felt, and accelerated the decline of his health, which went on increasing till the 10th March, 1820, when he expired without a struggle His remains were interred in St Paul's Cathedral, and were honoured with a public funeral, which was attended, not only by all his brethren of the art, but by many of the most distinguished personages of the kingdom

The following character of Mr West as a man and a painter, is given by his ingenious friend Mr Galt

"In his deportment Mr West was mild and considerate his eye was keen, and his mind apt, but he was slow and methodical in his reflections, and the sedateness of his remarks must often, in his younger years, have seemed to strangers singularly at variance with the vivacity of his look That vivacity, however, was not the result of any peculiar animation of temperament, it was rather the illumination of his genius; for, when his features were studiously considered, they appeared to resemble those which we find associated with dignity of character, in the best productions of art As an artist, he will stand in the first rank His name will be classed with those of Michael Angelo and Raphael, but he possessed little in common with either As the former has been compared to Homer, and the latter to Virgil, in Shakespeare we shall perhaps find the best likeness to the genius of Mr West He undoubtedly possessed, but in a slight degree, that peculiar energy and physical expression of character in which Michael Angelo excelled, and, in a still less, that serene sublimity which constitutes the charm of Raphael's great productions But he was their equal in the fulness, the perspicuity, and the propriety of his compositions In all his great works, the scene intended to be brought before the spectator is represented in such a manner, that the imagination has nothing to supply The incident, the time, and the place, are there as we think they must have been; and it is this wonderful force of conception which renders the sketches of Mr West

so much more extraordinary than his finished pictures. In the finished pictures, we naturally institute comparisons in colouring, and in beauty of figure, and in a thousand details, which are never noticed in the sketches of this illustrious artist. But, although his powers of conception were so superior,—equal in their excellence to Michael Angelo's energy, or Raphael's grandeur, still, in the inferior departments of drawing and colouring, he was one of the greatest artists of his age; it was not, however, till late in life that he executed any of those works in which he thought the splendour of the Venetian school might be judiciously imitated At one time he intended to collect his works together, and to form a general exhibition of them all. Had he accomplished this, the greatness and versatility of his talents would have been established beyond all controversy, for unquestionably he was one of those great men whose genius cannot be justly estimated by particular works, but only by a collective inspection of the variety, the extent, and the number of their productions"

ARTHUR YOUNG, ESQ —In sketching the biography of men of genius and talents, and in estimating the effects produced by their writings on the opinions and condition of mankind, the data upon which we proceed are frequently extremely indefinite We have generally nothing marked and tangible to which we can refer in confirmation of the conclusions to which we are conducted The different states of the public mind cannot be measured, and the exact amount of their difference, at different periods, ascertained by geometrical rules, nor, in endeavouring to appreciate the extent to which works of taste and imagination, or the abstract speculations of philosophy, have operated, in ameliorating, enlightening, and liberalizing the public mind, have we any other principle to guide us than that consciousness inseparable from our being, and that intuitive observation which assures us, that whatever enlarges the empire of human knowledge, or embellishes and adorns the different regions of that vast territory, already explored and appropriated, must inevitably contribute something to the progression of mind, to its power, its enjoyment, its capacity, and its dignity. Hence, this estimate is an exercise purely intellectual The mere philosopher, and the mere man of genius are seldom identified with public monuments, the self-evident proofs of public improvement, or national greatness Such men live and think in a region of their own. They are the architects who design, not the masons who build, and, till the principles they have explained and enforced, are carried into effect, and their designs realized in materials of enduring substance, exposed to the cognizance of every eye, it is often difficult, and sometimes impossible, to fix the importance of their discoveries and improvements.

It is not so with the practical philosopher His object is, in general, not so much to discover as to realize, to bring down science from heaven to earth, to render knowledge an instrument of public good, to conquer prejudices, remove difficulties, increase the amount of production from a given quantum of means, and add to the substantial comforts and happiness of society He is the middleman, as it were, between the mere philosopher and the mere practitioner To such a man, knowledge is really an instrument of power, and he uses it, as the mariner does his compass, not to exhibit to the curious a few of the simpler laws of magnetism, but to guide his path to the wished-for destination, and to enable him to superadd something to the great mass of general wealth

and happiness. But we do not mean to assert, that this career can be pursued without a reaction in the way of discovery Many of the most valuable improvements in the useful arts have been made by practical men Experience, enlightened by knowledge, is a surer guide than mere genius in the abstract Arkwright and Watt were not recluse philosophers, or speculative theorists, but men who, to great knowledge, combined great experience, incessant industry, singular enthusiasm, and the talent for rendering these qualities subservient to purposes of incontestible utility.

These remarks are, we think, applicable to the subject of the present memoir "To the labours of Mr Arthur Young," says Kirwan, "the world is more indebted for the diffusion of agricultural knowledge, than to any writer that has yet appeared" Agriculture is an art which can be improved only by induction, founded on a vast number of experiments, performed under great varieties of climate and soil, and it is clear, that to institute such an induction, implies an acquaintance, not merely with the principles of chemical science, but with the existing state of the art itself, and with the different processes employed, in different situations, to realize the same result In every inquiry connected with this most important subject, experiment is the means, an increased amount of production, or an improved quality in the product, the object And it is precisely because the labours of Mr Arthur Young were prosecuted on this principle, and with a constant regard to immediate utility, that they are so eminently valuable, and have contributed so essentially to increase the amount of the wealth, happiness, and greatness of his country It has been said, that the man who makes two stalks of corn to grow where only one grew before, is a more real public benefactor than the greatest statesman that ever lived This is probably a little exaggerated; but it will be seen, from the brief detail we are about to give of the labours and exertions of this venerable and indefatigable man, that few have ever better deserved the lasting gratitude of their country and the world at large, and it will, at the same time, be admitted, that the man who takes for his motto, *Prodesse Patriæ*, lays the surest foundation for solid and lasting fame.

Arthur Young, descended from a respectable family, who, for more than two centuries, had resided on their estate at Bradfield Combust, near Bury St Edmonds, in the county of Suffolk, was born in London on the 7th of September, 1711 His father, the Reverend Arthur Young, D D, Prebendary of Canterbury, Rector of Bradfield Combust, &c was an active magistrate, a respectable scholar, and is known in theological literature as the author of a work, entitled, "*An Historical Dissertation on Corruption in Religion,*" published in 1734 By his wife, Anna Lucretia, daughter of John Crousmaker, Esq, the Doctor had three children, John, D D Prebendary of Worcester, who broke his neck, when hunting with his late Majesty, in 1786, Elizabeth Mary, who died soon after her marriage with John Tomlinson, Esq, of East Barnet, and Arthur, the subject of the present memoir The last was, in 1718, sent to Lancham, a school about six miles from Bradfield Hall, where he received his grammatical education, and, had not maternal fondness interposed, he would subsequently have gone to Eton, and from thence to the University, to receive, like his elder brother John, the benefit of an academical education He gave, it is said, very early prognostics of his future eminence, and was much esteemed by his early friends and preceptors, as a boy of superior

talents and indefatigable industry In 1758, he left school, and was placed in the House of Messrs Robertsons, merchants at Lynn, in Norfolk, in order that he might be qualified for entering into business with his brother-in-law, Mr Tomlinson of London, his sister, however, died in the interval, and his father's intention was relinquished With Mr Young it was a matter of serious regret through life, that the premium paid by his father to the Lynn merchants, had not been applied in supporting him at College, when, by taking orders, he might have held the Rectory of Bradfield, but we may be allowed to doubt if posterity will sympathize in this feeling.

During his residence at Lynn, his time seems to have been divided between reading and dancing, he was a young man of uncommon personal attractions, and became so great a favourite, that he was a welcome guest at every entertainment But the allurements of dissipation never interfered with the more solid pleasures to be derived from study. He read with avidity every work he could procure, and, to augment his resources by the emoluments of authorship, he commenced his literary career by writing a political pamphlet, entitled, "*The Theatre of the present War in North America,*' for which his London bookseller allowed him books to the amount of ten pounds. His father died in 1759, and, in 1761, he was attacked with a hæmorrhage of the lungs, which rendered it necessary for him to resort to the hot wells at Bristol Here his skill in the game of chess brought him in contact with Sir Charles Howard, K B, with whom he formed an intimate acquaintance, and was offered by him a pair of colours in his own regiment, but, fortunately, his mother would not listen to the proposal of his entering the army, and this favourite project was abandoned In January, 1762, he started a periodical publication, under the comprehensive title of "*The Universal Museum,*" which lived for six numbers, and, in 1763, returned to his mother at Bradfield Hall, without any profession or employment; his whole income, during the life of his mother, arising from a copyhold farm of twenty acres, producing as many pounds sterling His mother was anxious he should reside with her, and, as the lease of her farm of eighty acres would shortly expire, she urged him to undertake its cultivation, a scheme so much in unison with his taste and wishes, that he readily accepted her proposal, and embarked as a farmer. In the following year, he commenced a correspondence in the periodical work, entitled, "*Museum Rusticum*" This was his first effort in agriculture; and, in 1765, he was induced, by the persuasion of a friend, to collect these letters, and reprint them as an Appendix to his new publication of the "*Farmer's Letters,*" a work in which he treats of the advantages of a general and extensive exportation of corn, and of the balance of agriculture and manufactures

In the same year, Mr Young married Miss Martha Allen, of Lynn, a lady of respectable family, whose sister was the second wife of the celebrated Dr Burney Although Mrs Young possessed personal attractions, mental accomplishments, and excellence of disposition, this proved the reverse of a happy union, but this is not the place to offer any comment on the domestic circumstances which produced so unfortunate an event Soon after his marriage, he undertook the management of the farm of Samford Hall in Essex, consisting of about 300 acres of land, but various unforeseen circumstances, and, above all, the want of the necessary capital, induced him to give 100/ to a farmer to take the lease off his hands; and this man, having the

advantage of capital, realized a fortune upon it. It was while he occupied the farm of Samford-Hall that Mr Young wrote his work, entitled, "*Political Essays on the Present State of the British Empire*," which was published in 1772, in one volume quarto Having thus got rid of his farm, he advertised for another, and the facts which came to his knowledge from viewing the different estates presented to his notice on this occasion, furnished the materials for his "*Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties*" By the advice of his Suffolk bailiff, he hired a farm of 100 acres in Hertfordshire; but, from viewing it in an uncommonly favourable season, they were both deceived, the soil was not only bad, but execrable, it was, to use Mr Young's own words, "a hungry vitriolic gravel," upon which the fortune of a Nabob could not have raised "good arable crops," and though his "experience and knowledge had increased from travelling, and from practice, all was lost when exerted upon such a spot"

His "*Six Weeks' Tour*" excited a great sensation among the agriculturists, and, both personally and by letter, he received numerous applications to undertake journeys through other districts, and to record, upon a similar plan, the result of his observations. Accordingly, in 1768, he was induced to perform a tour through the north of England, during which he collected so much information, that the publication of it occupied four vols 8vo, and so eagerly was it purchased, that the first edition was shortly out of print In the following year, he gave to the world his ideas on "*The Expediency of a Free Exportation of Corn*," a work of which his late Majesty was pleased to express the strongest approbation In 1770, he proceeded on his Eastern Tour, the result of which was also published in four vols. 8vo. This, the last, and unquestionably the best of his English Tours, was the first work which made the public acquainted with the details of the Norfolk husbandry In it, also, he explains the Suffolk cultivation of carrots, and points out the value of that root for sustaining the best breed of farm horses in the kingdom, he describes the cultivation of cabbages, as practised in Yorkshire, and the advantages and immense profits of crops of *lucerne*, he places in a very satisfactory point of view, the unnecessary waste of power in the tillage of the kingdom, he presents to the agriculturists a notice of the best implements of husbandry, and he adds much practical information on the subject of a *proper course of crops*, upon which all former writers had been silent, and which he himself considered, and justly, as the most useful feature in his Tours In a word, these Tours, solely devoted to purposes of immediate and practical utility, embrace a body of information wholly without parallel. A detailed relation of the practical husbandry which he witnessed, and of the experimental observations of the numerous gentlemen whom he visited, during a perambulation of 1000 miles, could not fail to bring together a mass of knowledge of the most interesting description, while the able and candid manner in which the defects of each practice and system are exhibited, laid the first solid foundation for the permanent improvement of the soil, and the comparative view which he presented of the effects of different modes of cultivation, as practised in different districts, conveyed instruction to the farmer, without the trouble and hazard of experiment, and a knowledge of profit and loss, without the labour or errors of calculation His writings have thus diffused through the empire the practices which have been found advantageous in particular places, and

local knowledge has thus become general science.

Mr Young's "*Rural Economy*" appeared in 1770, and, in the same year, was published, in two vols 4to, his "*Course of Experimental Agriculture, containing an Exact Register of all the Business transacted during Five Years, on nearly 300 acres of various Soils; the whole demonstrated in 2000 Original Experiments*" In the succeeding year, he gave to the world the "*Farmer's Calendar*," which has passed through ten editions, and at the same time wrote "*Proposals to the Legislature for Numbering the People*" A third edition of the "*Farmer's Letters*" also appeared, with an additional volume, in which he points out the advantages which would result to landlords, from improving their estates, and observes, that in this manner they might so increase their incomes as to render it unnecessary for them to make application to the ministry for a place, or to the city for a wife In 1773, he was elected chairman of the Committee of Agriculture, in the Society of Arts, to which he first proposed the publication of an annual volume of their Transactions, a plan which was adopted in 1783, and likewise published "*Political Essays on the Present State of the British Empire*," and "*Observations on the Present State of Waste Lands*"

His income at this period being barely equal to his expenditure, he engaged to report the parliamentary debates for the Morning Post, which he continued to perform for several years. After the labours of the week, he walked every Saturday evening to his farm, at the distance of 17 miles from London, from which he as regularly returned every Monday morning. This was the most anxious and laborious part of his life "I worked," says he, "more like a coal-heaver, though without his reward, than a man acting only from a predominant impulse." In 1774, he published his "*Political Arithmetic*," a work which met with great success abroad, and was immediately translated into several languages.

The years 1776 and 1777 were occupied by his tour through Ireland, commenced under the auspices of Lord Shelburne, Mr Burke, and other distinguished persons in England, and in the prosecution of which every facility was afforded him by the Irish authorities, much to their own honour The account of this celebrated tour was published in 1778, and, according to Miss Edgeworth, was the first faithful portrait of the people of Ireland. It contains a vast mass of agricultural and political information, but the part of it which produced the greatest impression upon the government, and led to some important changes in its measures, was the attack on the bounty paid on the land carriage of corn to Dublin, which he proved to be a measure grossly absurd, as well as pernicious, showing, at the same time, that the wretched tillage was carried on at the expense of the richest pasturage in the King's dominions With such cogency of argument was this position supported, that, in the first session of Parliament after the publication of this work, the bounty was reduced to one-half, and afterwards wholly abolished, by which a saving was effected in favour of Ireland, to the extent of 80,000*l* per annum. Mr Young also demonstrated, that the penal laws against the Catholics, were not laws against the religion, but against the industry, of the country, and his arguments have been frequently quoted since, both by speakers and writers, as authority for the repeal of these obnoxious statutes, and his advice, to a considerable extent, has been followed.

But Ireland, or rather the faction that governs Ireland, has, it seems, no gratitude to spare for the real benefac-

tors of that unhappy country. "Ireland ought to have rewarded you," said Lord Chancellor Loughborough, in a letter to the author, "for so important a service"—as that, namely, which he had rendered her by this great and disinterested effort of political acuteness and judgment, yet the only acknowledgment he received, was a cold letter of thanks from the Dublin Society "Truth," says Mr Wakefield, "compels me to declare, although the assertion may reproach my country, that he (Mr Arthur Young) has been ill requited for his exertions in her service, and that, during the best days of his life, she seems to have been coldly insensible to the value of his indefatigable and important labours"

After the publication of his Irish Tour, Mr Young, in consequence of a liberal offer from Lord Kingsborough, returned to Ireland to superintend his lordship's estate, but from some circumstances, which are not stated, he did not continue in this situation longer than twelve months, and, in the year 1779, we find him once more quietly settled at Bradfield, where he gradually extended the scale of his husbandry, and entered with so much zeal into the details of his own occupation, as actually to perform the operation of ploughing with his own hand About this period, also, he became intimately acquainted with Dr Priestley, then in the full career of discovery, from whom he imbibed a taste for pneumatic chemistry, a science of which that illustrious man may be considered as the founder To a person who had been accustomed to contemplate only the grosser forms of matter, and to consider the qualities and capabilities of soils as depending entirely on their texture and density, it is not to be wondered at, that his introduction by Dr Priestley, to a new aerial creation, should have excited his astonishment, and opened to his active and enterprizing mind, a fresh train of research; and, accordingly, we find him expressing to his friends, in animated terms, the delight he had experienced in witnessing the address and dexterity of Priestley in his experimental manipulations, and the command which had thus been acquired over invisible elements, as well as the advantages he derived from his acquaintance with that distinguished philosopher

About the year 1782 Prince Potemkin, then Russian Prime Minister, sent three young Russians to England to be instructed by Mr Young in the arts of husbandry, and, in the following year, the Empress Catherine presented him, through the hands of her ambassador, with a magnificent gold snuff-box, together with two rich ermine cloaks, designed as gifts to his wife and daughter

In 1784, he commenced the publication of his "*Annals of Agriculture*," in which he appeared in the double capacity of editor and author, and which he continued till the period of his blindness, when the work had extended to forty-five volumes 8vo This periodical was conducted on the French plan, every paper having the name and address of the author affixed to it; and it can boast of communications from the most exalted and enlightened characters in Europe, at the head of whom stands his late Majesty George III, who transmitted to Mr Young, for publication, an account of the farm of Mr Ducket, the able cultivator of Petersham, which is inserted in the 7th volume of the '*Annals*," under the signature of "Ralph Robinson" The King was a steady patron and reader of the work, and seldom travelled without a volume of it in his carriage An unpleasant circumstance, however, had nearly deprived it of this distinguished support During Mr Young's absence on the Continent, an offensive paper "On the System of the Universe," by the late Earl of

Orford, was inserted in the 11th volume; upon reading which, the King exclaimed, "What! are the '*Annals of Agriculture*' becoming the vehicle of infidel opinions? If so, one of my strongest supports has failed me" The matter was, however, explained to his Majesty's entire satisfaction, and he continued to afford the work the benefit of his royal patronage, as before In 1803, the King of Naples became a subscriber, and, at the same time, sent a Neapolitan to be instructed by Mr Young in the principles of agriculture It is almost needless to observe, that the most valuable portions of this voluminous work are from the pen of the editor, that these abound in passages of great vigour, force, and eloquence, that Mr Young's style is full of that health and freshness, inspired by the pursuits which he had devoted his life to cultivate and recommend, and that altogether, the work presents a vast and invaluable body of information upon subjects of agriculture and political economy

In the course of 1785, Mr Young was deprived of his mother, for whom he entertained the most sincere affection, and who appears to have been a woman of a vigorous and energetic character Her son owed her much, and she has even a claim upon the gratitude of posterity; she rescued him from the barren routine of the mercantile profession, to which he was destined,—saved him from the recklessness and dissipation of a military life,—at a later period, prevented him from emigrating from his native land,—directed his mind to those pursuits in which he was destined to shine with unrivalled excellence,—and thus preserved to her country one whose labours and writings will shed a lustre on her name while economical science is cultivated in England

The following year, he sustained a severe blow in the untimely death of his brother, Dr John Young, who broke his neck as he was hunting with his late Majesty near Windsor, and, early in the spring of 1787, received a pressing invitation to accompany the Count de la Rochefoucault in a tour to the Pyrenees. "This," says Mr Young, "was touching a string tremulous to vibrate" He had long wished for an opportunity of examining France, and observing the effects of its government on the condition of the farmers, and of the poor, he, therefore, eagerly accepted the proposal, and, having completed the tour, returned to England the following winter. And here a new scene presented itself The wool bill, the ostensible object of which was to prevent British wool from being smuggled into France—the real one, to reduce the price by laying it under heavy restrictions, having been brought forward, he was deputed by the wool-growers of Suffolk to support a petition against its passing into a law, upon which occasion he united with Sir Joseph Banks, who was also deputed for the same object by the county of Lincoln He was, accordingly, examined both at the bar of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and succeeded in moderating some of the more hostile clauses, for which he had the honour of being burnt in effigy at Norwich, (his zeal upon this occasion having given great offence to the manufacturers,) and of receiving commendations for his manly and disinterested exertions from some of the most eminent political economists of the time a pamphlet was likewise addressed to him on the subject by Thomas Day, Esq, the eccentric author of "*Sandford and Merton*," and who has been more recently brought under public notice by the "*Memoirs of Richard Lovel Edgeworth.*"

In the following July, he set out, alone, on his second journey through

France, in the course of which he travelled 1700 miles, but, finding that the survey of that interesting country was still incomplete, he undertook a third expedition in 1789 During these three tours, he passed through every province of France, viewed the greater part of Lombardy, so interesting for its pasturage, and made an extensive excursion into Spain The state of his health delayed the publication of these travels till 1792, when they appeared, under the title of "*Travels during the years* 1787, 1788, *and* 1789, *undertaken more particularly with a view of ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, and National Prosperity of the Kingdom of France, in* 2 *vols* 4*to*" These travels are superior in style and interest to his Irish Tour The first volume contains his journal, which is written in an easy, familiar, but at the same time vigorous style, the second, a series of essays of great ability, and replete with solid information on the principal objects which had engaged his attention

About this period he commenced a correspondence, which was afterwards published, with General Washington, on various questions in agriculture, and many particulars connected with the rural economy of the United States It does not possess any great interest

Mr Young, during his residence at Paris, had witnessed some of the first scenes of the revolutionary drama, and, like many wise and good men, who, at that time, believed that the French were struggling to emancipate themselves from the thraldom of a weak and profligate government, no longer in harmony with the spirit of the age, he was at first friendly to the principles professed by the directors and leaders of the popular party, in that gigantic movement While the semblance of moderation was preserved, and while reform, and not destruction, appeared to be the object aimed at, he continued faithful to his principles, and though there was much said and done which no real friend to rational liberty could approve, still he hoped that the benefits which would ultimately accrue to the nation from the establishment of a free constitutional government would more than overbalance the mischief produced by popular excesses, in the first moments of popular ascendancy But, when the genius of evil appeared to have overshadowed the land with his baleful wings, when the great landmarks of religion and social order were removed, when the people had been seized with a diabolical frenzy, and their leaders transformed into fiends, he felt that the cause was no longer the same,—and he abandoned it accordingly He perceived, likewise, that the madness was contagious, and, becoming alarmed for the state of the public mind in this country, he published, in the early part of 1793, his celebrated pamphlet, entitled, "*The Example of France a Warning to Britain*" The impression produced by this little tract was truly wonderful; and votes of thanks were poured in upon him from every patriotic association in the kingdom As might have been expected, however, this well-timed brochure exposed him, like Mr Burke, to the charge of apostatizing from the political opinions he had formerly entertained Let us hear his own defence. "The Revolution, *before* the 10th of August, was as different from the Revolution *after* that day, as light from darkness, as clearly distinct in principle and practice, as liberty and slavery For the same man, therefore, to approve of both, he must either be uncandid or changeable, uncandid in his approbation before that period,—changeable in his approbation after it How little reason, therefore, for reproaching me with

sentiments contrary to those I published before the 10th of August! I am *not* changeable, but steady and consistent, the same principles which directed me to approve the Revolution at its commencement,—the principles of real liberty, led me to detest it after the 10th of August The reproach of changeableness, or something worse, belongs entirely to those who did not then change their opinion, but approved the *Republic*, as they had approved the *limited Monarchy*" It is remarkable, that in this pamphlet, alternately the cause of so much praise and censure, Mr Young first recommended the raising of a *Horse Militia*, a suggestion which was soon afterwards adopted, and the force thus raised called the *Yeomanry Cavalry*.

Shortly after this period, animated as he always was by the spirit of adventure, he could not resist an opportunity that occurred for realizing his favourite speculation, that of cultivating a large tract of waste land He accordingly purchased 1100 acres of this description in Yorkshire, but a new scene opened, and different duties awaited him The Board of Agriculture was established in August, 1793, and he was immediately appointed its secretary It has been falsely asserted, that this situation was the reward for his political pamphlet above mentioned, his extensive and profound knowledge in agriculture marked him as the most proper person, in every respect, to fill this important and honourable office; and to this circumstance alone was he indebted for his election "The gratification," says he, "of being elected into so respectable a situation, in which opportunities of still giving an humble aid to the good cause of the plough could scarcely fail of offering, would not permit me to decline the appointment, although to a person established in the country, the salary, (400*l* per annum,) with the residence annexed, was not that pecuniary object which my Jacobin friends have represented, and I must have improved on bad principles indeed, if it would not, in a few years, have turned out a more profitable speculation What a change in the destination of a man's life! Instead of entering the solitary lord of 4000 acres, in the keen atmosphere of lofty rocks and mountain torrents, with a little creation rising gradually around me, making the desert smile with cultivation, and grouse give way to industrious population, active and energetic, though remote and tranquil, and every instant of my existence, *making two blades of grass to grow, where not one was found before*—Behold me at a desk, in the smoke, the fog, the din of Whitehall Society has charms; true, and so has solitude to a mind employed. The die, however, is cast; and my steps may still be, metaphorically, said to be in the furrow"

In 1794, he engaged with the Board to draw up the county reports, and shortly afterwards published that of Suffolk, and, in succession, those of Lincoln, Norfolk, Hertford, Essex, and Oxford In 1795, he published two political pamphlets of no great value, and, in the following year, paid a long visit to Mr Burke, at his seat at Beaconsfield In 1797, his youngest and favourite daughter died of a consumption; an event which inflicted on him a severer shock, and produced a more remarkable change in his habits and reflections, than any in his whole past life From this period he turned his thoughts to subjects connected with religion, which, amidst the incessant occupations of a busy and laborious life, had hitherto engaged but little of his attention; and, like many men of great and powerful minds, his first meditations were productive of nothing but doubts and difficulties What chiefly perplexed him,

was the probable condition of the soul in a future state of existence, and, as his own speculations failed to satisfy his mind respecting this particular tenet, he immediately commenced a correspondence with some of our most eminent scholars and divines, (amongst whom the name of the venerable Bryant appears,) that by such lights as they might strike out the doubts by which his own mind was oppressed might be dispelled, and a doctrine which he anxiously wished to believe, rendered so far certain as to furnish ground for indulging a rational faith and hope Mr Wilberforce's work on *Practical Christianity*, which appeared about this time, is said to have afforded him that consolatory conviction which the correspondence of abler and more learned men had failed to produce, and the consequence was a firm belief in a future state, and a reliance upon divine mercy, which shed a softened and benignant influence over the evening of his life, and cheered his latter days of darkness and infirmity It is impossible, however, not to perceive in all this, that the severe domestic calamity with which he had been visited, had partially unhinged his mind, naturally strong and vigorous, and that this state of diseased action, if we may be permitted the expression, combining with the habits of his previous life, led him, in the first instance, to require a kind of proof which the subject does not admit of, and latterly, to acquiesce in the views of a writer whose fervid sincerity and unaffected eloquence are so well adapted to tranquillize an afflicted and bruised spirit.

He soon, however, resumed, in a great measure, his wonted activity, and, in the course of the two last years of the century, published some little tracts on subjects of passing interest, but, nevertheless, bearing marks of those solid and sterling talents for which all his writings are distinguished In 1801, by an express order of the French Directory, (issued chiefly, it is said, by the advice of Carnot,) his works were translated and published at Paris, in twenty volumes 8vo, under the title of "*Le Cultivateur Anglois*," and, in the same year, M du Pradt dedicated to him his work, entitled, "*De l'Etat de la Culture en France*"

In the year 1803, Novosilsoff, the Russian ambassador, requested Mr Young to recommend a person who would undertake the survey of the government of Moscow, and draw up a report similar to those which had been published of the English counties In consequence of this application, Mr Young's son proceeded to Russia, and performed the survey required, but, on account of the state of exchange between the two countries, he was unable, without a considerable sacrifice, to convey to England the sum which he had received for his labours, he was, therefore, induced to invest it in the purchase of an estate in the Crimea, upon which he has resided ever since

For his long and faithful services to agriculture, Mr Young was, in 1805, complimented by the Board of Agriculture with a gold medal, but his active pursuits received a severe check shortly after this, by the failure of his sight An incipient cataract appeared, he was unable to take his usual exercise, his digestion became, in consequence, disordered, and Dr Paris is of opinion, that the disease which terminated his existence is to be attributed to the sudden change thus produced in his habits During his whole life, which was blessed with almost uninterrupted good health, he entertained the greatest horror of two diseases—blindness and the stone, and it is a very remarkable fact, that, in 1811, being then 70 years of age, we find him afflicted with the former; and that, at the advanced period of 80, his

life was terminated by the sufferings attendant upon the latter Notwithstanding his blindness, however, the Board of Agriculture continued to profit by his assistance. He delivered a variety of lectures upon different subjects of practical importance, several of which were afterwards published by order of the Board; nor did he abandon those habits of laborious industry, for which he had ever been distinguished. He rose every morning at five o'clock, and regularly heard the different new works read, and he busied himself in preparing for the press a work on the Elements and Practice of Agriculture, in which the experiments and observations made during a period of fifty years are recorded The manuscript is bequeathed to his son and daughter; and it is to be hoped, that, when the former returns from Russia, measures will be taken to ensure its speedy publication

But this great and good man was now approaching the limit of his long and honourable career It is remarkable, that the nature of the disease which put a period to his life was not so much as suspected till within about a week of his death; and that he died without being aware of the malady under which he suffered. He expired on the 12th of April, 1820, at his house in Sackville Street, after taking a glass of lemonade, and stating that he felt himself calm and easy, and his remains were conveyed to Bradfield, and deposited in a vault in the churchyard

A useful and active is almost, by necessity, a virtuous life. Mr Young possessed a warm and generous heart. His acts of kindness and benevolence were numerous, and will long be remembered, his house and his purse were always open to the distressed. He was endowed with all that unsophisticated honesty, and sincerity of character and feeling, natural to the pursuits in which he so greatly delighted; and he descended to the grave, like a shock of corn in its season, without leaving a blot on his name, or a personal enemy behind him. His talents as a writer can only be appreciated by those who are acquainted with his numerous and valuable works. To the immense importance of his labours as a scientific agriculturist, not only Britain, but Europe, has borne testimony He collected from every quarter the elements of knowledge, systematized it, and rendered it eminently and extensively useful, he successfully combated the prejudices which obstructed the progress of the most useful of all arts, he taught how the earth may be made to yield a more abundant increase. His fame is unquestionably identified with the agricultural prosperity of the country of which he was so distinguished an ornament, to the service of the commonwealth he devoted nearly the whole of a long, active, and laborious life, and we trust some public monument will soon be erected to his memory, as a permanent record at once of national justice and national gratitude.

Among the eminent literary characters deceased during this period we shall include HAYLEY, less, we must own, on account of any extraordinary opinion of his merits, than of the high reputation which they at one time procured for him. Mr Hayley was born of parents in easy circumstances, his father possessing some landed property, and his maternal grandfather representing the city of Chichester, his native place He was thus supplied from his earliest age with all the accommodations and means of study, of which he diligently availed himself. Being detained at home on account of severe and frequent attacks of indisposition, he spent much time in reading. At the age of sixteen, being

sent to Trinity Hall, Cambridge, he attempted an Ode on the Birth of his present Majesty Being apparently still tamer than his subsequent productions, it was not considered as containing any indications of genius Mr Hayley spent the next seven years in very intense and unremitting study, particularly of Italian literature and of the fine arts In 1769, he married Miss Ball of Chichester, and spent five years in London, after which he retired to his seat of Eartham in Sussex, and devoted himself to the Muses He might now be considered as a very accomplished man, though rather belonging to the class which D'Israeli distinguishes as men of letters than men of genius He produced successively an Epistle to an eminent Painter, (Romney, 1778,) Essay on History (1780,) Triumphs of Temper (1781,) and Essay on Epic Poetry (1782) These works attained an extraordinary popularity, and we find him characterized at this period as the first poet of the age It is true, poetry at that era might be considered in Britain as almost extinct; and dim indeed must have been that galaxy in which Hayley shone brightest The only characteristic of his poems was plain good sense, but entirely prosaic, and expressed in verse, whose mechanical structure, and continued monotonous ring, of itself excluded every idea of genius. The only real merit was in the notes, which showed a good deal of research upon subjects not then familiar to the British public

How long Mr Hayley might have continued to shine, a giant among the pigmies, it is impossible to determine. At this moment a new poetical day was rising in Britain Scott, Campbell, Southey, were the lights of the next age, and the moment their bright stars dawned in the horizon, that of Hayley became dim as a watery cloud. Long before his death, himself and his poetry were sunk into total oblivion. The Triumph of Music, published in 1805, fell quite dead-born from the press He is now recollected only in consequence of qualities distinct from poetry

Mr Hayley, as is not unfrequently the case in middling poets, was an excellent and amiable man He was particularly free from envy, and full of friendship towards his poetical brethren Forgotten for himself, he is now remembered as the friend of Cowper, and, indeed, his edition of the posthumous works of that interesting poet displays taste and selection In his lines on Chatterton and on Collins, he displays a feeling, which raises him much above his usual tame monotony The correspondence of Gibbon and of Seward show the extent of his literary connexions, so that the memoirs of his own life, which we observe to be preparing, are likely to display, if not much discrimination of character, at least a good deal of curious anecdote.

Mr Hayley passed the latter part of his life in retirement, and died on the 11th November, 1820, at the age of seventy five

One of the most eminent French writers of the age, was CONSTANTINE FRANCIS CHASSEBEUL DE VOLNEY. He was born at Craon in 1757, of parents in the middling rank of life After passing through a diligent course of study, he submitted, at twenty, to an illustrious society, the solution of one of the most difficult problems in the history of antiquity His biographer, Count Daru, does not expound either the society or the problem, but only mentions that the former gave no encouragement to the young inquirer, who, however, was buoyed up by youthful ardour and conscious worth against this mortifying neglect

Volney's first undertaking was his voyage to Syria and Egypt, the origin

of which he himself explains Having a small sum of money left him, which would not have made any serious addition to his income, he determined to employ it in exploring countries, then rarely visited, and deemed almost inaccessible On his arrival he placed himself in a convent of Copts, till he had become master of the language. Having spent several years in these countries, he produced his well-known Travels. He piques himself on rejecting the mode of writing adopted by the vanity of his predecessors, in which half the work is filled with their personal adventures. We are not fully prepared to admit this as the mode calculated to give the liveliest idea of a country Still it has no doubt important advantages, and is so managed by him as to produce a valuable work He combines accurate observation with animated description, and gives certainly a much juster idea of the general character of the country than his predecessor, Savary, though he criticises, perhaps too severely, the gay images called up by the lively imagination of that engaging writer The Empress of Russia, in testimony of her esteem for this work, sent the author a medal, which, however, he returned after her declaration of war against France, saying, " If I obtained it from her esteem, I can only preserve her esteem by returning it "

On the breaking out of the revolution, Volney embraced with ardour the popular cause, and was elected a deputy in the Assembly of the States General In 1790, he published a pamphlet, strongly recommending the division of landed property into small partitions, as the most favourable to its productiveness and the general prosperity of the state He afterwards spent two or three years in Corsica, endeavouring, without success, to improve the political and economical state of that island, which, from its unsettled and independent state, has afforded so wide a field to political projectors

About this time (1791,) Volney produced his celebrated work, called "The Ruins, or a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires." It is certainly distinguished by several splendid passages, though it is to be regretted, that he gives full scope to sceptical opinions on some of the most important subjects. In this view, we cannot consider him as very formidable, as, notwithstanding his powers of diligent research and lively observation, his speculations appear to us usually fanciful and superficial Dr Priestley wrote an answer, which is charged by Count Daru, as marked by a degree of violence and acrimony unbecoming a philosopher. This, though prompted by good motives, is doubtless blameable, especially in one, who, like Priestley, assumed so wide a latitude in his own opinions

On returning to Paris, Volney found the reign of terror in full sway; and, like every one whose opinions were at all moderate, became the object of its proscription. He was imprisoned for ten months, but released on the downfall of Robespierre. The Directory were then seeking to repair the wrecks made by jacobinical madness One of their plans was to form a *normal* school, destined to become the centre of French instruction, and here Volney was appointed to lecture on history. His lectures were greatly admired, and attended by immense crowds; but, the institution not succeeding as had been expected, was soon closed, and he was forced to interrupt the course of a labour so gratifying to his taste

Thus left at leisure, Volney again left his country in pursuit of knowledge Having seen man in the East in a state of decay, and in Europe of maturity, he now sought to view him in infancy, and therefore went to observe the savages of America. His impres-

sion, as communicated in a volume published after his return, is very unfavourable, and, in our opinion, somewhat tinctured by disappointment and prejudice.

While Volney was absent in America, he was named an original member of the French National Institute, then founded After his return, he enriched its Transactions with a justification of the chronology of Herodotus In 1818, he produced his most elaborate work, entitled, "Researches into the History of the most Ancient Nations," which Daru pronounces his masterpiece We have not yet perused it He then engaged in three works, illustrative of the oriental languages, but was interrupted by death on the 20th April, 1820. He left, however, a premium for the prosecution of these inquiries.

Having, in the biography of this volume, had occasion to embrace both the present and the former years, we have included only political and literary names of the first rank. Even in this view, some omissions may be observed, more particularly in regard to Scotland (Rennie, Gregory, Brown, &c) The delay is founded on the hope of obtaining more ample information than has yet been communicated to the public, but which we found it impossible to include in the present volume, without retarding its publication beyond the desired period.

CHAPTER III.

VIEW OF IMPROVEMENTS IN SCIENCE DURING THE YEARS 1820-1821.

ASTRONOMY. *Formation of Lunar Tables on the Theory of Universal Gravitation —Comet of* 1819 *—Observations of Cacciatore, Brinkley, and Enke.* —PHYSICS *The Figure of the Earth.—The Decrease in the Length of the Day by the gradual cooling of the Earth —Speculations of M Fourier on the Secular Refrigeration of the Globe—General Consequences deduced from his Analysis.—Geodetical Operations, and Observations on the Length of the Pendulum —Captain Freycinet's Expedition —Trigonometrical Survey of France. —Measurement of an Arc of the Meridian in the Canton of Berne, and in Holstein* —METEOROLOGY *Observations of Baron de Humboldt on the Lower Limit of Perpetual Snow in the Hamalaya Mountains and the Equatorial Regions* — ELECTRO MAGNETISM *Professor Oersted's Discovery of the Identity of Electricity and Magnetism —Experiments of Ampere, Arago, Boisgerand, Biot, Savart, Berzelius, Sir H. Davy, and Mr Faraday.*

WHEN the great activity and zeal which presently pervade the scientific world, and the vast number of contributions, of greater or less importance, which have been made by different inquirers, both in this and foreign countries, to the respective sciences to which they devote their attention, are duly weighed and appreciated, it must at once appear impossible, in a work like this, embracing such a variety of subjects, to exhibit even a tolerably complete general view of all the discoveries and improvements with which science has been enriched and extended Instead, therefore, of entering upon so wide a field, the survey of which would require a volume for itself, or of skimming slightly over the surface of a great variety of subjects, many of them, perhaps, of little interest or value, and the very enunciation of which would occupy more room than we can afford, we shall restrict ourselves to the consideration of a few of the more prominent and successful investigations which have appeared within the limits of the period which this imperfect sketch comprehends, and, in a particular manner, call the attention of our readers to the highly important and interesting researches of Professor Oersted of Copenhagen, by which the identity of Magnetism and Electricity has been completely established, and for which the Copley medal was adjudged to the author by the Royal Society of London

ASTRONOMY.

About three years ago, the Academy of Sciences of Paris having proposed as the subject of a prize, the

formation of lunar tables, founded solely upon the theory of universal gravitation, a number of attempts have been made, which, though not altogether successful, can scarcely fail to be of service in ultimately bringing to perfection a subject of so great importance to navigation In the *Annales de Chimie*, (XIII. 250.) M de Laplace has shewn, with great clearness and precision, the advantages which the lunar theory may derive from the concurrent labours of astronomers, as well as the points in which it is incomplete, and to which their labours should be directed By the labours of geometers, the lunar theory had already made such advancement, that, in the seventh book of the *Mécanique Celeste*, the greatest difference between the coefficients of the inequalities of the analysis there given, and those of the tables of M Burg, was reduced to 8.5″. Hence it was natural to conclude, that, by means of approximations carried still farther, the theory would represent observations within the limits of the errors of which they are susceptible The two papers to which the Academy adjudged a reward in 1820, fulfil this condition, and are the result of immense labour; leaving no doubt, that, on a comparison with our present lunar tables, the formulæ they contain, when reduced to tables, will agree with observation within the limits already indicated This is directly established by the author of the first paper, M Damoiseau, who, according to his theory, has formed new tables, which, compared with sixty observations of Bradley, and sixty observations made since the year 1802, only produce slight errors of the same order with those of the tables of Burg and Burckhardt. We may therefore hope, that, by the examination of a great number of observations, the author will improve still farther the arbitrary elements of the theory, and at length give to his tables all the accuracy which can be desired.

The authors of both these Memoirs have set out from differential equations of the celebrated problem of the three bodies, in which the differential of the true movement of the moon, referred to the ecliptic, is supposed constant; and they have determined the mean longitude, the latitude, and parallax of that body, in series of sines and co-sines of the angles, increasing proportionally to its true movement. This is the method employed by Laplace, in the seventh book of the *Mécanique Celeste* already referred to, and appears to give the most converging approximations. Indeed, the disturbing forces present themselves under that form, or are easily reducible to it To reduce them to another form,—for example, that of the series of sines and co-sines of the angles, increasing proportionally to the time,—the approximations would require to be carried very far, by reason of the considerable inequalities of the lunar orbit, which would render the analysis more complicated, and the approximations less convergent Other forms of series have been tried, and it would be easy to imagine a great number; but none appears better calculated to give the coefficients of the lunar inequalities Nevertheless, some very small inequalities, of which the argument increases with great slowness, may be better determined by other methods In the preceding, these inequalities, in virtue of repeated integrations, acquire, as divisors, the squares of the very small coefficients of the true longitude of their arguments In the final result, these square divisors disappear, and are reduced to the first power; so that this result, being the difference of quantities very great in relation to itself, becomes inexact, unless we are careful to preserve, in the course of the computation, all the

quantities of its order. By neglecting this circumstance, several geometers have failed in determining the inequality depending on the longitude of the node of the lunar orbit. Uniformity of method certainly gives elegance to analysis; but when it is proposed to approximate, as nearly as possible, analysis to observation, the methods employed must be varied according to the nature of the inequalities, for it is in the selection of these methods, and in foreseeing the quantities that may become sensible by successive integrations, that the art of approximation consists,—an art no less useful to the progress of science, than the discovery of analytical methods

Laplace having discovered, by theory, the cause of the inequalities in the secular motion of the moon, the two papers above referred to have verified and confirmed the results to which that eminent philosopher was conducted by his profound analysis, particularly that relative to the motion of the perigee in proportion to its magnitude. The form of the analytical expressions of the first, being the same which he had adopted in the seventh book of the *Mécanique Celeste* already referred to, he was enabled to compare these expressions with his own; and he found, that they agreed in the degrees of approximation which are common to both, but that the authors of the papers having carried these approximations farther, the new terms introduced by them have produced differences, inconsiderable, indeed, in regard to the secular equations of the mean motion, and of the perigee, but sensible in relation to the motion of the nodes. The following table exhibits the numerical coefficients, by which, in order to find the secular equations, we must multiply the integral of the product of the differential of the time by the excess of the square of the eccentricity of the terrestrial orbit above the same square at any arbitrary epoch of time, which, in this case, was fixed at the commencement of 1801:—

	1st Memoir	Mécan Celeste	2d Memoir
Secular equation of the true longitude,	0 0086157	0 0083660	0 00760102
——————perigee, - -	—0 0229890	—0 0251023	—0 0311110
——————node, - - -	0 0051936	0 0061528	0 0053877

The authors of the Second Memoir, MM Plana and Carlini, in the expression of the secular inequality of the mean motion, have not attended to the terms depending on the square of the eccentricity of the lunar orbit; and which, rendered sensible by the small divisors which they acquire in the course of the integrations, produce the difference of results observable in the two communications. Laplace thinks that the difference, in regard to the secular inequality of the perigee, proceeds from the nature of the approximations employed, by the authors' having reduced their expressions to series, disposed according to the ascending powers of the relation of the motion of the sun to that of the moon, a relation less than a twelfth MM Plana and Carlini find, in the mean lunar motion, a secular inequality equal to the product of —0 1398″, by the cube of the number of periods elapsed since 1801 This inequality, which would increase the longitude of the moon at the moment of its eclipses, in the years 719 and 720 before our era, about 37′, depends, according to them, on supposing the true ecliptic transposed to a fixed ecliptic, for example, that of 1801, but they have not attended to the secular transposition of the lunar orbit to the same ecliptic, which would have destroyed the result at which they have arrived Laplace has shewn,

that the part of the secular equation relative to the inclinations, depends only on the inclination of the lunar orbit to the true ecliptic, and that the rapidity of the motion of the nodes of the moon, renders insensible the secular variation of that inclination

M Damoiseau having, at the special request of M. de Laplace, carefully re-examined his analytical and numerical calculations, upon the subject of the lunar inequality called *parallactic* because it depends on the parallax of the sun, found that, supposing this parallax a four hundredth part of that of the moon, the inequality in question would be 121 15″. Proceeding on the same hypothesis, Laplace himself found it 122 01″, and MM Plana and Carlini 122 90″ According to the tables of Burg, it is 122.378″; according to those of Burckhardt, 122 97″; which gives respectively 8 6303″, and 8 6721″ for the mean parallax of the sun, upon the parallel, whose terrestrial radius is that of a sphere of the same mass as the earth, and of a density equal to its mean density. The mean 8.65″ appears to be the probable value of the solar parallax

The small inequalities which astronomers have imagined they have detected in the mean motion of the moon, is the only point of the lunar theory which still remains to be explained Future observations, in proving its reality, will determine its value Fortunately, in the interval of half a century, this inequality may be safely confounded with the mean motion; for as long as it shall remain unknown, it will be sufficient for the purposes of navigation to rectify, from half century to half century, the mean lunar motion. But when its existence shall be fully established, the investigation of its cause will then become an object of importance in Physical Astronomy

The remarkable comet which appeared in July 1819, gave occasion to some important astronomical investigations, relative to the orbits described by these eccentric bodies Signor Nicolas Cacciatore, Director of the Royal Observatory at Palermo, made his observations, which comprise the period between the 3d of July and the 11th of August, with an entire circle of Ramsden The parabolic elements which result from these observations, differ but little from those obtained by M. Bouvard of Paris, of which an account will be found in the *Journal de Physique*, xc. 11. The same astronomer states, that he observed phases in the nucleus of the comet, which led him to conclude, that comets are not of themselves luminous, and that their nucleus, coma, and tail, shine by reflected light; but, from the remarks of M Arago, in the *Annales de Chime*, xiv 217, it is evident that the appearances which misled Signor Cacciatore, can only be regarded as irregularities; that, in the course of even a few days, comets undergo a sensible change of form, but that these changes and irregularities have yet furnished no data for enabling astronomers to determine the nature of the light, whether inherent or reflected, which comets emit M Pictet adds, that no explanation can be given of the phases observed by the astronomer of Palermo, without supposing the comet to revolve round its axis, and to possess a surface of opposite powers, one part reflecting, and the other absorbing light.

Dr Brinkley, of Trinity College, Dublin, has published, in the *Journal of the Royal Institution*, his observations on this comet, and the elements of its orbit; the instruments he employed were an astronomical circle, eight feet in diameter, and a transit instrument. His computation was founded on observations made on the

4th, 5th, and 6th of July, and the elements so obtained were further corrected by observations made on the 13th and 20th of the same month. The result was as follows:

	D	H		
Passage of perihelion, mean time, at Observatory, Trinity College, Dublin,	June, 27	16	26°	46″
Perihelion distance .	.	0	341051	
Longitude of node . .	.	9s.	3°	43′ 44″.
Inclination . . .	.		80	45 53
Place of perihelion . .		9	17	5 5.

In correcting the first approximations, Dr Binkley employed a method different, it is believed, from any that had been formerly used. Instead of changing the approximate perihelion distance, and the approximate time of passage through the perihelion, by small quantities, as in M de Laplace's method, he obtained two equations, in which the unknown quantities were the corrections of the perihelion distance, and of the time of passage through the perihelion. This was done by investigating the fluxions of the anomalies, heliocentric longitudes, and latitudes, computed by help of the approximate perihelion distance, and approximate time of perihelion, and of three observations. The operations by this method, which, at first sight, might be supposed to lead to intricate formulæ, were found considerably shorter than by Laplace's method, when great exactness is required, and it has the additional advantage of being particularly applicable in cases where it is necessary to investigate the elliptic orbit

The comet of 1819 performs its eccentric revolution in the space of about three years, and consequently would appear again in 1822. The celebrated Dr Olbers of Bremen has given some details as to the nature of the path it will describe till that event take place; and Professor Enke, of Berlin, having considered the effects of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Earth, Venus, and Mercury, on this erratic body, throughout the whole interval from 1786 till 1819, has found that the attraction of Jupiter alone will have any material effect on the time of the next perihelion, which, as the distance from Jupiter will only be 1 136, will be retarded nine days from this cause

This return of comets at periods which, by the great improvement of astronomical science, and the accurate methods of a refined calculus, can be predicted beforehand, has led the author of an article which appeared in a London periodical, remarkable, certainly, for any quality rather than profound science, to endeavour to prove that the phœnix of the ancient Egyptians—the symbol, as some had imagined, of a particular celestial revolution, or, according to others, of that principle of incessant decay, and reproduction, which guarantees the permanence and indestructibility of Nature, even in her changes—was nothing more or less than a hieroglyphical painting of the celebrated comet of 1680 * It is astonishing how Dr

* This comet was perhaps the most remarkable that ever appeared Its orbit was not a parabola, in which case it could never have returned, but a very eccentric ellipsis It descended so near the sun as to come within a sixth part of the diameter of his surface, in which situation it must have been exposed to a degree of heat exceeding the mean of that of the sun upon the earth, no less than 28,000 times, or

Young and M. Champollion, who have been so eminently successful in decyphering part, at least, of the hieroglyphical writing of the ancient Egyptians, and who are both men as distinguished for their scientific acquirements, as for their ingenuity and sagacity, should not have stumbled upon so sage and truly wonderful a discovery!

PHYSICS

In two profound and original papers, the first on the figure of the earth, and the second on the decrease in the length of the day, deduced from the refrigeration of the earth, M. de Laplace has furnished natural science with the strongest arguments relative to the primitive fluidity, the figure, the form, and the density of the successive strata of the globe, in proportion as we descend from the circumference towards the centre. We shall endeavour to exhibit as full and satisfactory a view of the reasonings of this illustrious philosopher on these interesting subjects as our limits will possibly permit

The numerous experiments performed with the pendulum, have demonstrated that the increase of gravity from the equator to the poles, follows a regular law, and is nearly proportional to the square of the sine of the latitude. This force being the resultant of the attractions of all the particles of matter, these experiments, compared with the theory of the attractions of spheroids, furnish the only means for enabling us to penetrate into the interior constitution of the earth: they have proved, that this planet is composed of strata, the density of which increases from the surface to the centre, around which point they are regularly disposed On this subject, Laplace has demonstrated the following theorem (see the *Connaissance des Tems* for 1821) "If the length of the seconds pendulum at the equator be taken as unity, and if, to the length of this pendulum, observed at any point whatever of the surface of the terrestrial spheroid, be added the half of the height of that point above the level of the ocean, divided by the semi-axis of the pole, the increase of that length, thus corrected, will, on the supposition of the density remaining constant to a small depth, be equal to the product of the square of the sine of the latitude, by five-fourths of the proportion of the centrifugal force to gravity at the equator, or by .0043." This is generally true, whatever be the density of the sea, and the manner in which it covers the earth.

The experiments performed with the pendulum in the two hemispheres, agree in giving to the square of the sine of the latitude a greater co-efficient, amounting nearly to .0054; from which it is evident that the earth is not homogeneous in its interior, and that the density of its strata increases from the surface to the centre

But the earth, heterogeneous in a mathematical, would be homogeneous in a chemical sense, if the increase of the density of its strata was only owing to the increase of the pressure which they experience, in proportion

2000 times greater than that of red-hot iron From its capacity to endure so intense heat, without its substance being dispersed by evaporation, the density and solidity of the materials of which it was composed may be inferred Nor has any comet threatened the earth with a nearer appulse, for Dr Halley found, that on the 11th of November, at 1 hour 6 min afternoon, it was not more than one semi-diameter of the earth to the northward of the earth's orbit Had the earth at this time been in that part of her path, the comet would have had a parallax equal to that of the moon Mr Whiston is of opinion that the consequence of so near an appulse would have been a deluge.

as they are nearer its centre. But the law of densities resulting from the compression of the inferior by the superimposed strata being unknown, we cannot discover to what extent the density of the terrestrial strata may be thus increased. The pressure and the heat which we can produce are always very small relatively to those which exist at the surface, and in the interior of the sun and stars; it is even impossible for us to form an approximate idea of the effects of these forces combined in such mighty bodies Every thing tends to induce a belief that, primitively, they have existed in a high degree on the earth, and that the phenomena which they have produced, modified by their successive diminution, constitute the actual state of the surface of our globe, a state which is only an element of the curve of which the time would be the abscissa, and the ordinates represent the changes which that surface incessantly undergoes The nature of that curve is far from being known, and hence, we cannot with certainty ascend to the origin of that which we now behold upon the earth; and if, in order to sooth imagination, always restless and dissatisfied when we are in ignorance of the cause of the phenomena with which we are interested, we hazard any conjectures, it will be wise to do so with extreme circumspection.

The density of a gas is proportional to its compression, when the temperature remains the same; but the law, true within the limits of the density of the gases in which we have been able to determine it, cannot hold in the case of liquids or solids, whose density is very great relatively to that of the gases, when the pressure is either nothing or very small. These bodies resist compression the more they are compressed; so that the proportion of the differential of the pressure to that of the density, instead of being constant as in the gases, increases with the density. The simplest function which can represent this proportion, is the first power of the density multiplied by a constant quantity. It is this that Laplace has adopted, and which, with the advantage of representing, in the simplest manner, all that we know of the compression of liquids and solids, combines that of entering easily into calculations in investigations relative to the figure of the earth Hitherto, the effect resulting from this compression of strata had not formed an element in the researches of geometers on this subject, but their attention has lately been called to it by the ingenious remark of Dr Young, that, in this manner, may be explained the increase of the density in the strata of the terrestrial spheroid From the analysis of M de Laplace, (which appeared in the *Connaissance des Tems* for 1822, and which is neither susceptible of abridgment, nor suited to a work like ours,) it appears that it is possible, in this way, to satisfy all the known phenomena dependent on the law of the density of these strata, namely, the variations of the degrees of the meridian and of gravity, the precession of the equinoxes, the nutation of the terrestrial axis, the inequalities produced in the motion of the moon by the oblate figure of the earth, and the proportion of the mean density of the earth to that of water, (fixed by Cavendish at 5.5). Proceeding from the foregoing law relative to the compression of liquids and solids, Laplace found, that, if we suppose the earth formed of a substance homogeneous, in the chemical sense, whose density is 2 25 of that of common water, and which, compressed by a vertical column of the same substance, equal to a millionth part of the semi-axis of the pole, augments in density 5 5345 millionths of its primitive density, all these phenomena are satisfied.

If the earth were entirely formed of water, and if we suppose, in conformity with the experiments of Canton,

that the density of water, at the temperature of ten centesimal degrees, (50° Fahr) and compressed by a column of water ten metres (32 80916 feet) in altitude, augments forty-four millionths, the sphericity of the earth would be $\frac{1}{578}$, the co-efficient of the square of the sine of the latitude, in the expression of the length of the seconds pendulum, would be fifty-nine millionths; and the mean density of the earth would be nine times that of water. All these results deviate from observations beyond the limits of the errors of which they are susceptible.

The temperature is here supposed to be uniform throughout the whole extent of the terrestrial spheroid, but it is possible that the heat increases towards the centre,* which would be the case had the earth, originally endowed with a great degree of heat, been in a continual process of refrigeration. In a space of a constant temperature, let us imagine a sphere impressed with a motion of rotation, and then conceive that after the lapse of a long period the temperature of this space is increased by a degree, the sphere will lose this new degree of temperature which the space has acquired; its mass will not be altered, but its dimensions will diminish by a quantity, suppose a hundred thousandth part, which is nearly the case with glass. In virtue of the principle of areas, the sum of the areas, which each molecule of the sphere will now describe around its axis of rotation in a given time, will be the same as before; but the angular velocity will be augmented by a fifty thousandth part. Thus, supposing the duration of the rotation to be a day, or a hundred thousand decimal seconds, it will suffer a diminution of two seconds, by the diminution of a degree in the temperature of the sphere. If this consequence be extended to the earth, and if we consider that the duration of the day since the time of Hipparchus has not varied the hundredth part of a second, as Laplace has shewn by a comparison of the observations with the theory of the secular equation of the moon, it will follow, that, since that period, the variation in the internal heat of the earth has been altogether insensible. This shews that the earth has arrived at a state of permanent temperature, which agrees with its position in space, and relatively to the sun It is found by analysis, that whatever be the specific heat, the permeability to heat, and the density of the strata of the terrestrial spheroid, the increase of temperature, at a depth very small considered in relation to the radius of this spheroid, is equal to the product of that depth, by the elevation of the temperature of the surface of the earth above the state just mentioned, and by a factor independent of the dimensions of the earth,

* The gradual increase of temperature experienced in descending into mines of great depth, as those of Cornwall and Sweden, seems, of itself, to place this beyond all doubt In the recently published volume of Dr Clarke's Travels, it is stated, that in one of the Swedish mines into which the author descended, he found the heat nearly intolerable, and the miners working almost in a state of nudity Thermal springs, which have continued for ages, might be cited as another proof This fact is of high importance in geology Not only does it indicate a very great degree of heat in the surface of the earth at periods very remote, but, in comparing the fact, as established by observation, with the theory of heat, it appears, that at the present moment, and at the depth of 600 or 700 miles, or, above all, at the centre of the earth, the heat is so excessive, that this part of the globe is probably in a state of fusion, and is only prevented from being dissipated in vapour by the compression of the superincumbent strata

which depends on the qualities relative to heat possessed by its first or upper stratum As far as these qualities are known, it appears, that if the elevation in question amounted to several degrees, the increase of heat would be sensibly felt at the depths to which we have penetrated, but where, nevertheless, observation has detected no such augmentation of temperature.

The speculations of M Fourier, on the secular cooling of the terrestrial globe, are not inferior in interest and importance to those we have now been considering, and cannot fail to prove of great service in all future investigations of the figure and constitution of the earth As a proper sequel to the reasonings of M de Laplace, we shall, therefore, insert in this place a few of the more remarkable general results which this philosopher has deduced from his analysis 1. If the earth had, for a great number of ages, been exposed to the sole action of the sun's rays, and had not received a primitive temperature superior to that of the surrounding space, or, having received, had entirely lost it, a temperature, constant for the different points of the same vertical line, would be observed below that exterior shell or crust to which the variations are confined; and this uniform temperature would sensibly prevail to the greatest accessible depths In each of the superior points, subject to variations, and comprised in the same line, the mean value of all the observed temperatures, at each instant of the period, would be equal to the constant temperature of the places situated below the shell or crust where these variations take place 2 If the action of the solar rays had not been continued till the process of heating reached its limit, the mean temperature of the points where the variations take place, or the actual temperature of the depths below them, would not be the same for all the points of the same vertical line, but would decrease from the surface downwards. 3 Observations appear to indicate that the temperature increases as we descend to greater depths, the cause of which increase is the original heat peculiar to the globe, which existed when that planet was formed, and is continually escaping by its surface. 4 If all this initial heat had been dissipated, and if the earth had likewise lost the heat which it had derived from the sun, the temperature of the globe would be that of the planetary space in which it is placed This fundamental temperature which the earth receives from exterior bodies the most remote, is augmented, first, by that which is due to the presence of the sun, and, secondly, by that which results from the primitive internal heat not yet dissipated. The principles of the theory of heat, applied to a series of precise observations, will one day determine distinctly the exterior fundamental temperature, the excess of temperature caused by the solar rays, and the excess which is to be ascribed to the primitive heat 5 This last quantity, the excess of temperature of the surface, has a necessary relation to the increase of temperature observed at different depths. An augmentation of a centesimal degree for thirty metres (98 4275 feet) supposes, that the primitive heat which the earth has preserved presently raises the temperature of the surface about one-fourth of a degree above that of space, assuming that the shell of the globe had been composed of iron, for, as that is the only body in which the three qualities relative to heat have been measured, it is only in this case, that the value of the excess of temperature can be assigned with sufficient exactness The surface of the globe, which had at first a very elevated temperature, has been cooled down in the course of

ages; so that at present it preserves an excess of temperature nearly insensible, and its actual condition differs very little from the final state at which it must arrive 6 The case is very different with the internal temperatures, which, on the contrary, are much greater than those of the planetary space, but which will continue to decrease, though with extreme slowness At depths of 100, 200, and 300 metres, the increase is very sensible, and may be estimated at a centesimal degree for every thirty or forty metres, but it would be a great error to suppose that this increase has the same value for great distances. There can be no doubt, however, that the interior of the globe still preserves a very high temperature, though its surface be cooled almost to its limit. Heat penetrates solid bodies so slowly, that, according to known mathematical laws, masses situated at the depth of two or three myriametres (a myriametre is 32889$\frac{1}{6}$ feet) of depth cannot presently acquire the temperature of incandescence 7. If dynamical and geological facts prove that, at its origin, the terrestrial globe had a very elevated temperature, as that of iron in a state of fusion, or even of 500 centesimal degrees, which is ten times less, a very long series of ages must have elapsed before the surface arrived at its actual temperature. 8. The temperature of a given place on the surface diminishes by the effect of the secular cooling of the globe, but that diminution is incredibly small even in the course of many centuries The decrease of temperature during a century is less than $\frac{1}{7\,7\,8\,0\,0}$ of a centesimal degree, and from the period of the Greek school of Alexandria to the present time, the secular cooling of the globe has not amounted to $\frac{1}{2\,8\,8}$ of a degree of the same scale 9. The quantity of solar heat which, during one part of the year, penetrates below the surface of the earth, and causes the periodical variations, is much greater than the annual quantity of the primitive heat dissipated in space But these two effects differ essentially in this, that the one is alternative, whereas the other invariably acts in the same direction The primitive heat, which is lost in space, is not replaced by any other; that which the sun communicates to the earth in one season is dissipated in the opposite one Thus the heat emanating from the sun has long ceased to accumulate in the interior of the globe, and it has no other effect than to maintain the inequality of climates, and the vicissitudes of the seasons

Such are the interesting results to which M. Fourier has conducted his investigation, and which, taken in conjunction with the profound speculations of Laplace on the figure, mean density, and diminution in the length of the day by the cooling of the earth, seem to prove that the mass of our globe was originally in a state of fusion, or fluidity, that a long series of ages must have elapsed before it assumed its present form, and its surface was cooled down to its present temperature, and that in all investigations into its actual figure, the effects produced by this secular refrigeration, must enter as an element, with the constant law of gravity, and the variable law of the centrifugal force.

There are only two methods to which we can have recourse for determining, by experiment and observation, if we may use the expression, whether the actual figure of the earth agrees with, or differs from, that which has been deduced from theory; and these are, the measurement of arcs of the meridian in different parts of the world, and the comparison of the number of observations, made every twenty-four hours, by the same pendulum of invariable length, in places situated under different parallels of latitude, or from that of the different lengths which a simple pendulum should have, to ena-

ble it to perform the same number of oscillations at every point of the surface of the globe in a given time. The former of these methods is that which has been most extensively prosecuted Arcs of the meridian have been measured in Lapland and in South America, in France and in the plains of Hindostan, and a series of triangulation, commencing with the Balearic, and terminating at the Shetland Islands, has only recently been completed But the results obtained from these numerous and difficult operations have, notwithstanding the excellence of the instruments employed, and the scientific skill of those by whom these measurements were conducted, proved unsatisfactory, some of them being in perfect conformity with the theory of Newton, while, according to others, the polar is longer than the equatorial arc Colonel Mudge and Captain Kater think, that these differences are to be ascribed to the effect of local attractions; others, as Mr Firminger, that the amplitude of the celestial arc had not been correctly observed. It would appear, however, that the latter of these causes is not the true one For example, an error of about 3 5″ had been supposed to have been committed in taking the latitude of the station of Arbury Hill, in the English survey; but Captain Kater, who verified the calculation of Colonel Mudge, by means of an excellent repeating circle, found, that the error was purely imaginary, and the latitude exactly such as had been determined by his able and accurate predecessor The explanation of these anomalies given by Colonel Mudge and Captain Kater, namely, the effect of local attractions, is, therefore, probably the true one, especially as there can be no doubt that the density of the earth varies in different places, from causes totally distinct from those generally assigned, and of which theory makes no account

But, by having recourse to the second method, namely, an exact measurement of the length of the seconds pendulum in different latitudes, these anomalies in the general figure of the earth, exhibited by the measurement of arcs of the meridian, may be in a great degree corrected, and results obtained, by which that figure may be determined with greater accuracy, and in a manner more conformable to theory. This remark is confirmed, by the beautiful series of observations instituted by Captain Kater, for the purpose of determining the length of the pendulum beating seconds in the latitude of London, and of which an account has already been given in almost all the scientific journals, as well as by those of M Biot, at Buness, in Shetland. The errors which Mr Watt, a correspondent in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, has endeavoured to point out in Captain Kater's calculations, are so inconsiderable, as not materially to affect the result, even if these errors amounted to what Mr Watt has stated, which, however, is not the case Dr Gregory and Captain Colby have also expressed some doubts as to the accuracy of M Biot's observations, upon the ground that he removed his instrument two miles and a half to the north of the point to the latitude and temperature of which it had been adjusted, and that the prismatic block of stone, to which was fastened the screw which elevated or depressed the metallic plane, forming a tangent with the mass of the instrument, was not sufficiently sunk in the earth, and secured What derangement this may have produced it is impossible for us to ascertain, but the result, which gives the length of the pendulum 39 1719 inches for the latitude of 60° 45′ 35″ north, is in perfect accordance with theory

It is, however, of the greatest importance to science, that such observation

should be repeated, by competent and accurate observers, in different parts of the world, particularly to the south of the equator; the multiplication of the results thus obtained would lead to very important conclusions as to the variations in the force of gravity, and the density as well as the figure of the earth Impressed with this conviction, we have observed with extreme regret, that the expedition fitted out by the French government, under Captain Freycinet, for the express purpose of "investigating the figure of the earth, and the elements of terrestrial magnetism," has, either from neglect, ignorance, or a variety of untoward accidents, returned, without in any degree accomplishing the purpose for which it was intended, or contributing a single fact of the smallest value to science. This entire failure is, indeed, glossed over in the best manner possible, in the report made to the Academy of Sciences on the subject of the expedition, by MM. De Humboldt, Cuvier, Desfontaines, De Rossel, Biot, Thenard, Gay-Lussac, and Arago;* all detail is purposely avoided, we are told it would "be equally tedious and useless to describe the plan followed" by Captain Freycinet, in his experiments with the four invariable pendulums with which he had been furnished, and no conclusions are deduced, no comparisons instituted between the results of his observations at Rio Janeiro, the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France, Port Jackson, and Rawak, (an island on the coast of New Guinea, only 1 5′ to the south of the Line,) with those of the astronomers of Europe in the northern hemisphere "It would have been difficult," as the learned academicians remark, "to over-rate the value which observations made at Cape Horn, whose southern latitude is 55° 59′, would have possessed in this investigation," because, "the number of oscillations performed

* The brother of this gentleman, who, we believe, is astronomer-royal of France, and one of the redacteurs of the *Annales de Chimie*, was draughtsman to the expedition, and is the author of the account of it which has been published in the shape of "Letters to a Friend in Paris" Even in this book-making age, we have seldom met with a huge quarto bolstered up with materials so utterly contemptible and worthless,—so fully stuffed with raving sentimentalism, and stark nonsense For example, he tells us, that "there are *books* in the *public library* at Toulon," that Santa Cruz, where the immortal Nelson lost his arm, might have been taken without the smallest loss, that, after having accidentally observed the titles of a few French works in the public library at Rio Janeiro, he quitted it, "impressed with our greatness, and our superiority over so many nations," that "it is still considered problematical whether negroes are men or brutes," that slavery is, after all, an incredible blessing, that he had himself seen [no one else ever did!] "two young ladies, remarkable for their *mildness* and *benevolence*, endeavour, by way of pastime, to cut, at a certain distance, with a whip, the face of a negro," that "it would be as difficult to cure a negro of the passion for thieving, as to keep a Gascon from boasting, [Is M Arago a Gascon?] a Norman from perjury, a Breton from drinking, and a Frenchwoman from being a coquette," that the Isle of France is "the Paris of India,"—which might be very true, if the Isle of France only happened to be in India, that, at last, they made "a great geographical discovery," the nature of which the reader would hardly guess,—"a spot of land in the horizon not laid down in the charts," and ten thousand similar *sottises* M Arago complains, that the Brazilian, Don Pedro de Laborias, "took them for a parcel of blockheads,"—we are very much inclined to think, that Don Pedro was in the right

in twenty-four hours by one pendulum of invariable length in different places, is ascertained with so much greater precision, in proportion as these places are at a greater distance in latitude " but then some misfortune always happens to the unlucky corvette Uranie; " a violent storm arose,' and did not allow her " to stop at Cape Horn," simply because she attempted to double it at an improper season Observations at the Malouine Islands, it is true, might have supplied the place of the intended ones at Cape Horn, but, " very unfortunately," the corvette was shipwrecked, and " it was not to be expected that our navigators had sufficient time, or tranquillity of mind, to count minutely for whole days the oscillations of their pendulums " In a word, whatever " was to be expected," nothing has been performed, and the honour which this expedition has reflected on its conductors, is much upon a par with the services it has rendered to science.

The trigonometrical survey of France, ordered by the government, for the purpose of constructing a general map of that country, is making considerable advances The measurement of the great perpendicular from Strasburg to Brest, and of the meridians and perpendiculars, two hundred metres distant from each other, which are intended to verify that part of the primary series of triangles, which is to serve as a base to the secondary triangulation, is nearly, if not already completed The secondary triangles will then be subdivided by a triangulation of the third order, which will serve to base and rectify the more detailed labours of the *cadastre* For this purpose, however, a fourth triangulation will be necessary, upon which the topographical projections furnished by the cadastre, and reduced to a scale of a ten-thousandth part, will be founded, but to which will be added the figure of the soil, and the curves of level for every ten metres of elevation. In the execution of this work, for which, it seems, it has been found impossible to procure a sufficient number of men of science perfectly competent to the task, M de Laplace, in order to prevent errors, or to render them as small as possible, when they cannot be altogether avoided, has applied the doctrine of probabilities to the different operations of geodesy, and M. Puissant has pointed out the means to be employed for giving a faithful representation of a part of the surface of the earth

The French having carried their geodetical labours into the western part of Switzerland, Professor Treschel has been employed by the Canton of Berne, to continue the triangulation across its territory. If this work shall be successfully accomplished, of which there is now hardly any doubt, and if the other cantons shall imitate the example of that of Berne, the European triangulation, which extends from Formentera, in the south, to the Shetland Islands in the north, and to the east of Geneva, to Munich and to Gotha, will be complete Mr Roger, a Swiss engineer, has also published the results of a geometrical levelling of the chain of the Jura, comprised between Fort l'Ecluse and Yverdon. The instrument used in taking the different levels was the repeating circle, to which, like M. Delambre, Mr Roger gives a decided preference for this purpose over all others. He likewise enters into a comparative view of the respective advantages and disadvantages of the trigonometrical and barometrical methods of obtaining the differences of level, and gives a decided preference to the former, as every man of science has done before him But to the geologist, the barometer, by the rapidity and the facility with which it may be employed, will always prove an invalu-

able resource, and, in the hands of a careful and accurate observer, the results obtained it, will be sufficiently correct for all practical purposes.

Lastly, the Danish government has undertaken the measurement of an arc of the meridian, which, after having traversed Holstein, is to be continued across the kingdom of Hanover, at the expense and in conformity to the orders of the government of that country

On the subject of METEOROLOGY, M de Humboldt, in a very learned Memoir, inserted in the *Annales de Chimie*, (XIV 5) on the lower limit of perpetual snow in the mountains of Himalaya, and in the equatorial regions, has demonstrated, from his own, and the observations of other travellers, particularly Captain Webb, that the curve of perpetual snow is not an isothermal line, and that it neither indicates the point of congelation, as had been generally admitted without sufficient inquiry, nor even a stratum of air of equal temperature; since at Chimborazo, the temperature at the point where the perpetual snow commences is +1.5°, at Saint Gothard, —3 7°, and within the Artic circle, —6° The limit of the snow follows the course of the lines of equal annual heat (*isothermal*) less than it does the inflections of the lines of equal summer, (*isotheral*) Like the possibility of cultivating the vine, it depends on the division of the annual heat among the different seasons, on the length and temperature, more or less elevated, of the summers, on the number of months during which the temperature is above 4° or 5°, on the quantity of snow which falls in winter, on the prevailing direction of the winds, on the position, more or less continental, of the given places, on the extent and height of the surrounding plateaux, on the steepness of the summits, on the mass of the neighbouring snows, &c. In general, it appears that of all the phenomena connected with the distribution of heat over the surface of the globe, this is, perhaps, the most complicated, because the most dependent on locality Thus, by reason of the heating of the plains during summer, the limit of the perpetual snow is more elevated in the interior of countries than upon the coasts, or in continents inferior in the quantity of radiating surface The conformation of high mountains, as well as several causes which exist in the upper regions of the air, likewise exert a manifest influence on the line of perpetual snow; but that line of snow which M de Humboldt calls the *inferior limit*, or the curve which passes through the greatest height at which the snows continue during the whole course of the year, is susceptible of a *maximum* and *minimum* of elevation in each zone, nay even under the equator, where the mean temperature of the months differs so little; and it is this quantity which he designates *the annual oscillation of the limit of the inferior snow* In proportion as we recede from the tropic this phenomenon of the annual oscillation of the snow becomes more and more irregular. From his own observations and those of other travellers, calculated according to uniform methods, M de Humboldt has found, that between 1° and 1° 28′ of south latitude, the inferior limit of perpetual snow on the continent of South America oscillates, as represented by the following numbers .—

	Toises
Rucupichinca, Lat 0° 10′ S	2455
Huahuapichinca,	2460
Antisan, lat 0° 31′ S	2493
Corazon, lat 0° 32′ S	2458
Cotopaxi, lat 0° 41′ S	2490
Chimborazo, lat 1° 28′ S	2471
Mean,	2471

Upon similar data he has also determined, that under the first 19° of north latitude, the curve of perpetual snow maintains itself at an elevation of 2350, or, at least, of 2300 toises, and that the annual oscillation of the limit, which, under the equator, seldom exceeds 15 toises, amounts, under the parallel of 19° of north latitude, to 376 toises. From the latitude of 19° north (that of the volcanos of Mexico,) to the parallel of 30° north, the height of the snowy ridges has not been determined, and hence no conclusions can be deduced respecting the lower limit of perpetual snow, and the oscillations to which it is liable The zone comprehended between the parallels of 27 5° and 36°, is that of the Himalaya mountains, certainly the most elevated chain on the face of the globe, though its extent from east to west is little more than a fifth part of that of the chain of the Andes M de Humboldt thinks, that his views respecting the height of the snow, and the developement of vegetation on the southern declivity of the Himalaya, are in a great measure confirmed by the late measurements of Captain Webb The e, in the parallel of 30°, the snows commence, if not at 3700 metres, (1900 toises,) as the admeasurements of Mexico, the Peak of Teneriffe, the Sierra Nevada of Granada, and the Pyrenees, would have led us to expect, at least at 3800 or 3850 metres (1958 or 1964 toises) of elevation above the level of the sea If, as the measurements of Captain Webb appear to indicate, the perpetual snow on the northern declivity of the Himalaya only commences at or above the elevation of 4900 metres (2515 toises), the calculations of M. de Humboldt are in error by more than 1074 metres, or 550 toises; but the instance of the Pyrenees proves, that, under the temperate zone, mountains whose summits rise 150 toises or thereby, above the limit of the snow in the neighbouring mountains, may continue covered with snow from a combination of several local causes On the northern declivity of the Himalaya, the border or limit of the snow has never been directly measured; we only know with certainty, that, in the middle of summer, there was none in a valley situate in 31° of latitude, and at an elevation of 5077 metres, or 2605 toises; and that, under the parallel of 31° 15′, there are rich pasturages, and cultivated lands, producing wheat, at the elevation of 4550 metres, or 2334 toises On the continent of South America, and under the equator, but in plateaux much less extensive than those possessed in the Himalaya, M. de Humboldt found the inferior limit of the snow 2460 toises, the superior limit of the cultivated lands, producing wheat, 1650 toises, and the limit of pasturage 2100 toises —M de Humboldt then proceeds to shew, that the elevation of the snow on the northern, so different from that on the southern declivity of the Himalaya, is to be ascribed to a certain combination of causes; such as, the temperature of the plains, the heat and duration of the summers, &c., and concludes with the following table, which gives a synoptical view of the results.—

Regions of the Globe where the Mountains rise above the Limit of perpetual Snow *

Equator	*Andes of Quito* (Africa ?)
10° of lat	Sierra de Merida, Sierra de Santa Marta (Monts al Komri ?)
20° of lat	*Plateau of Mexico, Mowna Rowa*, in the Sandwich Islands, Upper Peru (New Holland ?)
30° of lat	*Himalaya*, Atlas, near Morocco, *Etna ? Sierra Nevada of Granada*, Coast of Caramania, Chili (New Holland ?)

Ascertained Height of Perpetual Snow

	Latitude	Toises
Andes of Quito	1° 0′ to 1° 30′	2460
Volcano of Purace, near Popayan	2° 18′	2111
Tolima	4° 46	2380 ?
Nevados of Mexico	18° 59′ to 19° 12′	2350
Peak of Teneriffe	28° 17′	1908
Himalaya	30° 30″ to 31° 4′	
Southern Declivity		1950
Northern Declivity		2605 ?
Sierra Nevada of Grenada, Summit, not the inferior limit	37° 10′	1780
Etna, only patches of snow	37° 30′	1500
The Summit, which hardly enters the region of perpetual snow		1719
Caucasus	42° to 43°	1650
Pyrenees	42½° to 43°	1400
Alps of Switzerland	45¼° to 46½°	1370
The Carpathian Mountains	49° 10	1330
Norway	61° to 62°	850
———	67°	600
———	70°	550
Latitude, 71½°, but under the influence of the cold summers of the coast,		366

ELECTRO-MAGNETISM

Professor John Christian Oersted, of Copenhagen, has, for many years, been engaged in inquiries respecting the identity of chemical, electrical, and magnetic forces; and, as far back as the year 1807, proposed to try "whether electricity the most latent had any action on the magnet" At that time, no experimental demonstration of the peculiar opinions he entertained had been made, but his perseverance and constancy in pursuit of this inquiry, both by experiment and deduction, were, in the winter of 1819, rewarded by the discovery of the identity of electricity and magnetism, a fact, of

* The regions where actual measurements have been performed, are indicated by the Italic character

the existence of which no one except himself had ever entertained the slightest idea, but which, when once known, instantly drew the attention of scientific men throughout all Europe, and particularly in France and England. Fortunately, M Oersted's own account of this discovery has been published; it is full of important matter, contains, in a few words, the results of a great number of experiments and observations, and, with a subsequent paper, which has also appeared, comprises a very large portion of the facts which are yet known relative to this interesting subject It is chiefly to these sources we are indebted for the account we are now to lay before our readers of M. Oersted's very remarkable discovery

Upon the excitation of the voltaic apparatus, by the proper arrangement of its plates and fluid, it is known that certain powers are communicated to its extremities or poles, which enable them, when attached to an electrometer, to shew, by their divergence, a certain tension of electricity, or, when connected together by fluids, wires, or other conductors, to heat or decompose them When the two poles of such an apparatus are connected by conductors of electricity, the battery is discharged, that is, the tension of the electricity at the poles is lessened, in proportion to the conducting power of the substances employed, good conductors, as the metals, discharging it instantly and entirely, bad conductors with more or less difficulty But as the instrument has within itself the power of renewing its first state of tension on the removal of the conducting medium, and that in a very short space of time, it is evident that the connecting substance, whether a good or a bad conductor, is continually performing the same office during the whole time of its contact, that it did the first moment, and that, in this situation, it must be in a different state from that in which it exists when separated from the apparatus A metallic wire may therefore be employed to connect the two poles, it will discharge a powerful apparatus, and, consequently, whatever takes place in the connecting medium, is here compressed into a very small place Now, whatever be the cause which is active within the connecting wire, whether it be the passage of matter through it, or the induction of a particular state of its parts, very extraordinary effects are produced If small, the wire becomes heated, and, as its size is diminished, or that of the apparatus increased, the heat rises to an intense degree, apparently without any limitation, except from the influence of external circumstances, or the alteration of the wire Another effect, and it is that which forms the discovery of Professor Oersted, is, that if brought towards a magnetic needle, it has the power of attracting and repelling it in a constant manner, and in obedience to certain simple laws For example, if a magnetic needle be left to take its natural direction, and then a straight portion of the connecting wire be brought above it, and parallel to it, that end of the needle next the negative pole of the battery moves towards the west If the connecting wire be depressed on either side of the needle, so as to come into the horizontal plane in which the needle is allowed to move, there is no motion of the needle in that plane, but it attempts to move in a verticle circle, and would do so, were it not for the imperfect suspension, and the influence of terrestrial magnetism. When the wire is on the east of the needle, the pole of the needle next the negative end of the battery is elevated; when on the west, depressed If the connecting wire be placed below the level of the needle, similar attractions and repulsions follow, but in directions opposite to those observed when its position is above; the pole of the needle

opposite the negative end of the battery, now declines eastwards. That these facts may be more easily retained in the memory, Professor Oersted proposes the following formula The pole *above* which the *negative* electricity enters, is turned to the *west*, *under* which, to the east

From the above, and other experiments, M Oersted collected that the "electrical conflict performs circles," in other words, that the movement of the needle took place in a circle round the connecting wires, for, without this condition, it seems impossible that the one part of the uniting wire, when placed below the magnetic pole, should drive it towards the east, and, when placed above it, towards the west, it being the nature of a circle, that the motions in opposite parts should have an opposite direction Whenever the needle is moved in a horizontal, or any other circle, from the position it naturally assumes, the power of the earth over it tends to restore that position, and is, consequently, an active force opposed to the power of the wire, and tending to lessen the declination which the needle would otherwise have Also, when the wire is brought into the same horizontal circle with the needle, its effect over it is shewn by the elevation and depression of its opposite ends, and it is the mode of suspension, combined with the magnetic power of the earth, which prevents it from traversing a vertical circle But if the mode of suspension be so arranged as to allow the needle free motion in every direction, and the magnetic power of the earth be neutralized, or counteracted, either by the position of the needle, or the vicinity of another magnet, a much simpler idea of the relative movements of the wire and needle may be obtained It is certainly difficult to place the apparatus in this perfect state, but it may be so arranged as to enable us to examine the movements, first in one direction, and then in another It will then be found, that, if the connecting wires of a sufficiently powerful apparatus be placed near a magnetic needle, so as to pass close by its centre, the needle will arrange itself directly across the wire, whatever be the previous position of the two; that if the wire be carried round the centre of the needle, or the centre of the needle round the wire, the same relative position of both will continue, and that the direction of the needle across the wire is not indifferent, but has its poles always in a constant position to the poles of the battery. If the positive pole of a battery be on our right-hand, the negative on the left, and a wire connect them, then a needle, placed above the wire, will point the north pole from, and the south pole towards us, below it, the south pole from, and the north towards us Suppose the connecting wire and the needle represented by two small rods, named accordingly, and fastened permanently together, these rods will represent the wire and the needle in all positions; for, however the one be placed, the other will correspond to it If the wire be then moved along the needle, towards either extremity, strong attraction will take place between it and the pole, notwithstanding the same part of the wire be employed, and, in the two positions, the poles are contrary to each other. In this case, it appears that the same point of the wire has the power of attracting both the south and north pole of the needle. If, while the wire is thus situated near the end of the needle, the latter be turned round, so that the poles be interchanged, strong repulsion will follow, the same point which before attracted both poles, now repelling both If, when the wire is near the extremity of the needle where the attraction is strongest, it be moved round the end, so as to go from one side to the other, keeping the same

point constantly towards the needle, its attractive power over the needle will be found to increase as it approaches the end, but remains on one side of it, to diminish as it turns the end, to vanish when exactly opposed to the pole, and as it passes on the other side, to assume repulsive powers, which will be strongest at the extremity of the pole on the side opposite that where the wire was at first situated

In all these cases, the positions assumed by the wire and needle, whether the result of attraction or repulsion, are the same as those already described, except that the wire is now near the end of the needle instead of the middle; and it will be found, that all the attractions and repulsions may be reduced to four positions of the needle to the wire, in which it forms tangents with it If, in either of them, the poles of the needle be reversed, the tangents remaining in the same direction, repulsion will take place Hence it is easy to see how any individual part of the wire may be made attractive or repulsive of either pole of the magnetic needle, merely by change of position.

The magnetic property does not depend upon the metal employed, or its form, but is exerted by any of the metals; for example, a tube filled with mercury, which forms the circuit between the poles—the only difference being in the quantity of effect produced It continues also, though the conductor be interrupted by water, unless the interruption be of great extent The magnetic influence of the wire extends through all sorts of substances, and acts on the needle beyond, just as happens in common magnetism.

In the voltaic apparatus, quantity, not intensity, is wanting to produce this effect in an eminent degree. A single galvanic arc is sufficient for the purpose. A plate of zinc, six inches square, placed in a trough of copper, filled with diluted acid, enabled the wire, which connected the two metals, to act powerfully; and, with a similar arrangement, the zinc plate having a surface of a hundred square inches, an effect was produced on the needle at the distance of three feet

The results thus obtained by M. Oersted, were immediately repeated and confirmed by a great number of philosophers in different countries, particularly by MM. Ampere, Arago, Boisgeraud, Biot, Savart, Berzelius, Sir Humphry Davy, and Mr Faraday. M Ampere proved by experiment, that the voltaic pile itself acted in the same manner as the wire connecting its two poles, produced an instrument called a galvanometer, for ascertaining this action, announced the new fact, of the attraction and repulsion of the two wires connecting the poles of a battery, and shewed that the magnetic needle, which had previously been used to prove the magnetic attractions and repulsions of the wire, could be replaced by another connecting wire like the first This discovery seemed to prove, that the phenomena of magnetism depended upon no peculiar power resident in the magnet, but were produced by electricity alone. He has also formed a theory to account for the magnetic phenomena by electrical powers only, assuming that magnets are merely masses of matter, around the axes of which electrical currents are moving in closed curves—an hypothesis which seems to be confirmed by the results of the experiments instituted for that purpose, as detailed to the Royal Academy of Sciennes

M Arago has ascertained, that the connecting wire of the battery attracts iron filings exactly as a common magnet does. This fact proves, that the wire has not only the power of acting on those bodies already magnetized, but that it was itself capable of developing magnetism in iron that had not

previously been magnetized. This attraction took place with wires of brass, silver, and platina, and was so strong as to act on the filings when the wire was brought near them, without actual contact. It was in consequence of the discovery of this fact, that M. Ampere, in his experiments relative to electrical currents, was led to expect a much greater effect, if the connecting wire were put into the form of a spiral, and the piece to be magnetized placed in its axis; and the results have fully confirmed this expectation, for the effect of a helix was found greatly to exceed that produced by a straight connecting wire.

The experiments of M Boisgeraud are only variations of those previously performed by M Oersted The object of MM Biot and Savart, was to determine the law by which a connecting wire acts on magnetized bodies; and, having instituted a number of experiments with this view, they arrived at the following result, which expresses the action exerted by a molecule of austral or boreal magnetism, placed at any distance from a fine indefinite cylindrical wire, rendered magnetic by the voltaic current —Let a line pass from this molecule perpendicularly to the axis of the wire, the force which draws the molecule is perpendicular to this line, and to the axis of the wire, and its intensity is inversely as the distance.

The only remarkable feature in the experiments of M Berzelius, consists in his employing bands of tin and parallelopepids, instead of a round wire, to connect the two poles of the battery, in consequence of which he thinks that the magnetic phenomena present themselves under better circumstances for observation His conclusion is, that the internal magnetic state of a transverse section of the wire, may be represented by two magnets placed with their opposite poles together, so that if the wire employed be square, it will then be a metallic parallelopepid, through which the electric current moves, each of its angles being a magnetic pole, equal in extent to the length of the parallelopepid, through which the current is passing The opposite angles will be magnetic poles of the same kind, while those which terminate the face will have different poles Hence, in passing a needle round the wire, four poles should be found, a north, a south, a north and a south

The President of the Royal Society of London has also performed a number of experiments on this curious subject of inquiry, the details of which possess very high interest We can afford room for little more than a bare enumeration of the results at which he arrived The connecting wire affected the needle, as M Oersted has described, which was immediately attributed to the wire itself becoming magnetic; and this was instantly proved by the wire attracting iron filings, as in M. Arago's experiment above-mentioned This effect took place in any part of the wire, and anywhere in the battery Steel needles placed on the connecting wire became magnetic; those parallel to the wire acted like the wire itself, those across it had each two poles Such as were placed under the wire, the positive end of the battery being east, had north poles on the south of the wire, and south poles to the north Those needles above were in the opposite direction, and this was constantly the case whatever was the inclination of the needle to the wire On breaking the connexion, the steel needles across retained their magnetism, while those parallel to the wire lost it at the moment Wires of platina, silver, &c in the same situation, were not rendered magnetic, except when by accident they formed part of the circuit Whatever was the position of the battery or wire, the effect was the

same. Contact was not found to be necessary, for the effect was instantaneously produced by mere juxtaposition, though thick glass intervened; and filings arranged themselves in right lines across the wire, on a glass plate held over it at the distance of a quarter of an inch The effect was proportional to the quantity of electricity passing through a given space, without any relation to the metal transmitting it Increasing the size of the plates, proportionally increased the magnetic effects of the connecting wires The wire connecting a battery of sixty pairs of plates, did not take up half so much filings as when the battery was arranged so as to form thirty pairs of plates of twice the size The magnetic powers of the wire invariably rose with its heat Considering that a great quantity of electricity was necessary to produce sensible magnetism, Sir H. Davy concluded that a current from the common machine would have no effect, while a discharge would, and this he found to be true, the poles of the needle magnetized being situated exactly as before In these experiments, a battery of seventeen square feet, being discharged through a silver wire, one-twentieth of an inch in diameter, rendered bars of steel two inches long, and from one-tenth to one-twentieth of an inch in thickness, so powerfully magnetic as to lift up pieces of steel-wire and needles, and even to communicate the effect to needles at the distance of five inches from the wire, though water, or thick plates of glass or metal, intervened. By these kinds of experiments it was also found, that a tube, one-fourth of an inch in diameter, and filled with sulphuric acid, did not conduct electricity enough to render steel magnetic; that an explosion through air made the needle transversely to it magnetic, though not so strongly as a wire would have done; that steel bars in the circuit, or parallel to it, did not become magnetic; and that two bars placed together across the wire passing through the common centre of gravity, shewed no magnetism after the discharge and before they were separated, but exhibited opposite poles on separation From all which, Sir H concludes, that magnetism is produced whenever concentrated electricity is passed through space.

On arranging numerous wires in circles, and other directions round the discharging wire, it was found after the discharge that all were magnetic, and the poles exactly as before expressed, the north pole of one needle being towards the south pole of the next, and in a constant relation to the course of the discharge. The connecting wire being divided by small wires, into three, four, or more parts, and the voltaic battery discharged through them, they were all found to have become magnetic, and took up separate cylinders of filings, the opposite sides of two of which, when brought together, attracted each other. From this it was expected, that, when the similar sides were brought together, the filings on them would attract each other This was accordingly tried by two batteries arranged parallel, but in opposite directions The filings on these connecting wires repelled each other, and connecting wires of platinum and fine steel without filings exhibited similar phenomena of attraction and repulsion * On placing straight pieces of platinum, silver, and copper-wire, on

* These experiments, it will be observed, are, in every respect, the same as those performed by M Ampere, on the attraction and repulsion of two connecting wires, or electrical currents, as he calls them, and lead precisely to the same conclusion

two knife-edges of platinum connected with the opposite poles of a battery, they were found to be attracted and repelled in directions similar to those already indicated Sir H has likewise pointed out a very simple method of making magnets, viz. by fixing bars of steel across, or circular pieces of steel fitted for horse-shoe magnets round, the electrical conductors of buildings, and exposed situations.

The last individual whose labours in this newly-explored region of science we shall notice at present, is Mr Faraday, of the Royal Institution His attention was first directed to the verification of the results obtained by preceding inquirers as to the attractions and repulsions of the needle by a connecting wire; but in attempting this, he ascertained that the position of the needle with respect to the wire greatly modified the effects produced; that the apparent attraction of the needle on one side, and consequent repulsion on the other, did not occur under all circumstances, but that according as the wire was placed nearer to, or farther from, the pivot of the needle, attraction or repulsion was produced on the same side of the wire. Hence he concludes, that the centre of magnetic action, or the true pole of the needle, is not placed at its extremity, but in its axis at a little distance from its extremity and towards the middle, that this point has a tendency to revolve round the wire, and the wire round the point; and that, as the same effects in the opposite direction take place with the other pole, each pole has the power of acting on the wire by itself, and not as any part of the needle, or as connected with the opposite pole The attractions and repulsions he considers merely as exhibitions of the revolving motion in different parts of the circle

Our limits will not permit us to describe the numerous and interesting experiments of Mr Faraday with the poles and wires arranged in different ways, nor to enter upon the consideration of the facts which he has brought forward to determine the influence of terrestrial magnetism in producing the effects obtained by a common magnet From his experiments, however, he has deduced the cause of the direction taken by M. Ampere's curve, which he considers a polygon of an infinite number of sides, shewing, at the same time, that the attempt of those sides to rotate by terrestrial magnetism, would place the curve in the position which M Ampere found it to take in his experiments Mr Faraday concludes this part of the subject by stating his expectation, "That in every part of the terrestrial globe, an electro-magnetic wire, if left to the free action of terrestrial magnetism, will move in a plane (for so the small part we can experiment on may be considered) perpendicular to the dip of the needle, and in a direction perpendicular to the current of electricity passing through it" In consequence of this law an expectation was entertained, that where the dip was small, a difference in the weight of an electro-magnetic wire might be perceived when the current passed through it in different directions. In endeavouring to determine whether, in these latitudes, the difference was perceptible, a very remarkable effect was observed A piece of wire being suspended from a lever, and very fine wires let dip from it into two cups of mercury, it became apparently lighter every time the electrical current was passed through it either the one way or the other; but this effect was at last found to be, not a real alteration in the weight of the wire, but an affection of the mercury with which it was in contact Hence it was concluded, that when electricity passes from a fine wire into mercury, or from mercury into a fine wire, an effect is produced equivalent to a diminution of the cohesive attrac-

tion of the mercury. Whether such a diminution really takes place, or the effect in question is to be ascribed to some other cause, remains to be determined by further experiments

We reserve the full account of M. Ampere's theory of electrical currents, for the scientific chapter of our succeeding volume The outline above given, will, however, afford our readers a pretty correct notion of the zeal and success with which the career of discovery in this interesting branch of science, so happily opened by M Oersted, has been prosecuted by the experimental philosophers both of England and France Taking the phenomena of the polarization of light, in conjunction with the discovery of the identity of the chemical and electrical powers, to which our attention has just been directed, it seems no longer doubtful that light, magnetism, and electricity, are only different modifications of one substance, and that the general law, by which their apparently incompatible phenomena shall be reconciled and explained, will, at no great distance of time, be evolved

CHAP IV

PROGRESS OF GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY.

Parry's Expedition to the North —Franklin's Land Journey —Kotzebue's Voyage —Discovery of New South Shetland —Lyon's Journey to Fez an —New African Expedition —Burckhardt's Travels to the North of Egypt — Belzoni's Researches in Egypt.—Frazer's Tour through the Himmaleh.

Under this head, the foremost place in this department must, indisputably, be assigned to the expedition returned from the northern seas, and from discoveries made, as it were, beyond the boundaries of nature herself. An almost unprecedented interest had been excited relative to this voyage, both in the public, and among all the circles of science The daring career with which the expedition had rushed into the depth of the frozen regions, the mysterious manner in which it had disappeared, and been, as it were, buried among them, its sudden re-appearance, after hope had almost expired, gave to its narrative all the interest of romance Science and navigation looked to it for the solution of some of their most interesting problems, and for the examination of nature, under an aspect which she never presented, unless to those daring mortals, who thus thrust themselves into her most awful recesses

A decided scepticism had prevailed at the Admiralty, and in other naval circles, as to Lancaster Sound being a bay enclosed by land, the belief of which had induced Captain Ross to return without exploring that inlet. Lieutenant, now Captain Parry, being also of this opinion, and entertaining confident hopes of finding it a passage into the Arctic ocean, was selected for the conduct of a new expedition In fitting this out, nothing was omitted which could render it efficient for so arduous an object.

Two vessels were prepared, one called the Hecla, of 375 tons, built originally for a bomb vessel, and carrying a company of fifty-eight persons, the other, called the Griper, a twelve gun brig of 180 tons, with a crew of thirty-six men. The first was commanded by Captain Parry himself, the other, by Lieutenant Liddon Both had the whole of their outside covered with an extra lining of oak plank, and their bows defended by strong plates of iron. A large

stock of coals was lodged as ballast, and every care was taken to supply the crew with warm clothes and fresh provisions

The expedition, thus equipped, and furnished with every kind of scientific instruments, set sail from Deptford on the 4th May, 1819 On the 4th July, they were nearly in the latitude of Lancaster Sound, but on the opposite side of Baffin's Bay, the whole centre of which consisted of one unbroken mass of ice. Unwilling to lose time by making a circuit of the bay, as on the former voyage, Captain Parry determined upon an effort to work his way across this barrier Accordingly, the crews set to work, warping and heaving their way between the floes, but the obstacles were so great, that they were obliged, in many cases, to saw their way through the ice, an operation never before attempted. By these efforts, and by the aid of a strong easterly wind, they forced their way across in the course of six days On the 2d of August, they found themselves at the mouth of Lancaster Sound, and had the gratification of noticing, that this was a month earlier than in 1818, though they had sailed a fortnight later

On the 3d, the expedition entered the Sound, and on the 4th, they had completely passed that mountain barrier, which, under the influence of visual deception, had been supposed to bar all farther passage An extraordinary exultation was felt at overcoming this obstacle, and at entering into a depth of unknown seas, where every hour's sail would be a discovery, and where, from the early season of the year, they might hope to effect much The rocks here were particularly rugged and precipitous, resembling immense walls in ruin

On leaving Lancaster Sound, the ships entered Barrow's Strait, which seems to be with difficulty distinguished, its channel being merely a continuation of the other After advancing a certain space, however, to where the left side was diversified by some small islands, to which the name of Prince Leopold was given, they found it completely blocked with ice, and were obliged to seek a passage down a broad inlet, called Prince Regent's inlet, but in a short time they found it also blocked up, and were obliged to return to the first channel Happily, the ice there was found to be dissolved, and they were able to proceed in a due westerly course. They now passed a succession of islands, making an almost continuous coast on their right, while on the left, or to the south, the open Polar sea extended At length they came to an island larger than any of the rest, to which they gave the name of Melville Island. On the 4th September, they crossed the meridian of 110°; and Captain Parry was able to announce to the exulting crew, that they had earned the reward attached by government to the attainment of that longitude. They proceeded about three degrees farther west, to Cape Providence, but the ice then set in with such intensity, that it became absolutely necessary to return to a secure harbour, which they had passed, and which, as it behoved them to spend the winter there, they named Winter Harbour The entrance was now guarded by a field of ice two miles and a quarter broad, which it was necessary to cut through with a saw, and then, with great labour, to float away the fragments This afforded two days and a half of hard labour to both the crews. Having thus brought the ships into a secure position, they dismantled the whole of the masts except the lower one, deposited the boats, yards, masts, and rigging, in a shade erected for

them on shore, and raised a housing over the deck, as a covering for their winter habitation The sun still threw a few uncertain beams from the southern horizon; but they had the gloomy prospect of losing his light for nearly three months, and being left to the dim twilight of an Arctic winter

In this situation, where the spirits of the crews would have been so apt to flag, Captain Parry displayed equal judgment and ingenuity in contriving amusement and occupation for them. He set on foot a weekly paper called the North Georgia Gazette and Winter Chronicle, of which Captain Sabine was editor, and twenty-one numbers were composed within the Polar circle. Plays were also composed and acted by such of the officers as felt themselves inspired by any of the dramatic and histrionic talent. Excursions abroad were kept up as much as possible, and the officers usually rambled out two hours in the day, unless when prevented by the drift, to escape the dangers of which they were obliged never to remove above a mile or two from the vessel Captain Parry complains, however, of the dull and tedious monotony of the scene, which, day after day, presented itself "To the southward was the sea, covered with one unbroken surface of ice, uniform in its dazzling whiteness, except that, in some parts, a few hummocks were seen thrown up somewhat above the general level. Nor did the land afford much greater variety, being almost entirely covered with snow, except here and there a brown patch of bare ground in some exposed situations, where the wind had not allowed the snow to remain When viewed from the summit of the neighbouring hills, on one of those calm and clear days which not unfrequently occurred during the winter, the scene was such as to induce contemplation, which had, perhaps, more of melancholy than of any other feeling. Not an object was to be seen, on which the eye could long rest with pleasure, unless when directed to the spot where the ships lay, and where our little colony was planted The smoke which there issued from the several fires, affording a certain indication of the presence of man, gave a partial cheerfulness to this part of the prospect, and the sound of voices, which, during the cold weather, could be heard at a much greater distance than usual, served now and then to break the silence which reigned around us,—a silence far different from that peaceful composure which characterizes the landscape of a cultivated country, it was the death-like stillness of the most dreary desolation, and the total absence of animated existence"

One of the most remarkable of the observations here made, was the excessive intensity of the cold From the 5th November to the 22d April, the thermometer was constantly below zero The average of November was 20 degrees below zero, of December, 21; of January, 30, of February, 32. The average of the year was 1 33 above zero, which is 30 degrees below the freezing point, whereas, according to calculations founded on its place upon the globe, it ought to have been 36 Yet the inconvenience experienced from this intense cold, was surprisingly little, and, indeed, the greatest cold which they experienced was quite tolerable in calm weather. Two of the sailors had, at different times, their hands so frost-bitten, that it was necessary to cut off the fingers The cold produced a remarkable effect on the mental faculties, and gave often the appearance of stupid intoxication The sufferers spoke thick and indistinctly, and could not return a rational an-

swer till the returning circulation restored the faculties The only other painful sensation was that of snow-blindness, resembling what is felt when sand or dust gets into the eyes. It was cured by a solution of sugar of lead

The observations on the variation of the needle were among the most important made during this voyage As they proceeded westward from Baffin's Bay, the deviation produced by the ship's action increased uniformly and rapidly On the 7th August, in lat 73°, they witnessed, for the first time, the curious phenomenon of the directive power of the needle becoming so weak as to be completely overcome by that action, the needle pointing to the north pole of the ship About the 102d degree of west longitude, the variation changed from westerly to easterly, so that this point, which they passed on the 27th of August, must have been a few degrees to the north of the great magnetic pole.

The Aurora Borealis was observed much less frequently than had been expected Some striking halos, parhelia, and paraselenae, were seen. One of the most remarkable observations was on the transmission of sounds, which took place so perfectly, that persons were heard distinctly conversing in their ordinary tone of voice at a mile, and sometimes at a greater distance. This phenomenon seems satisfactorily traced in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal to the uniform density of the air, which presented nothing to divide or interrupt the sonorous undulations

On the 1st August, the two vessels were able to leave Winter Harbour, and entertained sanguine hopes of making farther important discoveries They were disappointed, however, after a few days' sailing, to find the sea so completely obstructed with ice as to make it impossible to proceed westward, and, after beating about for some time, they had no alternative but to turn and direct their course homewards On the 29th October, they touched at Peterhead, and, on the 3d November, arrived in the Thames.

In the following year, (1821,) a new expedition was fitted out under the same enterprizing commander The existence of an ocean to the north of America being established, there was reason to suppose, that it might be more advantageously entered from the unexplored sounds on the north of Hudson's Bay, which, there was every reason to believe, must communicate with it The expedition would thus sail in a lower latitude, and would avoid that chain of islands, which, stretching along the tract explored by Captain Parry, formed a perpetual *nidus* of icebergs. Two years have now elapsed since the sailing of this expedition, and we still await its result

In the summer of 1819, contemporaneously with Captain Parry's first departure, a land expedition had been sent under Captain Franklin, for the purpose of proceeding from the Hudson's Bay factory, and tracing the coast of the Northern ocean It arrived at the factory too late in the season to proceed till the commencement of the following summer It then set out, but the difficulties of the route were so great, and the season of the year during which travelling was possible so short, that they were obliged to spend the winters of 1818–19 and 1819–20, in log-houses belonging to the company upon the lakes Some notices were, during that time, transmitted, but we need not anticipate the more full detail since received

While Britain was making these

extraordinary efforts to perform the circuit of the American coast from the west, another power was striving to effect the same object on an opposite side Russia, which claimed the territory bordering on, and partly included in, the unknown world of the north, fitted out, in 1815, the Rurick, commanded by Lieutenant Otto Von Kotzebue, to penetrate through Behring's Straits, ascertain the separation of the two continents, and penetrate as far east as possible The Rurick left Plymouth in October, 1815, and, after passing Cape Horn, proceeded across that now beaten tract, the Pacific The chief novelty occurred at the solitary spot of Easter Island, where the formerly peaceable inhabitants were seen coming out to meet them with their faces painted red, white, and black, and making the most furious and menacing gestures. The Russians avoided landing, but afterwards learned the cause of this indignation, which was, that an American vessel had carried off twenty-two of the inhabitants, to people a new colony formed at Masafuero Kotzebue passed several detached islands, which he put down as discoveries, though it seems doubtful if they did not belong to formerly explored groups

On the 30th July, the expedition entered its sphere of discovery, being at Prince of Wales Cape, on the American side of Behring's Strait Beyond this Cape was a long tract of low land, covered with luxuriant verdure The few natives whom they saw were filthy and disgusting in their appearance; whenever approached, they uttered piercing cries, and assumed threatening attitudes. All the habitations at which the Russians landed were deserted, and only dogs remaining, but they were built with a good deal of neatness, having wooden partitions formed from the vast quantity of drift wood brought down the American rivers, and wafted hither by the current. After passing an island seven miles long, they entered a deep inlet, running eastward into the continent Kotzebue spent thirteen days in exploring this inlet, but without being able to discover any passage, except one on the western side, and another on the south eastern shore, apparently communicating with Norton Sound It seems doubtful, however, if he examined with sufficient care to ascertain that there really was no communication with the Arctic ocean The inhabitants of this bay looked at the Russians with much wonder, having never before seen Europeans, but they were friendly and peaceable, excessively eager for tobacco The aspect of the country was singularly genial, everything was green, here and there were flowers in blossom, and no snow was seen but on the tops of the mountains at a great distance The vegetation is described as richer than in the interior of Laurence Bay There is something, indeed, very singular in the difference of temperature of the two opposite continents "Ice and snow," says Kotzebue, "have maintained their rule here (on the Asiatic side) since last year, and in this state we find the whole coast, while in America, even the summits of the highest mountains are free from snow, there the navigator sees the coast covered with a green carpet, while here, black, massy rocks, frown upon him, with snow and icicles"

Kotzebue, on coming out of this inlet, instead of proceeding eastward, as the objects of his mission would have dictated, employed the rest of the season in surveying the opposite coast of Asia Having spent the winter in the South Sea, he returned next season to the vicinity of the Straits, but, moved by the broken state of his health, and by other circumstan-

ces, which would not have weighed with a British captain, he determined upon retracing his steps round the world to Russia His Arctic discoveries were, therefore, limited to the examination of the above-mentioned inlet.

This navigator spent the winter in a group of coral islands, extending from 6° to 12° of north latitude, and from 187° to 193° of west longitude This group, if he did not discover, he at least surveyed much more accurately than any former navigator He and his naturalist, Chamisso, were thus also enabled to inspect much more accurately the origin and progress of these extraordinary fabrics, which are forming over the whole extent of the Pacific Ocean It appears that, though the coral insects build upwards from the bottom, they select shoals or rocks rising to no very great distance from the surface of the water. The whole circuit of these being, by their operations, raised to the top, forms a ridge, enclosing a sort of lake or lagoon, which, however, is gradually diminished by the corals fastening themselves to the sides of the ridge, and gradually extending it. This process goes on, till the whole circuit is filled up with these submarine erections They are not raised, however, beyond the height at which they remain almost dry at ebb tide They are thus still unfit for the habitation of man, till various floating marine substances have been aggregated to them, till plants, bushes, and finally, trees, have struck root, and, by their decomposition, have formed layers of soil, which gradually raise them permanently above the level of the waters It is impossible not to contemplate with wonder the infinite resources of the great Architect, who, by these apparently insignificant instruments, is carrying on processes, which, in the course of ages, will spread a peopled continent over the mighty waste of the Pacific

At this period, a very unexpected and unsought-for discovery was made in a quite opposite direction, amid the tracts stretching towards the Antarctic pole The early maps had laid down a large tract of continent to the south-east of Cape Horn Our modern wisdom had held this as a chimerical and gratuitous assumption, founded on an imaginary balance, supposed necessarily to exist between the northern and southern lands In fact, the tract delineated was sailed over by Captains Furneaux and Cook, in 1770 and 1771, with the express view of examining whether this land existed, but they could find no trace of it They did not consider, that charts laid down in that imperfect state of navigation, were very likely to err by several degrees The master of a common merchant vessel now stumbled on what Cook had sought for in vain Mr William Smyth, of the brig Williams, of Blythe, thinking that Cape Horn might be weathered better by taking a more southerly course than usual, and having brought his ship, in February, 1819, into lat 62 40 S, and long 60 W, saw many fields of ice floating about, and an appearance of land He was driven to the north by hard gales; but he again discovered it quite distinctly He saw more land to the westward, and, though its aspect was bare and rocky, yet there was little snow, and the air was temperate His duty to his employers rendered it impossible to go farther at that time

When Mr Smyth came to Monte Video, every one laughed at his pretended discovery of land, and at last he began to doubt his own eyes Having, however, obtained a freight for Chili, he determined to satisfy him-

self fully whether there was land or not. On coming to his old position, he full surely discovered the land, and surveyed an extent of coast stretching for about ten degrees of longitude, (55° to 65° W,) and varying from 62° to 63° of S latitude. The land was high and rocky, and the tops of the mountains covered with snow. He saw distinctly the appearance of trees, resembling Norway pine, and the aspect of the whole coast appeared Norwegian The most attractive part was a little bay, called Shirreff's Cove, forming a most secure harbour Besides seals and sea-otters, it abounded with the real spermaceti whale to a degree beyond what he believed to exist in any other part of the globe. The abundance of penguins and sea-fowl, as well as of wild land-fowls, and fresh-water ducks, was such as to give the idea of a land fitted for the habitation of man.

On Mr Smyth's return, his report was no longer doubted, and a considerable interest was excited, for it was conceived, that nothing could be more beneficial to the southern whale fishery, than a settlement at this point, the great distance from any land being the main source of the inconvenience and danger that attended that trade It was even understood that a government survey was to have been made, which does not seem to have been done, and the observations since obtained, have not tended to encourage the hope of any practical benefit being likely to arise from the discovery.

Africa, that long-established seat of wonder and discovery, continued, as before, to bring forth its ample share of disappointment and disaster No opening seemed more promising than that which was afforded to Mr Ritchie, with his companions, Lieutenant Lyon and Mr Belford, when they left Tripoli in company with the Sultan of Fezzan, with the strongest recommendations to him from the Bashaw of Tripoli, to whom he was subject Accordingly, they were conducted in perfect safety to Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan, being only obliged to conceal their Christian profession, and to pass for Mamelukes Mourzouk, however, was an unfortunate situation, being intensely hot, and surrounded by pools of stagnant water, so that even the natives are liable to fever and ague In a few days they were seized with dysentery and bilious fever, and languished through the whole summer Their money, at the same time, was exhausted, and their distress was greatly aggravated by the treacherous conduct of Mukni, the Sultan, who, though still pretending friendship, not only withheld all aid, but studiously prevented their receiving it. His object seems to have been, in case of their wished-for death, to seize upon their effects. Their only relief was derived from the spontaneous charity of some individuals. At length, on the 20th November, Mr Ritchie expired, after having been for some time in a state bordering on delirium

After this dismal catastrophe of the leader of the expedition, Messrs Lyon and Belford gave up the hope of fulfilling the grand objects of their expedition. Having recovered their health, however, and obtained a remittance of 1000*l*, they undertook an expedition to the southern part of Fezzan, and went as far as Tegerry The country was found barren, and overrun with wild animals The slave trade, or, to speak more properly, slave-stealing, is carried on to a lamentable extent Bands of Arabs surround a village during the night, and, making the attack at daybreak, usually succeed in securing the whole of the inhabitants. The effeminate

negroes seem to have no means of escape but in swiftness and dexterity, which they often practise in wonderful perfection Mr Lyon saw brought into Mourzouk a caravan of about 1400 slaves, men, women, and children, many of them in a dreadful state of exhaustion, which did not, however, appear to move any pity in their savage masters

Mr Lyon and Mr Belford now returned to Tripoli, without any attempts to penetrate farther into the interior of Africa. The perseverance of government, however, was not to be worn out by the most repeated disappointments A new expedition was sent in the same direction, at the head of which was Dr Woodney, Lieutenant Clapperton of the royal navy, and Lieutenant Denovan of the army At the same time, a naval expedition was fitted out to explore the coast between Tripoli and Egypt, anciently celebrated under the names of Cyrenaica and Marmorica, and containing Berenice, Ptolemais, Cyrene, and other cities There is no coast which, from different causes, has been less visited by the moderns; and it is expected to present many splendid monuments of antiquity, which the hereditary skill of Mr Beechy will well qualify him to delineate

The African Association had to lament the premature death of Mr *Burckhardt*, one of the most active and promising of their missionaries They were able, however, at this time, to present to the public the result of two journeys made by him to the south of Egypt, and towards the Red Sea In the first, he followed the course of the Nile as far as Dar Mahass, on the frontier of Dongola He found the banks divided into a number of petty states, the Meleks or chiefs of which were almost absolute, and society appeared in a very rude and turbulent state. The principal inhabitants of Dar Mahass were slave-merchants, carrying on the trade for the supply of Cairo. The Mamelukes were at that time established at Dongola, from which they have since been driven.

Mr Burckhardt had an opportunity of carefully examining the wonderful excavated temple at Ebsambal, and discovered, amid the sand in which they were nearly buried, four vast colossal statues One, whose head appeared above the sand, displayed a most expressive youthful countenance, approaching to the Grecian model of beauty, and seemed likely to be from 65 to 70 feet high, the ear being a yard and four inches in length. It appeared to belong to the finest period of Egyptian sculpture, while other hieroglyphics on the face of the rock were of very indifferent execution.

In Mr Burckhardt's second journey, he followed the tract by which Mr Bruce had returned, leaving the Nile at Syene, and striking across the great Nubian desert till he rejoined the river near Shendy This desert did not appear to him quite so dreary as those of Syria and Suez, though its aspect is much more rugged The mountains of granite did not rise higher than 1000 feet The caravan suffered very considerably from thirst during the last five days On reaching the Nile, they found themselves first in the district of Berber, inhabited by a race highly endowed as to external form, being taller than the Egyptians, with countenances almost Grecian, and with a complexion which, though nearly as dark as that of the negroes, had much more delicate tints Their moral character, however, is unfortunately the very worst possible. They are abandoned to intoxication, and every species of debauchery; quarrels are almost continual, and often decided by the

knife or the sword, and there is no kind of subordination or regular government.

From Berber, our traveller proceeded to Shendy, a town on the Nile, which, through the influence of a protecting government, has become very commercial It is, indeed, the main seat of the East African slave trade, whence the unfortunate victims of cupidity are transported from the interior, and distributed through Arabia, Syria, and Egypt The details given of the manner in which this trade is conducted being very curious, we shall collect and extract them.

"I calculate the number of slaves sold annually in the market of Shendy at about five thousand, of whom about two thousand five hundred are carried off by the Souakin merchants, and fifteen hundred by those of Egypt; the remainder go to Dongola, and to the Bedouins, who live to the east of Shendy, towards the Atbara and the Red Sea I have already made some mention of the places fromwhence these slaves come Those brought from Kordofan to Darfour are, for the greater part, from the idolatrous countries of Benda, Baadja, Fetigo, and Fertit, to the south and south-west of Darfour, from twenty to forty days from Kobbe, each of these countries speaks a separate language. The Darfour merchants trade with Fertit, which lies about twenty days distant from Kobbe, in a southerly direction, the country is mountainous, and its inhabitants are wholly ignorant of agriculture, but they have tasted the luxury of Dhourra and Dokhen; and are said, in cases of a dearth of these grains, to sell even their own children to procure them.

"Far the largest proportion of the slaves imported in Shendy are below the age of fifteen All of them, both male and female, are divided by the traders, with reference to age, into three classes, namely, Khomasy, comprizing those apparently below ten or eleven years, Sedasy, those above eleven, and below fourteen or fifteen; and Balegh, or grown up, those of fifteen and upwards The Sedasy are the most esteemed, when I was at Shendy, a male of this class was worth fifteen or sixteen dollars, provided he bore the marks of the small-pox, without which a boy is not worth more than two-thirds of that price; a female was worth from twenty to twenty-five Spanish dollars. The price of the male Khomasy was twelve, of the female, fifteen dollars The male Balegh seldom sells for more than eight or ten dollars, and there is but a small proportion of this class, because it is thought, both in Egypt and Arabia, that no great dependence can be placed upon any slave, who has not been brought up in the owner's family from an early age. Hence there is a great reluctance to the purchasing of grown-up slaves for domestic purposes, or even for labourers The Baleghs are chiefly bought by the Bedouins, who employ them as shepherds. The Bisharein have many of them in all their encampments. Grown-up female slaves, although past the age of beauty, sometimes sell for as much as thirty dollars, if they are known to be skilful in working, sewing, cooking, &c In Syria, few slaves are kept, those which I have seen there are, for the greater part, imported by the caravans from Bagdad, and come from Souahel, on the Mozambik coast

"The treatment which the slaves experience from the traders is rather kind than otherwise The slaves are generally taught to call their masters Abouy, my father, and to consider themselves as their children They are seldom flogged, are well fed, are not over-worked, and are spoken to

in a kind manner, all this, however, results not from humanity in the traders, but from an apprehension that, under different treatment, the slave would abscond; and they are aware, that any attempt to prevent his flight close confinement would injure his health, for the newly-imported slaves delight in the open air, and reluctantly enter houses, which they look upon as prisons But when they are once in the desert, on the way to their final destination, this treatment is entirely changed, the traders knowing that the slaves have no longer any means of escaping, give a loose to their savage temper At Shendy I often overheard my companions, who, although savage enough, were certainly not of the worst class of slave-merchants, say to each other, when a slave had behaved ill, and they were afraid of punishing him, 'Let him only pass Berber, and the Korbadj will soon teach him obedience' The Souakin traders, with whom I afterwards travelled, shewed as little humanity, after we had passed Taka The health of the slave, however, is always attended to, he is regularly fed, and receives his share of water on the road at the same time that his master drinks, and the youngest and most delicate of the females are permitted to ride upon camels, while all the others perform the journey on foot, whether it be to Egypt or Souakin, as they had done from Darfour to Shendy The hardiness of the young slaves is very extraordinary, after several successive days, march, at the rate of ten or twelve hours a-day, I have seen them, in the evening, after supper, playing together, as if they had enjoyed a long rest. Females with children on their backs follow the caravan on foot; and if a camel breaks down, the owner generally loads his slaves with the packages If a boy can only obtain, in the evening, a little butter with his Dhourra bread, and some grease every two or three days to smear his body and hair, he is contented, and never complains of fatigue. Another cause which induces the merchants to treat the slaves well, is their anxiety to dissipate that horror which the negroes all entertain of Egypt, and of the white people. It is a common opinion in the black slave countries, that the Oulad er-Rif, or children of Rif, as the Egyptians are there called, devour the slaves, who are transferred thither for that purpose Of course the traders do everything in their power to destroy this belief, but, notwithstanding all their endeavours, it is never eradicated from the minds of the slaves. Another terrible apprehension which they have, is of a small jumping animal, which they are told will live upon their skin, suck their blood, and leave them not a moment's rest By this description they mean fleas, which are entirely unknown in the interior parts of Soudan, and of which the most curious stories are told by the people of the country, in enumerating the superior advantages of their own country over those of Egypt Other vermin, however, more to be dreaded than fleas, are too common among them. The fear of being mutilated, on their arrival in Egypt, operates powerfully also upon the minds of the young slaves.

"Slave boys are always allowed complete liberty within the yard of the house, but the grown-up males, whose characters cannot be depended upon, or whose dispositions are unknown, are kept in close confinement, well watched, and often chained. On the journey they are tied to a long pole, one end of which is fastened to a camel's saddle, and the other, which is forked, is passed on each side of the slave's neck, and tied behind with

a strong cord, so as to prevent him from drawing out his head, in addition to this, his right hand is also fastened to the pole, at a short distance from the head, thus leaving only his legs and left arm at liberty, in this manner he marches the whole day behind the camel, at night he is taken from the pole and put in irons. While on my route to Soukin, I saw several slaves carried along in this way. Their owners were afraid of their escaping, or of becoming themselves the objects of their vengeance, and in this manner they would continue to be confined until sold to a master, who, intending to keep them, would endeavour to attach them to his person In general, the traders seem greatly to dread the effects of sudden resentment in their slaves, and if a grown-up boy is only to be whipped, his master first puts him in irons.

"It is not uncommon to hear of a slave-dealer selling his own children, born of negro women, and instances occur daily of their disposing of female slaves who are pregnant by them, in such cases, the future child of course becomes the property of the purchaser. Most of the traders have old slaves, who have been for many years in their service, these are placed over the young slaves bought in trade, and become very useful in travelling, but even these too I have seen their masters sell, after they had become members, as it were, of the family, merely because a high price was offered for them It is in vain to expect in a slave-trader any trace of friendship, gratitude, or compassion

"Slave girls are everywhere 30 per cent dearer than males of the same age They are called in these countries Khademe, and not Djare, as in Egypt The finest of them are kept by the traders themselves, and are called Serrye; their masters allow these girls great liberty, which they often abuse. It is falsely asserted by the caravan traders in Egypt, that it is a custom among them to respect the chastity of the handsome female slaves; on the contrary, the traders do not observe the slightest decorum in their intercourse with the slave girls.

"Slavery in the East has little dreadful in it but the name, male slaves are everywhere treated much like the children of the family, and always better than the free servants. It is thought a mean action to sell a slave after he has been long resident in a family If a slave behaves ill, he is generally sent into the country to work as a labourer in the fields of his master Female slaves who are servants in families, are not so well off as males, because they generally suffer much from the jealousy of their mistresses It is only by the Turkish soldiers that slaves are ill-treated"

From Shendy, Mr Burckhardt struck across to Souakin, a great port on the Red Sea, which carries on the communication between Nubia and Arabia The tract was partly desert, partly occupied by the district of Taka, which is famed for its fertility through all this part of Africa Notwithstanding the imperfect cultivation, its dhourra is excellent, and supplies not only Souakin, but the opposite ports of Arabia The Arabs of Taka are robust, hardy, and warlike, engaged in continual warfare with their neighbours, the Bishareen.

M Belzoni, during this period, laid before the public a full detail of his discoveries in Egypt These were attended with peculiar glory, from being made, not in a remote and hitherto unfrequented region, but in a country which had been the favourite object of modern research, in one, too, which had recently been subjected, by

large body of *savans*, to an investigation boasted of as the most complete and diligent that had ever been made of any country. Yet the exertions of a single, little-aided, and little-informed individual, traced out objects of the deepest interest, which had entirely escaped their notice.

One of the two great pyramids had been opened and explored, but the second, called the Pyramid of Cephrenes, had hitherto defied the strictest examination. M Belzoni made many fruitless attempts, but at length he fixed upon a block of granite, similarly inclined to the one which had formed the entrance to the great pyramid This accordingly proved to be the true opening, and, after tracing a passage of upwards of a hundred feet, he came into the great chamber, 46 feet long, chiefly cut out of the solid rock, 18 wide, and 23 high The principal object, and that for which, probably, the whole of this huge structure had been reared, was a sarcophagus of granite, containing a small quantity of bones, which appeared at first to be human, and seemed thus to confirm the hypothesis, that the pyramids were destined to be the tombs of the Kings of Egypt. An examination in London, however, is understood to have proved, that these bones belonged to the *bull*, and that they formed thus symbols of the most blind and brutal superstition

The other grand discovery of M Belzoni, was among the tombs of the Kings of Thebes They are situated to the west of the other great ruins of that city, in a secluded vale, enclosed by rocks Several had been opened many ages ago, but these were now completed rifled and defaced. M Belzoni, by opening a fresh one, saw it in all its original pomp and ornament The following is a short account, given by himself, of the mode of effecting this object.—

"On the 16th of October, 1817, I set a number of *Fellahs*, or labouring Arabs, to work, and caused the earth to be opened at the foot of a steep hill, and under the bed of a torrent, which, when it rains, pours a great quantity of water over the spot in which they were digging No one could imagine that the ancient Egyptians would make the entrance into such an immense and superb excavation, just under a torrent of water, but I had strong reasons to suppose, that there was a tomb in that place, from indications I had previously observed in my search of other sepulchres The Arabs, who were accustomed to dig, were all of opinion that nothing was to be found there; but I persisted in carrying on the work, and on the evening of the following day, we perceived the part of the rock that had been hewn and cut away. On the 18th, early in the morning, the task was resumed, and about noon, the workmen reached the opening, which was 18 feet below the surface of the ground. When there was room enough for me to creep through a passage that the earth had left under the ceiling of the first corridor, I perceived immediately, by the painting on the roof, and by the hieroglyphics in basso-relievo, that I had at length reached the entrance of a large and magnificent tomb. I hastily passed along this corridor, and came to a staircase 23 feet long, at the foot of which I entered another gallery, 37 feet 2 inches long, where my progress was suddenly arrested by a large pit, 30 feet deep, and 14 feet by 12 feet 2 inches wide On the other side, and in front of me, I observed a small aperture, two feet wide, and two feet six inches high, and at the bottom of the pit a quantity of rubbish. A rope, fastened to a piece of wood, that was laid across the passage, against the projections, which formed a kind

of door-way, appeared to have been used formerly for descending into the pit, and from the small aperture on the opposite side, hung another, which reached the bottom, no doubt for the purpose of ascending The wood, and the rope fastened to it, crumbled to dust on being touched. At the bottom of the pit were several pieces of wood placed against the side of it, so as to assist the person who was to ascend, by means of the rope, into the aperture It was not till the following day, that we contrived to make a bridge of two beams, and crossed the pit, when we discovered the little aperture to be an opening forced through a wall, that had entirely closed what we afterwards found to be the entrance into magnificent halls and corridors beyond. The ancient Egyptians had closely shut it up, plastered the wall over, and painted it like the rest of the sides of the pit, so that, but for the aperture, it would have been impossible to suppose that there was any further proceeding. Any one would have concluded that the tomb ended with the pit. Besides, the pit served the purpose of receiving the rain-water which might occasionally fall in the mountain, and thus kept out the damp from the inner part of the tomb. We passed through the small aperture, and then made the full discovery of the whole sepulchre

"An inspection of the model will exhibit the numerous galleries and halls through which we wandered, and the vivid colours and extraordinary figures on the walls and ceilings, which everywhere met our view, will convey an idea of the astonishment we must have felt at every step. In one apartment we found the carcase of a bull embalmed, and also, scattered in various places, wooden figures of mummies, covered with asphaltum, to preserve them In some of the rooms were lying about, statues of fine earth, baked, coloured blue, and strongly varnished, in another part, were four wooden figures, standing erect, four feet high, with a circular hollow inside, as if intended to contain a roll of papyrus The sarcophagus of oriental alabaster, was found in the centre of the hall, to which I gave the name of the Saloon, without a cover, which had been removed and broken, and the body that had once occupied this superb coffin, had been carried away We were not, therefore, the first who had profanely entered this mysterious mansion of the dead, though there is no doubt it had remained undisturbed since the time of the invasion of the Persians"

This sarcophagus now ornaments the British Museum; and nothing hitherto brought from the East, can be compared with it It is of the finest oriental alabaster, and transparent when a light is placed within it It is minutely sculptured within and without, with several hundred figures, not above two inches high, representing probably the whole of the funeral procession and ceremonies relating to the deceased.

M Belzoni spent also considerable time in exploring the other tombs

It is scarcely possible, by description, to convey an adequate idea of these subterranean abodes, or of the strange and horrible figures with which they are filled Most travellers are satisfied with entering the large hall, the gallery, and staircase, in fact, as far as they can conveniently proceed; but M. Belzoni frequently explored the inmost recesses of these extraordinary excavations Of some of these tombs, many persons could not withstand the suffocating air, which often occasions fainting. "On entering the narrow passage," says M. Belzoni, "which is roughly cut in the rock, and nearly filled up with sand and rubbish, a vast quantity of dust rises,

so fine, that it fills the throat and nostrils, and, together with the strong smell of the mummies, threatens suffocation. In some places there is not more than the vacancy of a foot left, which you must contrive to pass through in a creeping posture, on pointed and keen stones, that cut like fragments of glass After getting through these passages, some of them 200 or 300 yards long, you generally find a more commodious spot, perhaps high enough to allow a sitting posture But what a place of rest! surrounded by bodies, by heaps of mummies on every side, which, previous to my being accustomed to the sight, impressed me with horror The blackness of the walls, the faint light given by the candles or torches for want of air, the different objects that surrounded me, looking at, and seeming to converse with each other, and the Arab guides, naked, and covered with dust, themselves resembling living mummies, absolutely formed a scene that cannot be described In such a situation I found myself several times, and, when exhausted, fainting, and nearly overcome, I sought a resting-place, and found one, my weight bore on the body of an Egyptian, and it crushed like a band-box. I naturally had recourse to my hands to sustain my weight, but they found no better support; so that I sunk altogether among the broken mummies, with a crash of bones, rags, and wooden cases, which raised such a dust as kept me motionless for a quarter of an hour, waiting till it subsided again.

"Thus I proceeded from one cave to another, all full of mummies, piled up in various ways, some standing, some lying, and some on their heads. The purpose of my researches was to rob the Egyptians of their *papyri*, of which I found a few hidden in their breasts, under their arms, in the space above the knees, or on the legs, and covered by the numerous folds of cloth that envelope the mummy"

M. Belzoni made also excursions into Nubia, and to several other districts bordering on Egypt, but without discovering anything so remarkable *without* that country, as he had found *within*

The mighty mountain region of the Himmaleh, which towers behind our Indian settlements, had been the object, for some time, of peculiar curiosity A volume was published at this time by Mr Frazer, which, if it does not greatly extend our knowledge, gives us at least a more lively idea of their aspect and scenery In the course of the war against the Ghoorkas, he was sent to invite some of the mountain tribes, who had suffered from their depredations, to rise and act upon their rear In coming to the district of Sirmore, one of the lower stages of the Himmaleh, he found it singularly divided into very high ridges, usually not less than 5000 feet, with deep glens intervening, so that the traveller had a most laborious succession of ascent and descent In ascending to the still loftier district of Joobul, he found the mountains covered with the most magnificent forests, pines of all sorts, and of all ages, from the greenest state of youth to the most hoary state of decay. Hollies and oaks had grown to the most gigantic size, with sycamore and yew of the most varied forms At one spot, a vista opened into the wild and awful forest, through which the whole of the hills, in their various ridges, to and beyond the Sutlej, appeared boldly swelling, till they faded in the distance The cultivation was very great, and extraordinary labour had been exerted in fitting for it the almost perpendicular sides of the mountains. Districts, which seemed destined by nature to depend upon others

for food, were thus enabled even to export grain. The external accommodations of the natives are every way superior to those of the Scotch Highlanders, but of their character nothing can be said in praise Not only, like other barbarians, are they prone to violence and plunder, involved in deadly feuds, and acknowledging no law but the sword, they are also cringing, servile, and abject, and wholly insincere in their professions of service Like Asiatic troops in general, they "fight for pay, and whose bread they eat, his cause they will defend against country, friends, and relations"

All the scenery hitherto seen appeared tame, when compared to that which presented itself when they approached the mighty mountains, whence issue the sources of the Jumna, and of the Ganges Bunderpouch, containing the source of the Jumna, is described as follows —

"The scenery, on the whole, has very much changed its character, instead of the villages and extensive faces of cultivation, and sharp and steep, yet practicable hills, we now saw nothing but the brown rocks staring through the dark pine and oak woods, which hang shaggy around their brows, and clothe their feet, as well as the deeper and less stony glens, which are numerous and romantic The tops of these hills are spotted with green or brown, as the bright verdure of the rainy season springs from the scanty soil, or is denied to the barren rock, and clouds and darkness hang over all Having reached the top of the ascent, we looked down upon a very deep and dark glen, called Palia Gadh, which is the outlet to the waters of one of the most terrific and gloomy valleys I have ever seen The lofty peak Buchooncha stretches forth a rugged ridge called Tolpoora, to the southward, which becomes continuous with Toonul, the lower part of which we crossed This ridge forms a side and part of the back of the valley or hollow of Cot,ha, the chief ravine of which, however, commences at the top of the bosom of Buchooncha, this is joined by smaller, but equally rugged clefts from the back, which all unite their waters below, and roll a great and rapid torrent to the Jumna

"But it would not be easy to convey by any description a just idea of the peculiarly rugged and gloomy wildness of this glen, it looks like the ruins of nature, and appears, as it is said to be, completely impracticable and impenetrable Little is to be seen except dark rock; wood only fringes the lower parts and the waters' edge, perhaps the spots and streaks of snow, contrasting with the general blackness of the scene, heighten the appearance of desolation. No living thing is seen, no motion but that of the waters, no sound but their roar"

The general comparative view of the scenery on the two rivers concentrates a great deal of information

"From the description given of the nature and appearance of the banks of the Jumna, it may be conceived that nothing wilder or more impracticable could well present itself to the traveller's view, than the scenes there witnessed, and I confess that this was my own idea. Nevertheless, it is certain that the character of the mountains that form the banks of the Bhagiruttee, in the quarter we have passed to-day, is not only different from that of any yet seen, but marked by features unspeakably more lofty, rugged, and inaccessible. There is even less of beauty, and more of horror; more to inspire dread, less to captivate The variety of character to be met with in these mountains, particularly after reaching their more remote and difficult regions, is remark-

able; and, to a person who has only travelled in the lower parts, and seen the better cultivated and more inhabited tracts of the country, scarcely credible Perhaps a more complete and better marked example of this cannot be produced in any purely mountainous country, certainly not in that under consideration, than is exhibited in the features we see, marking the beds of the Sutlej, the Pabur, the Jumna, and the Bhagiruttee (the head of the Ganges)

"The mountains which form the valley of the Sutlej, particularly on the north-west side, are brown, barren, steep, and rocky, but they have these characters without the grandeur produced by lofty precipices or fringing wood. The nullahs that furrow them are dark, uninteresting chasms, and their breasts in general are unenlivened by cultivation, and, though their heights are thickly crowned with forts, there are no neat villages surrounded with trees, on which the eye may turn and rest from the dark desert around Such are the Cooloo hills, which met our view from below Comharsein, even to beyond Seran. And on the Bischur side, though there may be somewhat more cultivation above, and wood yields its verdure here and there, to embellish the valleys, still the lower parts of the hills, for a descent of full three miles, to the narrow, rocky, and arid bed of the river, exhibit little except black rock peeping irregularly through brown burnt grass.

"The smiling vale of the Pabur, offers a delightful contrast to the black chasm through which the Sutlej rolls. We cannot speak of this river very near its source, but, from a long way beyond the village of Pooroo, which is seven miles above Raeengudh, it flows meandering through a valley of moderate breadth, in which pasture and crops are chequered with its different streams; and on the banks and roots of the hills, rich cultivation, villages, and wood, form a lovely picture, which extends up the stream as far as the eye can distinguish, and till brown hills, topped with snow and rocks, close the prospect

"If any success has attended the perhaps too detailed descriptions of the banks and bed of the Jumna, the reader will already have formed an idea of them. though rocky, precipitous, and wild, they are woody, green, and varied with sloping faces, which are rich with cultivation and verdure. Here and there the river runs through a level, though narrow bottom, and many well-cultivated and beautiful valleys lead into it, even at its source, though a wilder collection of requisites for a romantic and imposing landscape, as rock, wood, precipice, and snow, could not well be drawn together, they did not form so truly desert and stern a scene as is exhibited in the bed of the Bhagiruttee.

"I have said that these mountains are more lofty and bare, in fact, we had now penetrated farther into their higher and more inclement regions; and the Bhagiruttee, a far larger river than the Jumna, has worn a deeper bed, even in the stubborn materials of their bowels.

"It is not easy to describe the change of scene effected by this change of situation, not only is luxuriant foliage more rare, all rich and lively greens giving way to the dark brown of the fir, which spots the face of the rock, but even that rock is evidently more continually acted on by the severity of the storms Instead of being covered with rich and varied hues, the effect of lichens and the smaller herbage, that usually clothe and variegate even a precipice, the rocks here are white, grey, red, or brown, the colour of their fracture, as if a constant violence was crum-

bling them to pieces. Their sharp and splintered pinnacles spire up above the general mass; their middle region and feet are scantily sprinkled with the sombre, unvarying fir-tree, while the higher parts, retiring from the view, present little more than brown rock, except where a lofty mass of snow overtops them, and calls to our recollection how nearly and completely we are surrounded by it. No green smiling valleys yield their waters to the river, the white and foul torrents which swell its stream, pour their troubled tribute through chasms cleft in the solid rock, or are seen tumbling down its face, from the snow that gives them birth

"The whole scene casts a damp on the mind, an indefinite idea of desert solitude and helplessness steals over it: we are, as it were, shut out from the world, and feel our nothingness"

Nothing, however, could equal the grandeur of the scene at Gungotree, a place sacred in the eyes of the Hindoos, and where the traveller is immediately in presence of that wonderful peak, whence the Ganges issues

"The scene in which this holy place is situated, is worthy of the mysterious sanctity attributed to it, and the reverence with which it is regarded. The bare and peaked cliffs which shoot to the skies, yield not in ruggedness or elevation to any we have seen, their ruins lie in wild chaotic masses at their feet, and scantier wood imperfectly relieves their nakedness; even the dark pine more rarely roots itself in the deep chasms which time has worn Thus on all sides is the prospect closed, except in front to the eastward, where, from behind a mass of bare spires, four huge, lofty, snowy peaks arise; these are the peaks of Roodroo-Himmalah. There could be no finer finishing, no grander close, to such a scene.

"We approach it through a labyrinth of enormous shapeless masses of granite, which, during ages, have fallen from the cliffs above, that frown over the very temple, and, in all probability, will some day themselves descend in ruins and crush it Around the enclosure, and among the masses, for some distance up the mountain, a few fine old pine-trees throw a dark shade, and form a magnificent foreground, while the river runs impetuously in its shingly bed, and the stifled but fearful sound of the stones which it rolls along with it, crushing together, mixes with the roar of its waters

"We are now in the centre of the stupendous Himmalah, the loftiest, and perhaps most rugged, range of mountains in the world We were at the acknowledged source of that noble river, equally an object of veneration and a source of fertility, plenty, and opulence to Hindostan, and we had now reached the holiest shrine of Hindoo worship which these holy hills contain. These are surely striking considerations, combining with the solemn grandeur of the place, to move the feelings strongly."

FUGITIVE AND OCCASIONAL POETRY.

LINES

WRITTEN ON THE 19TH OF JULY, IN MEMORY OF HIS MAJESTY'S CORONATION.

Say, glorious orb! whose undiminish'd lamp
Hath lighted countless nations to repose,
When didst thou mark in court, or bower, or camp,
A statelier train, or comelier forms, than those
Whose long array yon ample gates enclose?
The Chiefs are there, who bade the lion wave
On earth and ocean o'er Britannia's foes,
The Senate there, who, to the vanquish'd brave,
Her arts, her equal laws, her rescued freedom gave.

Worthy are they to clasp the gilded spur,
To pace with plumed head and garter'd knee,
While velvet glows beneath pale minever,
The sumptuous garb of antique chivalry,
For not at high Poitiers beat hearts more free,
Not hardier knights the proud Armada met,
Than gird thy golden pall, and beat for thee,
Monarch, whose rule in Albion's crown hath set
Gems that may Tudor mock, and shame Plantagenet

And now that peerless crown adorns thy brow,
Thine arm sustains the sceptre of command;
Princes before thy throne their fealty vow,
And every voice, and each exultant hand,
Attests the homage of thy native land.
The white robed choir respond, and music's wings,
Fraught with a nation's prayers, for Heaven expand,
From base to battlement the fabric rings,
And silence guards no more the sepulchre of kings.

Dreams my fond brain—or hath that sound affray'd
The slumbering tenants of the sculptured tomb?
Methinks I track along the dim arcade
Whose storied panes increase its twilight gloom,
Long-buried chiefs that wait the day of doom.
Sebert is there, who bade the cross divine
On Thorney's barren islet bud and bloom,
Meek Edward quits his desecrated shrine,
And Henry wakes, whose name shall with these walls decline.

Potent in arts alone, the wavering Sire
Leans on the dauntless son, his life's support,
On him whose wisdom curb'd the nobles' ire,
Whose valour won the Cambrian mountain fort,
And there strides on the Knight of Agincourt
In equal pace with him of Cressy's field
Victors in vain, since Fortune's fickle sport
To jarring chiefs consign'd th' unblemish'd shield,
And left to babes the sword scarce Ascabart could wield

Warriors and war's flood waves thus idly ebb,
But mark the pile where brass has learned to breathe,
And stone, like dew-drops on Arachne's web,
Looks lightly down o'er bannered stalls beneath
Thence come the peaceful kings with sword in sheath
On Richmond's brow the blended roses twine,
Red Albin's thistle decks her Stuart's wreath,
But Erin's flower, for ages doom'd to pine,
Reserves its bloom to bless the Heir of Brunswick's line.

Nations repose: for man's impetuous pride,
His schemes, his strifes, by death's cold hand are hushed;
Remorseless Mary walks at Edward's side,
Eliza views the beauteous foe she crush'd,
Nor paler grows her cheek that never blush'd,
Voluptuous Charles, thrice bound in Bourbon's chain,
Meets great Nassau, with Bourbon's conquest flush'd,
And Stuart's daughters, him whose golden rein
Ruled the white steed that ramp'd o'er Stuart's lost domain.

Silent the train recedes—but, ah! to him
Who claims their throne, that silence speaks more loud
Than the glad people's voice, their splendour dim
Dispels life's pageant like a summer cloud
Pensive on him gaze all—the meek—the proud—
The valiant and the weak—but pensive most
Pale Richard's shade—see, see! the crimson'd shroud,
He lingering waves, and, ere in darkness lost,
Gives language to the looks of all the shadowy host

" Monarch! the feast, the song, the banquet cup,
For thee shall glad yon rafter'd roof to-night;
And every angel form that bears it up,
Shall bathe his pinions in a flood of light.
For thee, in orient pearl, and plumage white,
Shall beauteous Albion lead her starry train,
For thee, the Prince, the Noble, and the Knight,
The lawn-robed Prelate, and the lowly swain,
Shall shout, till vales, and hills, and oceans, shout again.

" The hand untaught to serve, on thee shall tend,
And maple vie with gold thy touch to meet,
The knee unused to kneel, to thee shall bend;
And, like its mountain lord, the falcon fleet
Shall stoop from air, and chirp thy hand to greet;
While trump, and drum, and clarion's thrilling call,
Herald the youthful Champion, at thy feet
To seal his challenge with the gauntlet's fall,
By high-born Howard back'd, and him who quell'd the Gaul.

" Quaff the full cup of bliss: yet, oh, beware!
As high it foam'd for me, when that fair roof,
My master-work, first spanned the yielding air,
And echo'd first the charger's clattering hoof,
My Champion too was there in arms of proof,
No hand opposed, no tongue defiance spoke;
Thousands throng'd round, who stood ere long aloof,
And he who hired the assassin's kindlier stroke,
Knelt lowest of the low—the faithless Bolingbroke.

" Then trust not thou the flatterer's hollow voice,
Court not the wavering crowds' vociferous zeal,
Be just—if mortals deem thee just, rejoice—
But if the traitor's malison they deal,
To Him who made thee King, make thine appeal,
Be His strong arm thy buckler, He thy might;
So may'st thou stand unmoved, nor fear, nor feel
Seditious breath, that taints the breeze of night,
Or bold rebellion's shaft, that shames the noonday light

" And in that hour, when mortal strength is weak,
When thou, like us, shalt own a tyrant's sway,
Supreme o'er Valour's arm, and Beauty's cheek,
And even o'er Virtue's tenement of clay,
With whom thy Sire and mine alike decay,
And thy fair daughter's bloom untimely show'd—
Oh! in that awful hour be Heaven thy stay,
And there be thou enthroned, through His dear blood,
Who wore the thorn-wove crown, and dyed the Holy Rood!

LINES

TO THE MEMORY OF A LATE DISTINGUISHED CHARACTER

Lawrence of virtuous Father, virtuous Son
MILTON

Long threatening hung th' impending gloom,
While trembling Hope respired with pain,
And shrinking fear foresaw the doom
That sorrowing hearts could ill sustain
The bolt is sped—we view aghast
The mighty ruin fall'n at last.

As some majestic sheltering oak,
With ample boughs, the forest's pride,
Victim of Heaven's own thunder stroke,
Spreads its lamented ruin wide,
The scatter'd tenants of its shade
With plaintive cries the ear invade

Thus low on earth Machaon lies,
To us extinct, that mighty mind,
Long must we mourn the good and wise—
The noble-hearted, true, and kind —
The yawning gulf, which all deplore,
Lies open to be fill'd no more

Sprung from a long paternal line,
For virtue loved—for science famed—
'Midst Scotia's nobles first to shine,
His high maternal lineage claim'd;
Yet Genius on his favour'd head
New honours heap'd—new lustre shed

Sprung from the noble and the brave—
The saint, the scholar, and the sage,—
Though round his tomb no trophies wave,
His fame to every distant age
Shall flourish fresh in vernal grace,
And add new splendour to the race.

Cold is that heart whose fervid glow
Burst forth in many an ardent gleam,
Closed are those lips, whence wont to flow
Of eloquence the copious stream,
While wit and learning's blended powers
Bloom'd fair in academic bowers

His was the clear and spotless life,
 Pure as the lucid mountain stream,
And sordid art and petty strife,
 And avarice with her golden dream,
Shrunk from that candid open mien
Where truth and honour shone serene

The stream that with diminish'd force
 Irriguous wanders through the mead,
Or, hid in shades, directs its course,
 Each humbler plant unseen to feed,
While verdure fresh, and flow'rets gay,
Reviving mark its devious way·

An emblem fair its course supplied
 Of bounty ever fresh and new,
That while it wander'd far and wide,
 As silent moved as evening dew,
And heal'd disease, and soften'd woe,—
That stream, alas! has ceased to flow

She who, to him supremely dear,
 Dwelt in his generous bosom's core,
They who, his pride and solace here,
 Joy in a father's smile no more,
While o'er the treasure lost they moan,—
Mourn not unaided or alone

Sickness, and want, and sorrow round,
 Respond with answering sounds of woe,
Long must they mourn the skill profound,
 That bade the healing balsam flow,
And added to the unbought cure
The aid that made it firm and sure.

Not to this favour'd isle alone,
 Where art and genius soar so high,
Where science mounts her western throne,
 And heavenward lifts her eagle eye,
Was his much honour'd name confined,
Who lived and thought for all his kind

Where'er the sons of science strive
 Our feeble nature's pangs to aid,
His fame immortal shall survive
 With grateful honours duly paid,
Extensive as the healing art,
And dear to every generous heart:

Where Britain's energetic tongue
Is heard in East or Western Ind,
Or Shakespeare's verse, or Milton's song,
Have fancy waked or taste refined,
Beneath the sun's last lingering ray,
Or where he first pours forth the day;

From where Canadian wastes of snow,
Sullen in wint'ry guise appear,
To where the South, with ardent glow,
Decks with her golden fruits the year,
Columbia's sons that name revere,
To virtue and to wisdom dear

Even hostile France, averse no more
To merit's just and powerful claim,
In healing art and classic lore,
Inscribes the Scottish sage's name
Amongst her sons, whose fair renown
Their country's letter'd honours crown.

Yet not the wealth his spirit scorn'd,
Not all the wreathes his genius won,
Not all who praised, nor all who mourn'd,
Avail when life's short day is done:
To heartfelt virtues prized by Heaven,
The unfading amaranth is given.

His dear-loved country heirs that fame,
That long her classic page shall grace,
His offspring, too, may boast the name,
That sheds a radiance o'er his race,
But 'tis his goodness spreads a bloom,
And scatters fragrance round his tomb.

NAPOLEON.

(*From the French*)

[The following is a pretty correct version of one of the numerous poems on the Death of Napoleon, at present in circulation in Paris It is a curious proof of the fond and devoted attachment with which his memory is still cherished by his followers]

Noble spirit, hast thou fled!
Is thy glorious journey sped,
Thy days of brightness numbered,—
Soul of dread sublimity!

Hast thou burst thy prison bands,
Twined round thee by coward hands,
Hast thou fled to other lands,
Where thou must—thou wilt be free!

Tyrants! cowards! mark the day,
Even now 'tis on the way,
When your names, to scorn a prey,
Shall live with endless infamy!

Hark! 'tis victory's deathless knell!—
Lodi shall remember well!—
Austerlitz! Marengo! tell
Of his glorious chivalry!

Tell his deeds by field and flood!
Witness river, mountain, wood!
Shew his path of fire and blood,
That burn'd behind him gloriously!

Alas! that hero's life should close
In languid, fameless, dull repose,
Far from the contest that bestows
On mortals immortality!

Alas! that he, the great, the brave,
Should fill a hermit's bloodless grave,
Where never roll'd the hallowing wave
Of battle and of victory!

He should have died on bloody field,
Where column after column wheel'd,
Where cannon roar'd, and charger reel'd,
Amid destruction's revelry.

He should have laid his glorious head
Amid the wreck himself had made,
Ten thousand corpses round him spread,
The flower of all his enemy.

Spirit of undying name,
Endless honour thou shalt claim,
Whilst thy foes, unknown to fame,
Shall weep in cold obscurity!

Glory's hallow'd light divine
Ever on thy head shall shine,
And valour's heart will be thy shrine,
Thy portion vast futurity!

X. X X

LINES

WRITTEN BY

LORD BYRON,

On the Death of his Dog, at Newstead Abbey

Near this spot
are deposited the Remains of one,
who possessed Beauty without Vanity,
Strength without Insolence,
Courage without Ferocity,
and all the Virtues of Man, without his Vices.
This praise, which would be unmeaning
flattery if inscribed over human ashes,
is but a just tribute to the memory of
BOATSWAIN, A DOG,
who was born in Newfoundland, May, 1803,
and died at Newstead, Nov 18, 1808

When some proud son of man returns to earth,
Unknown to glory, but upheld by birth,
The sculptor's art exhausts the pomp of woe,
And storied urns record who rest below,
When all is done, upon the tomb is seen,
Not what he was, but what he should have been.

But the poor Dog, in life the firmest friend,
The first to welcome, foremost to defend,
Whose honest heart is still his master's own,
Who labours, fights, lives, breathes for him alone,
Unhonour'd falls, unnoticed all his worth,
Denied in Heaven the soul he held on earth.
While Man, vain insect! hopes to be forgiven,
And claims himself a sole exclusive heaven

Oh Man! thou feeble tenant of an hour,
Debased by slavery, or corrupt by power,
Who knows thee well, must quit thee with disgust,
Degraded mass of animated dust!
Thy love is lust, thy friendship all a cheat,
Thy tongue hypocrisy, thy heart deceit,
By nature vile, ennobled but by name,
Each kindred brute might bid thee blush for shame.

Ye who behold perchance this simple urn,
Pass on, it honours none you wish to mourn,
To mark a friend's remains these stones arise,
I never knew but one—and here he lies

TO THE RAINBOW

By T. Campbell.

Triumphant arch, that fill'st the sky
When storms prepare to part,
I ask not proud philosophy
To teach me what thou art.

Still seem as to my childhood's sight,
A midway station given,
For happy spirits to alight
Betwixt the earth and heaven.

Can all that optics teach unfold
Thy form to please me so,
As when I dream of gems and gold
Hid in thy radiant bow?

When science from creation's face
Enchantment's veil withdraws,
What lovely visions yield their place
To cold material laws!

And yet, fair bow, no fabling dreams,
But words of the Most High,
Have told why first thy robe of beams
Was woven in the sky.

When o'er the green undeluged earth
Heaven's covenant thou didst shine,
How came the world's grey fathers forth
To watch the sacred sign?

And when its yellow lustre smiled
O'er mountains yet untrod,
Each mother held aloft her child,
To bless the bow of God.

Methinks, thy jubilee to keep,
The first made anthem rang,
On earth delivered from the deep,
And the first Poet sang.

Nor ever shall the muse's eye
Unraptured greet thy beam;
Theme of primeval prophecy,
Be still the poet's theme.

The earth to thee its incense yields,
The lark thy welcome sings,
When glittering in the freshen'd fields
The snowy mushroom springs

How glorious is thy girdle cast
O'er mountain, tower, and town,
Or mirror'd in the ocean vast,
A thousand fathoms down!

As fresh in yon horizon dark,
As young thy beauties seem,
As when the eagle from the ark
First sported in thy beam!

For, faithful to its sacred page,
Heaven still rebuilds thy span,
Nor lets the type grow pale with age,
That first spoke peace to man

MAID'S REMONSTRANCE.

By T. Campbell.

Never wedding, ever wooing,
Still a lovelorn heart pursuing,
Read you not the wrongs you're doing
In my cheek's pale hue?
All my life with sorrow strewing,
Wed, or cease to woo.

Rivals banish'd, bosoms plighted,
Still our days are disunited;
Now the lamp of hope is lighted,
Now half quench'd appears,
Damp'd and wavering, and benighted,
Midst my sighs and tears

Charms you call your dearest blessing,
Lips that thrill at your caressing,
Eyes a mutual soul confessing,
Soon you'll make them grow
Dim, and worthless your possessing,
Not with age, but woe!

ON THE EGYPTIAN TOMB

Pomp of Egypt's elder day,
Shade of the mighty pass'd away,
(Whose giant works still frown sublime
'Mid the twilight shades of time;)
Fanes of sculpture vast and rude,
That strew the sandy solitude,
Lo! before our startled eyes,
As at a wizard's wand, ye rise,
Glimm'ring larger through the gloom!
While on the secrets of the tomb,
Wrapt in other times, we gaze,
The Mother-Queen of ancient days,
Her mystic symbol in her hand,
Great Isis seems herself to stand.

From mazy vaults, high-arch'd and dim,
Hark! heard ye not Osiris' hymn?
And saw ye not, in order dread,
The long procession of the dead?

Forms that the night of years conceal'd,
As by a flash, are here reveal'd;
Chiefs, who sung the victor song,
Scepter'd kings, a shadowy throng!
From slumber of three thousand years,
Each as in life and light appears,
Stern as of yore! yes, vision vast,
Three thousand years have silent pass'd,
Suns of empire risen and set,
(Whose story time can ne'er forget,)
Since, in the morning of her pride,
Immense, along the Nile's green side,
The City of the Sun appear'd,
And her gigantic image rear'd

As her own Memnon, like a trembling string,
When the sun, with rising ray,
Streak'd the lonely desert gray,
Sent forth its magic murmuring,
That just was heard, then died away;
So pass'd, O Thebes! thy morning pride,
Thy glory was the sound that died!

Phantom of that city old,
Whose mystic spoils we now behold,
A kingdom's sepulchre—oh say,
Shall Albion's own illustrious day,
Thus darkly, close? her power, her fame,
Thus pass away, a shade, a name!

May 19. W. L. B

LINES,

WRITTEN ON HEARING THAT THE AUSTRIANS HAD ENTERED NAPLES

Ay—down to the dust with them, slaves as they are,
From this hour let the blood in their dastardly veins,
That shrunk at the first touch of liberty's war,
Be suck'd out by tyrants, or stagnate in chains.

On, on, like a cloud, through their beautiful vales,
Ye locusts of tyranny, blasting them o'er,
Fill, fill up their wide sunny waters, ye sails,
From each slave-mart of Europe, and poison their shore!

May their fate be a mock-word—may men of all lands
Laugh out with a scorn that shall ring to the poles,
When each sword that the cowards let fall from their hands,
Shall be forged into fetters to enter their souls!

And deep, and more deep as the iron is driven,
Base slaves! may the whet of their agony be,
To think—as the damn'd haply think of that Heaven,
They had once in their reach—that they might have been free!

When the world stood in hope, when a spirit that breathed
Full fresh of the olden time, whisper'd about,
And the swords of all Italy, half way unsheath'd,
But waited one conquering word to flash out,

When around you the shades of your mighty in fame,
Filicajas and Petrarchs, seem'd bursting to view,
And their swords and their warnings, like tongues of bright flame,
Over freedom's apostles, fell kindling on you

Good God! that in such a proud moment of life,
Worth ages of history—when, had you hurl'd
One bolt at yon bloody invader, that strife
Between freemen and tyrants had spread through the world.

That then—oh! disgrace upon manhood—e'en then,
You should falter, should cling to your pitiful breath,
Cower down into beasts, when you might have stood men;
And prefer the slave's life of damnation to death!

It is strange—it is dreadful—shout, tyranny! shout,
Through your dungeons and palaces, freedom is o'er—
If there lingers one spark of her light, tread it out,
And return to your empire of darkness once more

For if such are the braggarts that claim to be free,
Come, despot of Russia, thy feet let me kiss—
Far nobler to live the brute bondman of thee,
Than to sully e'en chains by a struggle like this.

ON GREECE

Of the three hundred, grant but three,
To make a new Thermopylæ.
Don Juan.

Slow sets the sun; his ray serene
He throws upon a lovely scene,
Blest scene! where once, as eagle free,
The Grecian hail'd thee, Liberty!
Where now the Turkish despot reigns,
And rules with iron rod the plains
Where Greece, while Greece remain'd, had fought
In Freedom's holy cause, and taught
The nations round to bend with fear
Before her brilliant high career.

Land of the freeman! canst thou be
So fall'n, so low in slavery;—
Land of the good, the brave, the wise,
Whose souls have sought their native skies,
Oh, can thy children but look on
The ruin'd pile, the mould'ring stone,
Which once were Grecia's halls of state,
Where Senates held their grave debate?
Or can this slavish, abject son,
Look on thy plain, O Marathon?
Or stand, with soul unmoved, and see
Thy well-fought pass, Thermopylæ?—
Or gaze on Leuctra's hallow'd plain,
And think on all those scenes in vain?—
Ye sacred brave! in vain ye died—
In vain has flow'd the purple tide
Of millions, at their country's call—
Vain were your efforts, vain your fall!—
Your fame forgot, your valour gone—
Your name despised, remains alone.

LORD BYRON TO MR T. MOORE

My boat is on the shore,
And my bark is on the sea:
But ere I go, Tom Moore,
Here's a double health to thee.

Here's a sigh for those I love,
And a smile for those I hate,
And, whatever sky's above,
Here's heart for any fate.

Though the ocean roar around me,
It still shall bear me on;
Though a desert should surround me,
It hath springs that may be won.

Were it the last drop in the well,
As I gasp'd on the brink,
Ere my fainting spirits fell,
'Tis to thee that I would drink.

In that water, as this wine,
The libation I would pour
Should be—Peace to thee and thine,
And a health to thee, Tom Moore!

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—REMARKABLE TRIALS AND LAW PROCEEDINGS.

TRIALS UNDER THE SPECIAL COMMISSION AT LIMERICK.

Limerick, December 16, 1820.

THIS day, at two o'clock, the Honourable Baron M'Clelland and the Honourable Justice Moore arrived in this city, from Dublin. They were met near Bird-Hill, county Tipperary, by the city High Sheriffs, accompanied by their bailiffs, Mr Drought's police, and a party of cavalry; and by the county High Sheriff and his bailiffs, and a detachment of Major Wilcock's police, from whence they were accompanied to their lodgings in George's Street.

December 17.

This morning, at eleven o'clock, both the Judges entered the County Court, after which the Lord Lieutenant's direction to hold a commission for the trial of such persons as were in custody for offences recently committed against the public peace, was read, and the Grand Jury were sworn in.

The learned Baron M'Clelland addressed the Grand Jury, in a luminous and constitutional charge. He took a review of the dangerous and wicked associations which disgraced the county, and cited several acts, framed for the suppression of Whiteboyism. The first of those acts was passed in the year 1776, when it was enacted, "That any number of persons associating together, under any particular disguise, with fire-arms, &c amounted to a high misdemeanour, subjecting them to imprisonment and corporal punishment, under the discretion of the Court—but that when such a party should proceed to any operative acts of violence, each and every one in such an unlawful assembly, was subject to the high penal punishment of death.

"Also, threatening letters, denunciations, placards, of an insurrectionary spirit, against loyal and peaceable subjects, was capitally penal.

"The slightest trespass, after sun-set by any such party, though in other occasions but a trespass, yet in this case of a Whiteboy system, is capital.

"Anyone giving countenance or protection to any person or persons associated for any illegal purpose, are considered conspirators, and are equally guilty."

By another act passed in the 27th of his late Majesty, denominated the Riot Act, "threatening magistrates in the performance of their duty, and which were too common and well known in this county, was capital in the eye of the law"

His Lordship then referred to other sections, enabling the magistrates to call upon any of his Majesty's subjects to aid and assist in putting down all tumultuary proceedings, and that in case of any one refusing, said refusal was indictable. He then referred to the prudence of arresting any person or persons who may be in the secret of the insurgents; that the magistrates were bound to swear such person or persons; and, in case of refusal, to commit them to prison All suspicious characters who may be roving, and strangers in the country, and likely to diffuse the wicked spirit now afloat, should give bail, and, in case of refusal, ought to be committed until the ensuing assizes.

His Lordship then implored the Grand Jury to co-operate with the police magistrates; to concert together by baronial meetings, and advise upon the most judicious means of arresting the progress of disaffection, to stay all other avocations, except that of promoting the peace of the county, in order that a deluded peasantry might be restored to habits of loyalty, peace, and industry, and rescued from designing, factious demagogues, holding out popular subjects to ensnare the unwary—and he sincerely trusted, that the effect of this Special Commission would be salutary in restoring the peace of the county

Murder of Mrs Torrance.

Limerick, December 17.

John M'Namara and Thomas Molony were then placed at the bar The prisoners were arraigned for the wilful murder of Mrs Susanna Torrance, on the 10th of June, in the second year of the present reign, at a place called Mondella, in the county of Limerick. The indictment charged Thomas Molony with being an accomplice, aiding and assisting in said murder.

The Solicitor-General then rose, and addressed the Jury as follows —

"Gentlemen of the Jury—The two prisoners now at the bar stand charged with the wilful murder of the late Mrs Susanna Torrance, and it is my duty to lay before you a detail of the evidence to be adduced, which is of a circumstantial character —This I shall endeavour to do with the strictest impartiality. It is usually the case that the counsel for the Crown gives his observations to the Jury as far as they may be supposed to have a general bearing upon the case in which he may be engaged, and perhaps it may be thought that I should account for this extraordinary visitation of public justice Gentlemen, I shall make but few observations, sorry am I to say that in this county they are necessary You are aware, gentlemen, of the necessity now, in the middle of winter, of holding a Special Commission in this county Three times, in the course of twelve years, has a desperate confederacy outraged and violated the laws of the country, it is now fifty years since the Whiteboy Act has been enacted, *that* time might serve as a faithful history of later days, and the state of the country is still such, that you are once more assembled upon a Special Commission The common people have once more confederated against

the laws and the public institutions. Your property is in danger, and if you resist the plunder of your property, you are threatened with torture and with murder—the law must put them down, or they will put the law down. People are obliged to live as if in garrison—the Judges are compelled to travel with military escorts Gentlemen, this is a state of things not to be endured. With a resident gentry, I do not, gentlemen, despair of the public safety—I do not fear your being unable to put down this formidable, although contemptible, insurrection;—but, gentlemen, before I proceed to the particular circumstances of the present case, allow me to make this one observation, and that is, that nothing connected with the present disturbed state of the country may be brought unfairly against the prisoners, but you may contrast the mild and just laws of the country with those dreadful acts of violence and insubordination which have so frequently disgraced this county.

"Gentlemen, Mrs Susanna Torrance was the wife of Mr Torrance, a native of another county, but who resided in the liberties of this city In the month of March last, his house was attacked by an armed banditti—he resisted them, and, assisted by Mrs Torrance, succeeded in beating them off, he did not give up his arms; it is supposed that many of them were wounded on that occasion; and Mr Torrance, conceiving that it would be dangerous to remain there, removed to the town of Adare, a little beyond which he took a farm. He used to return at night, gentlemen, to the town of Adare, under the protection of a military escort On Sunday, the 10th of June, he was returning from his farm, in company with Mrs Torrance, they came by a public path which led through some fields, and had to come by a stone gap which they had passed in the morning. When they came to this gap, a man jumped suddenly from the other side, and handed a letter to Mr Torrance; when Mr Torrance began to open this letter, the man took a stone from his breast, and flung it at him, another man then leaped over the wall, and struck him with a stick In this conflict Mr Torrance was unarmed; they both fell, and Mrs Torrance tore the fellow from off her husband's body. Mr Torrance was stunned—he lost his senses for some time, but when he came to his recollection, he saw his wife engaged at some distance with the man who leaped over the wall with the stick. I mention no names now, gentlemen; it will be for you to draw your conclusions from the evidence. When Mr Torrance saw his wife engaged with this man, he perceived a stick in her hand, but does not know how she came by it—whether from the extraordinary courage with which she was animated that induced her to take it from him, or whether she found it on the ground. Mr Torrance then engaged with that man, and they both came to the ground—many blows were given, and many wounds received; the man was more than once senseless, and Mr Torrance was so also. Mr Torrance repeatedly struck this man with a stick on the shins, until he at last broke the stick Mr Torrance then looked round, and saw the other man in conflict with his wife He who had been in conflict with Mrs Torrance said to the other man, "Tom, come away," he appeared to be wiping something which he held in his hand. Mr Torrance got up with difficulty, and the wretched lady in a few minutes ran towards her husband; she was scarcely able to speak, and her bosom was bloody; some cattle were drawing near them in the field where they were, and Mr Torrance lifted her over the wall into the adjoining field, where, in a

short time, she expired. Mr Torrance had received fifteen stabs; he was wounded in the shoulders, the arm, and the loins, and he received one wound in the throat, through which his breath came; he walked in that state towards the town of Adare, to endeavour to get some assistance for Mrs Torrance, who he did not think was then dead; he went to the house of a Mr Switzer, where, after mentioning the circumstances, he fell down exhausted; Switzer went to the place described by Mr Torrance, and found Mrs Torrance lying there dead and at full length. I shall now come to the circumstances under which the prisoners were apprehended As a murder, there have been few worse, —two armed men rushing on two of their fellow-creatures, one of them a woman—we involuntarily shrink with horror when we find an Irishman stained with a woman's blood But, gentlemen, this murder was but the execution of a sentence pronounced against them by this lawless banditti, for their daring to resist them; but whether you look on it as assassination or insurrection, I trust you will exercise a cool and dispassionate judgment, and give your verdict according to the evidence that shall be adduced before you. If the evidence be satisfactory, I see a class of gentlemen in that jury-box, whom, I am sure, it would be unnecessary to warn against being influenced by fear, or by the more unworthy and ignominious motive of wishing to gain popularity with this lawless banditti"

The learned Counsel then recapitulated those points which were afterwards proved by the witnesses:—

Mr John Torrance was then examined by Mr Serjeant Joy. Witness having been sworn, deposed as follows:—

Witness lived in March last at Cunnigar, his house was attacked by a great many persons armed; they broke his windows; he resisted them; they went off on agreement; he fired and wounded some of them; they threatened to burn his house; he said if they would, he would keep the wounded whom he had inside, and they should burn with it. On Sunday, 10th June, witness lived at Adare, he had left Cunnigar; he was returning on that day from his farm to Adare; it was then day-light; Mrs Torrance was with him; they went by a common pathway which led through the fields; there was nobody but Mrs Torrance with witness, there are a good many walls and stiles, or gaps, on the pathway; as witness was going to leap over a small wall, first one man and then another, came suddenly against him The first man handed a letter to him; witness had not seen him when he came to the gap, he must have been lying down on the grass, or by the wall. He called to somebody else to come over, and then the second man came After witness took the letter, the man who gave it to him, put his hand into his coat, as if for something; he then threw a stone at witness, which he took out of his coat; witness darted on him, and grappled with him Whilst engaged with him, the other came behind him, and struck him with a stick; witness and the man whom he was struggling with both came to the ground; witness was stupified; the man who threw the stone fell with him. When witness recovered a little, he found himself disengaged, but he don't know how; he then saw Mrs Torrance struggling with the other fellow, about forty or fifty yards distant, in the middle of the field; Mrs Torrance had a stick; they were then armed with stones; as they were going to fling them at witness, when they came within three or four yards of him, he jumped in on them; thinks he was then engaged with the man who handed him the letter, he was not entirely engaged with

him, but was for a considerable time; he was also engaged with the other; he then received a stroke of a stone, that struck fire out of his eye, when he was capable of looking round, he found himself on his knees, he still held the man fast by the thighs, witness was uppermost, he had got the stick from Mrs Torrance, and struck this man repeatedly on the legs and shins, the other then came up and beat him unmercifully, Mrs Torrance called out, "Save his life;" the stick was by this time broken by witness, and he threw it in the man's face; he then became insensible, and when he recovered, he found himself lying on the man he had been struggling with; the other called out, "Come away, Tom," he was in the field, and appeared to be wiping something, witness felt as if he had been asleep, the man was still under him, and he thought that if he (the witness) had any activity, he could knock his brains out, attempted to raise his arm, but was not able, he then drew himself away, Mrs Torrance was at a considerable distance off at this time, she came up to witness, but did not speak until she came close up—she then said, "Have they murdered you?" and lay on him, she was in a very bad state, but witness did not know it then; she rolled off witness; he (witness) then raised himself on his arms and looked at her; she was all blood from her breasts to her knees; witness said, "Preserve me, have they stabbed you?" she made no answer; he raised her up; there were some cows in the field, about thirty or forty, that were annoying them very much; they came crowding round them; witness supported her, and she walked a little way, but when near the wall her feet could support her no longer; witness laid her down inside the wall, but still in the field; having some doubt that she would recover, he put his arms under her, and raised her over the wall; he first thought she was in a faint, but afterwards thought it was more than a faint; saw her countenance change; there were some houses a little way off, to which he went for assistance; he left her lying at her full length, to all appearance as if dead; he still hoped she was but in a faint; witness went to the house, at the end of the field, where the family of a man of the name of Switzer lived; they were very active in rendering assistance; they put witness to bed, and sent out for Mrs Torrance; witness received many wounds; some were stabs of some sharp instrument; he also received bruises from a stick, and was a considerable time ill from loss of blood; the doctor said, he had received fourteen or fifteen wounds, most of them inflicted by a sharp instrument; very few people thought witness would live a week; his eyes were also affected; witness now sees the man in Court who handed him the letter on that day—that is the man—(here the witness put the Sheriff's rod on the head of John M'Namara, the prisoner); witness saw M'Namara in about thirteen days after, in Mrs Stephens's house, at this town, (Limerick); witness was not so well then as he is now; he could, with help, get out of bed, but thinks that he was not able then, from the state of his health, to make up his mind to him; witness saw him afterwards in gaol; he was in the yard, and witness was above in a room; his person and manner of moving was then brought up alone, a almost irritated at something said; one reason why witness could better swear to him this time, than on the former occasion, was, that he gave a particular look at witness; it was exactly the same as when he was going to throw the stone at him; wit-

ness said in his mind, "that's the man;" saw him afterwards at the assizes, when he saw him in the dock, he was of the same mind, witness can now take on him positively to swear that he is the man, witness saw the other prisoner, Molony, after the death of Mrs Torrance, saw the man the other called Tom, believes he is the same, saw him in gaol, he was brought to him; had a clear idea he was the man; if there was any difference as to witness being more certain of the one than the other, he is most certain as to M'Namara —(Here the witness identified Molony, by placing the Sheriff's rod on his head)

This witness was cross-examined by Richard Creagh Odell, Esq. but his testimony remained unshaken.

A number of witnesses were examined, in corroboration of the statement of the Solicitor-General and the evidence of Mr Torrance

Baron M'Clelland then recapitulated the evidence with minuteness and perspicuity, and concluded by telling them, that if there was a reasonable doubt on their minds, they should give the prisoners the benefit of that doubt, and, on the other hand, if, from the mass of evidence that had been laid before them, they were of a different opinion, it was a duty they owed to themselves, to their country, and to the offended laws of their country, to return a verdict of Guilty.

The Jury then retired for about twenty minutes, and returned with a verdict of Guilty against both the prisoners.

Baron M'Clelland then pronounced sentence of death on the prisoners, and their bodies to be given to the surgeons for dissection

The prisoner, Molony, entreated his Lordship for a long day On sentence being pronounced, the prisoner, MacNamara, exclaimed, "I knew how it would be when we came here; we could expect no better from county Limerick blood-hounds"

The Solicitor-General then informed the Jury that the prisoner, Molony, confessed that M'Namara was the actual murderer of Mrs Torrance, and that he (Molony) was present. From the circumstances under which this confession was made, it would not be legal evidence on the trial, and the Solicitor-General informed the Jury of it then merely to satisfy their minds as to the justness of their verdict.

MICHAEL MORAN, &c. FOR MURDER OF THOMAS MANNING.

Limerick, Dec. 18.

Michael Moran, Michael Halloran, and Michael Fitzgerald, were placed at the bar. The prisoners were arraigned for the wilful murder of Thomas Manning, on the 16th of August, in the second year of the reign of his present Majesty.

The prisoners pleaded Not Guilty. On the panel being called over, they challenged twenty.

Ayre Massey, examined by the Solicitor General—Witness belongs to the police establishment; was on duty at Inchy Rourke, between twelve and one o'clock at night, on the 1st of August, it was dark; heard two shots fired, heard some persons talking in the wood, and afterwards saw a number of persons in white shirts. There were a great many, witness's party challenged them; they called out, "Who goes there?" The other party then challenged them; witness's party said they were the police, and told them to surrender, in the King's name; they on the instant fired five or six shots at witness's party; the police returned the fire, on which they immediately fled; one of the police,

Thomas Manning, fell as dead—he fell before witness's party fired; two men came up then; they made prisoners of them; witness took Fitzgerald—(Here the witness identified the prisoner, Michael Fitzgerald, as being the man, by laying the Sheriff's rod on his head.) Fitzgerald was then dressed in a white shirt, which he wore over his other clothes, he took hold of the bridle of his horse; Mr Hobart then came up, and two more men were taken—(Here the witness identified Halloran and Moran, as being the two other men who were then taken.)—Halloran had a white shirt on, and was mounted also, the third man was on foot; a gun, a pistol, two pieces of scythe with handles, and a spit, were found at the place.

Thomas Doolan examined by Mr Townsend.—Witness is chief constable of police; was out with his party on the night of the 15th of August, heard shots fired; there were fifteen or sixteen policemen; witness ordered the men to load, but not to fire without directions; there were a great number of persons there, principally mounted; witness saw them; thinks there were about 200 in all; there could not be less than 60 or 70 mounted; the cavalry and infantry mixed together, a great many of them had white shirts over their other dress; one man wore a large white robe, that came down to his ancles; witness's party called out to them to surrender in the King's name, saying, that they were the police, and that any man that would stir would be shot; they then fired at witness's party, witness was in the front, and he retired to the left of his party, who returned their fire; witness heard that one of his party was down, the others then ran away; three were taken prisoners; witness saw one of them taken; they were all taken within a few yards of the place, Fitzgerald wore a white shirt; Fitzgerald did not seem to come from the party who fired, he appeared rather to have been placed as a sentinel.

A number of other witnesses corroborated the above testimonies

The case having closed, Judge Moore recapitulated the evidence, and charged the Jury, who retired for about forty minutes, and returned with a verdict, finding the prisoner, Moran, Not Guilty; and the prisoners, Halloran and Fitzgerald, Guilty of the felony charged against them.

Judge Moore then proceeded to pass sentence of death on the prisoners, Halloran and Fitzgerald, which he did in nearly the following words:

"It is ever a most painful duty to be the medium of communicating sentence of death to any human creature; the facts connected with the present case are not such, however, as may awaken the sympathies of our nature; they arise from the disorganized and turbulent state of the country. These remarks particularly apply to your case, Michael Halloran, and yours, Michael Fitzgerald. You were not instigated to the commission of crime by any feeling of personal hostility, but were led to it by that savage and ferocious disposition, which would not hesitate to sacrifice any individual, that might be pointed out to you as a victim, by this wretched banditti. They roam about the country, issuing their commands, and the misguided men obey their directions This is a state of things that must be extinguished, by a firm, temperate, and merciful ministration of the laws. We suffer the tribunals of the country to be overthrown by these unknown conspirators. You, Michael Halloran, and you, Michael Fitzgerald, have been found guilty of murdering death on a man, who was authorized by the laws of the country to protect the public peace. And why? Because those men, in the discharge of their duty, dared to

interpose between you and your lawless purposes, assuming, as you did, to dictate laws to the King's subjects. You are found with an army of insurgents, arms are found on the field of battle, and such transgressions shall not go unpunished. You are bound together by blasphemous oaths, which, if you had consulted your priest or clergyman, he would tell you were not binding. There is no man whose mind is so stultified, but must know that such oaths are not binding Justice, though slow, is certain—guilt cannot escape. Let me conjure you to prepare for that transition which you are about to undergo, for the grave is already opening for you. You shall have the attendance of a clergyman of your own persuasion In a few hours you will pass from time to eternity You will stand before that unerring Judge, who searches the hearts of the children of men With respect to you, this world is past and gone—(Here Halloran begged his Lordship to grant them a long day) The limited time for the execution of the sentence is marked out by the law, and I cannot alter it; that sentence is, that you, Michael Halloran, and you, Michael Fitzgerald, be taken from the place where you now stand, to the place from whence you came, and that on Thursday next, the 20th of December, you be each brought to the common place of execution, and there be hanged by the neck until dead, and that your bodies be afterwards given to the surgeons for dissection; and may the Almighty God, of his infinite goodness, have mercy on your souls!"

Halloran said, "The Lord have mercy on us!" Fitzgerald remained silent. Previous to their being led out from the dock, Halloran shook hands mournfully with Moran, who was acquitted.

Timothy Shea, for several offences.

Limerick, Dec. 19.

Timothy Shea was indicted, under the Whiteboy Act, for that he, on the 9th of October last, did, with several others, feloniously and forcibly steal and carry away a mare, value ten pounds, the property of John Walsh, at Moneygay. A second count charged him, under the same act, for perpetrating the deed in the night time, and before six o'clock in the morning; and a third, that he forcibly compelled the owner to deliver the animal up to him In a second indictment, he was charged with feloniously stealing a saddle, the property of Michael Scanlan; and, in a third indictment, he was charged with stealing a mare, the property of Jeremiah O'Connor. All these indictments were framed under the Whiteboy Act.

John Rahilly was the first witness examined—Is a serjeant of the police stationed in this part of the country; knows prisoner well, and now identifies him; was on duty on the 9th day of October last, having been desired by Lieutenant Percy, the commandant of the police, to scour the country, and to meet him at Drumculla, at a particular hour Witness proceeded to execute his orders, and while riding along with his party, met prisoner galloping at a most furious rate; witness stopped him, seizing his horse by the bridle, and asked him where he was going. He said he was "riding for his life;" and desired witness to go on, and he would "see a sight." He desired witness, for God's sake, to let him go, but a pistol being observed in his breast, it was taken from him, and he was desired not to attempt to stir from the spot, or he would be immediately shot. Prisoner immediately said, "He

would as soon be dead as alive" A powder-horn was subsequently discovered on him, which he said he found under a bush. This happened at ten o'clock at night. Prisoner was committed by Mr Massey. Two bullets were drawn from the pistol; and the mare on which he rode was claimed by Walsh, one of the prosecutors The prisoner said he found the mare on the road

Cross-examined by Mr Howley.—Has heard of horses being found on the road; does not recollect the colour of the mare, but can swear she was the animal claimed by Walsh. There was a saddle on the mare.

James Shepherd, policeman, sworn.—Was out with Rahilly, the preceding witness; saw the mare taken by the police and brought to Mr Sheaby's stables, where she was claimed in the morning by Mr Walsh This was the same animal taken from the prisoner; he could not be mistaken, as she was lame; was present when she was demanded from Mr Percy.

Cross-examined.—Moonlight was not clear; witness could not swear to the saddle.

John Walsh, examined by the Solicitor-General.—Found the mare mentioned in the indictment, at Newcastle; she was only one night out of his possession; had seen her at night-fall the evening preceding.

Michael Scanlan sworn.—A saddle was forcibly taken from him by a party in October last Does not know how many people were at his door, as he only half opened it, when he gave it up. He found it with the police at Newcastle on the Saturday following. He gave it through fear.

John Purcell, servant to Mr Percy, was sworn —Saw Scanlan claim the saddle, which was on the little black mare, taken from the prisoner.

Lieutenant Francis Percy was next examined.—Witness is commandant of the police at Newcastle; was for some time in the army; was out on duty on the night of the 9th of October last; came upon a body of men, consisting of eighty or one hundred; witness called out to his party "to be quick," and desired the marauders to "halt and surrender;" ten or twelve had by this time passed ahead, flying "hither and thither;" two men were on every horse; fired among them, and afterwards found arms, &c. The ten or twelve men above-mentioned took the road on which witness was sure Serjeant Rahilly was, the moon rose about 28 minutes past four in the afternoon.

Here the case for the Crown closed.

DEFENCE.

Serjeant Rahilly re-examined.—Prisoner, when taken, said he was sent out by Father Rochford to search for arms taken from Mr Stevelly.

James Rochford, parish priest of Moneygay, has successfully exerted himself for the recovery and delivery of arms; directed Shea, the prisoner, to make search for them; after he was bailed by the magistrate on account of this charge, prisoner gave up a sword to Mr Massey He had formerly procured three guns, two swords, a bayonet, and a pistol; considered prisoner an honest, industrious, regular man. When he was taken he was on the direct road to Mr Stevelly's

Cross-examined —Has heard that Mr Stevelly got back all the arms taken from him; of course the pistol found on Shea could not have belonged to that gentleman; witness did not employ prisoner to recover a mare or a saddle.

Baron M'Clelland summed up the evidence at considerable length. The theft from Walsh was the only one which required the consideration of the Jury, the others not being completely supported by proof. The horse

taken from that person might have been for the purpose of midnight marauding, to be turned adrift into the country, after its services were not required; but, under the Whiteboy Act, this was a capital offence. The learned Baron then recapitulated the evidence, and commented on the expressions made use of by the prisoner, such as "running for his life," &c. If prisoner had been decoyed into crime, and afterwards repented it, he should have gone before a magistrate, and confessed it on his oath One fact, however, was certain, the prisoner was found on the mare in the most suspicious circumstances, and the Jury owed it as a duty to themselves and their country, to find the prisoner guilty, if they, in their consciences, thought the facts mentioned in the indictment were borne out by the evidence.

The Jury found a verdict of Guilty on the first indictment, (that for carrying away the horse belonging to Walsh)—Not Guilty on the other indictment The conviction under the first, however, subjects the prisoner to the penalty of death.

VARIOUS.

Daniel Martin, indicted under the Whiteboy Act, for appearing in arms, demanding arms, &c —Found Guilty.

Thomas Henchy, for beating with a stick, and mortally wounding James Buckley —Not Guilty

Grady and John Grady, for ly taking a sword from Edorgan, and using menaces to Morgan to deliver said sword. Guilty

Francis Shaughnessy, for assaulting Edward Sandwith, and robbing him of a gun, within the liberties of the city of Limerick —Guilty.

James Walsh, for disturbing divine service in the Catholic chapel belonging to Mr Cleery. Delayed till other accomplices can be brought forward. A weapon of a frightful nature had been found in the house of one of the persons accused.

John Ward, Patrick Lee, Morgan Craven, and eight others, were found guilty of a riot, and assaulting a witness for giving evidence at the last assizes.—Sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

ADJOURNMENT.

On the 21st of December, the Solicitor-General prayed their Lordships to adjourn the Commission for the county of Limerick to Saturday, January 12 "That period would not interfere with Term, or any other public concern; but even so, all other considerations should be put aside. Government were determined upon keeping a permanent Court of Justice until the peace of the county should be restored. As fast as crimes shall be committed, an active police will apprehend the offenders, who shall be brought without delay to the Bar of Justice They may go on and commit more murders—they may annihilate the present ministers of the law, and magistrate after magistrate, but others will be got to supply their place in succession The laws will neither slumber nor rest till all shall be made complete. No man who commits a crime shall wait till next assizes for trial. On the 12th of January, if fresh crimes shall be committed, fresh trials shall be ready for the perpetrators. The Commission is framed for that purpose. If the proceedings under it are not found adequate, then other measures will be resorted to for restoring tranquillity and character to the county.

"He had come only a few days since to the county; he found it disgraced by the acts of a lawless banditti; but

if it has been sunk in character by the guilty, it has been raised by all those who assisted in the administration of the law; by the neighbouring gentry. He never, in his visits through the country, met more exemplary conduct than the gentlemen of the county manifested on this occasion; they came from their homes in the midst of fire and sword, to that jury-box, which was to be found full of the first gentlemen in the county, who had not allowed themselves to be kept back by pleasure or sport That duty those gentlemen discharged with temperance and without intimidation, and he could not but admire the acquittals, and the distinctions they made in the different cases which had come before them. Every one who saw their conduct, must feel happy to live under and enjoy the benefits resulting from the constitution. Every gentleman connected with this county deserved the greatest thanks He did not feel it necessary to advert to the excellent conduct of the police, which was manifest to every person; neither was it agreeable to him to speak of any gentleman in his presence—but he felt it to be his duty to return thanks to one magistrate particularly, (he alluded to Mr Vokes,) who had distinguished himself in aiding the justice of the country.

"There was another topic he would advert to, which must afford great satisfaction to those who were around him, namely, that the unhappy men who had left this world, and fell victims to the offended laws of their country, manifested at the last hour, a contrite and devout deportment, and made a penitent confession of their guilt He could not expect a better temper than that which has resulted already from this Commission, and he should say, that great praise was due to the respectable clergymen who attended these unhappy men, in discharge of their sacred functions, for the excellent frame of mind which they had brought them to at their last hour. When all these things were taken into consideration, he felt there was no reason to despair of good effects for the restoration of the peace and tranquillity of the country It was impossible at the beginning of this week to form an opinion of what might be the result. Certainly there was an evident change for the better; but if, unfortunately, these crimes should again recur, or an attempt should be made to put down the law, they must either do so, or the law must put them down. Fortnight after fortnight this Commission would be held—troops after troops should be poured in amongst them, if necessary, to crush their evil proceedings, and to enforce the execution of justice He trusted in God that the misfortunes of this week would be impressed upon the minds of the lower orders; and he hoped and trusted that it would be communicated to them by those who were conversant in their language, and that they would impress upon their minds what they had heard and what they had seen. He would address himself to the young about him, and ask them what was the progress made by the banditti within the last fifteen years? Did they not by their conduct act in open defiance to their own experience? Let them but ask their fathers and grandfathers what was the result in their days of these illegal associations First, the appearance of the Whiteboys in the year 1776—after them, another banditti called the Rightboys—there was the Peep-o'-day-boys—the Shanavests and Caravats. He would pass over the great insurrection of 1798, that of the rebellion, and speak only of the banditti; and let any one tell him did they ever end their mad career but at that bar,

so terminate their existence at an ignominious gallows? Ask the history of the country and it will tell you that such only was the result; and such only can be the result as long as those violations of the law are continued"

Judgment on Sir Francis Burdett.

Court of King's Bench, Feb. 8.

The Attorney-General moved for judgment on Sir Francis Burdett, found guilty of libel at Leicester assizes in March last. (See Annual Register for 1820. Appendix, p. 167.)

The Honourable defendant, accompanied by Lord Nugent, Mr Hobhouse, Mr Jones Burdett, and Mr Fyshe Palmer, entered the Court Sir Robert Wilson, with several Members of Parliament, sat in the Students' box.

Mr Scarlett rose, and handed in the following affidavit, which was read by one of the officers on the Crown side:—

"Francis Burdett, of St James's-place, Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, Bart saith, that he hath been a Member of the Commons' House of Parliament for 24 years, or thereabouts, and that for nearly 14 years last past he has been one of the representatives for the city of Westminster; and this deponent saith, that he has always been impressed with great reverence and regard for the principles of the Constitution, and attachment to the laws of his country That his political sentiments have never been disguised, but have been openly avowed by him in Parliament and elsewhere; that his earnest desire to promote, by all constitutional means, a reform in the House of Commons, is grounded upon a long settled persuasion that such reform is necessary to give stability to the throne, vigour to the government, and content and happiness to the people; and that he has always been an advocate for Reform, because, in his judgment, it is calculated to produce those effects. And this deponent further saith, that as all the different newspapers he had read, and all the different accounts he had received of the meeting at Manchester, however they varied in reporting the motives and objects of the persons assembled there, did all concur in stating the fact, that no violence nor any disorderly conduct had been committed by the people, and that no attempt had been made on the part of the civil power either to apprehend the speakers, or to disperse the crowd; but that an armed body of yeomanry, without any previous notice, had rode in amongst an unresisting multitude of men, women, and children, and committed the acts stated in the said newspapers; he (this deponent) had no doubt in his own mind that such statement was true. And this deponent saith, that he has always been, and still is of opinion, that it is highly unconstitutional to employ military force to disperse an unarmed multitude, and that it behoves every Englishman to reprobate such a practice when resorted to. And this deponent further saith, that he has also ever conceived, and still does conceive, that it is the undoubted right of the people of this country to petition the Throne, or either House of Parliament, for a redress of public grievances, and that the exercise of such right is well calculated to preserve the general tranquillity of the country, and the attachment of the people to the government And this deponent also saith, that he has ever been, and still is, of opinion, that in

cases where great public injury is done, and great provocation is thereby given to numerous bodies of unprotected persons, the immediate and zealous interposition of those whose circumstances make it probable that they may be able to obtain consolation and legal redress for the sufferers, is the most effectual way of preventing those evils to society, which such injury and provocation have a direct tendency to produce. And this deponent saith, that he considered the occurrence alluded to in his Address to the Electors of Westminster, which is now in question, as one which required the exercise of the right of petitioning, and which, for the protection of the sufferers, and the preservation of the public peace, eminently demanded the interposition of the gentlemen of England. And this deponent saith, that the said occurrence at Manchester had, as this deponent verily believes, excited general terror and alarm throughout the country. and this deponent considered, that unless the right of meeting for the purpose of petitioning was immediately exercised, such terror and alarm would prevent the future exercise thereof on very important occasions; and under the circumstances, and for the reasons aforesaid, this deponent thought it his duty to express his opinions on the subject to his constituents, and that his object in so doing was not to excite unconstitutional or tumultuous conduct. And this deponent further saith, that at the time when he wrote the letter to Lord Sidmouth, avowing himself to be the author of the said Address, no statement had come to his knowledge, from authority or otherwise, to vary the facts which had been published in the newspapers, and that no such statement has yet come to this deponent's knowledge; and therefore this deponent did not, nor can he now see any reason to think, that the objects he had in view in writing the said Address, were unbecoming the character of an honest man and an Englishman."

Messrs Scarlett, Denman, Phillips, Blackburne, and J Evans, addressed the Court in mitigation of punishment.

The Attorney and Solicitor-General spoke in aggravation.

Mr Justice Bayley delivered the judgment of the Bench It was his painful duty, his Lordship said, in the situation which he filled, to pass upon the defendant the collective judgment of the Court It had happened, in the course of the proceedings in the cause, that his Lordship had differed in opinion from his learned brothers; and to that difference allusion had been made. The difference, however, had merely occurred upon a technical point —whether there had or had not been against the defendant sufficient evidence of a publication in Leicestershire—and it now appeared to the learned Judge, that, even if a new trial in Leicestershire had been granted, publication in that county would easily have been proved, because he (the learned Judge) was inclined to hold that the circulation in that county of any newspaper in which the insertion of the libel had been authorized by the defendant, would amount to publication in that county. That the defendant was the author of the libel, stood admitted; and, in forming a judgment upon the character of the offence, it became material to look at the state of the public mind at the time when the libel had been published. The letter was founded—it purported upon the face of it to be founded—upon facts of which Sir F. Burdett was ignorant, except from the representations contained in certain newspapers. Those representations were certainly calculated to excite the highest degree of feeling in the public mind, because there was a very broad

and strong insinuation that needless violence had been resorted to. The learned Judge could not blame any man for having his feelings roused by a perusal of the statements which those newspapers contained It was no part of his Lordship's duty to judge whether those statements were correct or not; he had no means of judging; and it was the duty of a Court of Justice to act upon those facts, and upon those facts only, on which they were capable of forming a judicial opinion. From the nature, however, of the facts stated, in a country like England, where the poor experienced from the laws of their country the same protection as the rich, and where an outrage to the lowest individual excited the indignation of the whole community, it could not be doubted that the effect of the statements must have been to excite very considerable passion At that time, and upon those statements, it was that the defendant's letter had appeared; and the learned Judge's objection to that letter were four in number It was calculated to increase the excitement which already was existing; it assumed too hastily that the facts, as stated, were correct, it had a tendency to prejudge the public mind against persons who, if the facts alleged against them were true, would be liable to capital indictment; and it tended to excite the minds of the people against the government, as though the government had originated and directed the outrages which had taken place. It seemed impossible to the Court that any person could look at the libel in question without seeing that it was calculated to produce a strong excitement against the Government of the country; that part of it in particular which proceeded—"This, then, is the answer of the boroughmongers to the petitioning people—this is the practical proof of our standing in no need of reform—this is the blessing of a standing army in time of peace!" Petitions could only be addressed by the people to the King, the Lords, and the Commons; and the answer referred to must be taken to be an answer proceeding from powers to whom a petition could be addressed. The Court was not inattentive to the circumstance, that the libel had been written in a moment of haste. If the motive of the defendant had been a bad one, that circumstance would have formed an addition to his offence; as it was otherwise, he would derive great consolation from the knowledge of that fact; but it was the duty of the Court to look at the natural tendency of the libel; and upon that point the learned Judge had already given his opinion. The Court, taking into its consideration all the circumstances of the case, did order and adjudge—that the defendant should pay to the King a fine of 2,000*l*; and that he should be imprisoned for three months, in the custody of the Marshalsea of the King's Bench.

Judgment on Cartwright, Wooller, &c.

Court of King's Bench, May 30.

The Attorney-General prayed the judgment of the Court on the defendants, John Cartwright, Esq., George Edmonds, J. T Wooller, W. G. Lewis, and Charles Madocks, convicted at last Warwick Summer Assizes, of a conspiracy to elect Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart, as legislatorial attorney in Birmingham, and to excite disaffection by seditious speeches, &c. (See Annual Register for 1820. Appendix, p 187)

On Major Cartwright being called upon,

Mr Denman immediately rose and

said, that since this case was before the Court the other day, he had been instructed by Major Cartwright to address such topics to the Court as presented themselves to his own mind, which might be available to the venerable defendant in this last stage of the proceedings. Since the trial, his attention had not been particularly called to the circumstances of the case; and although he had not been a very attentive observer of what had subsequently passed, yet, bearing in mind what had been reported by the learned Judge, and the facts mentioned in the affidavit of the venerable defendant, it appeared to him that there were some legitimate topics of mitigation, which could not be urged without considerable effect on his behalf. He then adverted to the very small share which the worthy major took in the proceedings at Birmingham—the total absence of any proof of concert with the other defendants—his being a silent auditor and spectator of what took place at the meeting of that day—his merely acknowledging his sense of the vote of thanks conferred upon him for his general political services—circumstances which, proved, as they were, by his own affidavit, and confirmed by the affidavits of other persons, clearly entitled him to exemption from being thought an active participator in the supposed conspiracy. But though the venerable major had, in fact, taken no active share in the events of that occasion, he wished it to be distinctly understood, that he disclaimed any invidious distinction between his case and the cases of the other defendants, being quite ready to bear equally with them the consequences of that verdict which the Jury had pronounced. Looking, however, to the general nature of the charge, it appeared to him (Mr Denman) that there were some topics which might be successfully urged on behalf of the defendant, notwithstanding the terms in which the indictment was framed The charge against the defendant was that of conspiring with other persons to nominate and elect a legislatorial attorney, to claim a seat in the House of Commons, as representative of the inhabitants of Birmingham in Parliament, in derogation of the Constitution, and for the purpose of bringing the House of Commons into odium and contempt Now, he was free to own, that he was utterly at a loss to conceive how this could be considered as a crime; he had applied his best judgment and consideration to the subject, and the result was, that, in his opinion, this was no crime at all. The appointment of a legislatorial attorney, by an assembly such as that which had taken place, was a vain and idle proceeding; and the mere fact of such an appointment could not be construed into an offence cognizable by the law, unless it was the effect of artifice or fraud, in the abuse of some constituted authority. As well it might be said in the case of the election of a bishop, that a person giving a *conge d'elire* without authority, was liable to criminal punishment. The same observation would apply to any other appointment under the like circumstances; for it could only be considered as an idle and vain exercise of authority which did not exist, and could not be attended with any injurious consequences to the public. If, indeed, the defendants had forged the King's writ, or had resorted to any fraudulent abuse of authority in derogation of the powers of other persons to effect their object, the case would have been far different, and no defence could have been urged. But here no such complexion marked the case. It could not be pretended in this case, that any mischievous consequences had attended the conduct of the defendants

No riot or breach of the public peace had occurred; it was not even hinted that there was any attempt to violate the law; no magistrate had found it necessary to whisper the riot act into the ear of his clerk, under pretence that the peace of the community was in danger. A more orderly or peaceable assembly had never taken place on any public occasion, and it had separated without having committed, or threatened to commit, a single act of violence. Then, as to the intention of the defendants, it appeared from all the circumstances of the case to have been perfectly *bona fide*. The Court were not to look to the particular conduct of the defendants on the occasion, but they were to refer to the essence of their motives, which had nothing in view but to remedy abuses, which were not only supposed to exist, but which for ages had been positively asserted to exist, by some of the most enlightened philosophers and statesmen that had ever adorned the country. If the defendants were to be considered as entertaining sentiments of disaffection, in canvassing the constitution of the House of Commons, and in urging that reform was necessary in that branch of the legislature, then must Lord Chatham, Mr Pitt, Mr Burke, Sir G. Saville, and other enlightened statesmen, be deemed to have been disaffected traitors to their country. It was no part of his duty on the present occasion to defend the means by which the defendants had sought to remedy the grievances of which they complained; but if their intentions were honest — if they merely exercised a right which they conceived they possessed, of meeting to discuss public measures, and of expressing their sentiments — surely they were not to be considered criminals for having done no more than the constitution of the country allowed the subjects of England. The greatest men that ever lived had come forward in like manner to express the like sentiments, and the right of meeting publicly for such a purpose had never yet been questioned. It was in this spirit, and with this object in view, that these defendants had met on the occasion in question. Were they then, under such circumstances, to be brought to the bar of Justice? If such meetings as these were to be considered as illegal, then every meeting that had taken place to arouse public opinion in the cause of public virtue, must be deemed illegal. Public opinion could only be preserved by such means, and by that engine alone was the national character preserved —The infamous and bloody traffic in slaves, so disgraceful to the British nation, was rooted out only by public opinion, repeatedly and publicly expressed; and with as much propriety might public meetings for that purpose be considered as conspiracies against the West India merchants, as this be called a conspiracy to bring the constitution into hatred and contempt. By public opinion alone was public virtue preserved; and under the influence of that check were our institutions kept in a state of healthful vigour. It was a fatal delusion to imagine that such meetings could do any harm. Such an opinion begot a reverence for folly and absurdity, and taught even the best-disposed persons to mistake the corrupt excrescences of the constitution for the constitution itself The moral conviction of the existence of such abuses was not to be disputed, and it was only by public opinion that they could be redressed. It was quite extraordinary how even abuses excited the admiration and respect of those who shuddered at reform. The learned counsel then proceeded to advert to the public and private virtues of the worthy major, whose life had been devoted to promoting the arts of his country, endeavouring to preserve the purity of our national in-

situations, and to the pursuit of those objects which dignified and ennobled the character of man. Considering then the conduct of such a man, considering the motives by which he had been actuated—his venerable age, (84) his amiable and unoffending deportment through life, he was quite convinced that the Court, in discharging its painful duties, (for painful they must be in such a case,) would proceed towards him, with that tenderness and consideration to which on every account he was so much entitled. In conclusion, he adverted to the worthy major's desire, that whatever punishment the Court might be disposed to inflict, imprisonment rather than fine should be imposed, considering that if the latter course should be resorted to, it would have the effect of disinheriting a beloved niece, the daughter of an elder brother, whom he had adopted, and of depriving an adored wife and aged sisters of that means to which they looked for support in the advanced autumn of life. However, since this case was last before the Court, he (Mr D.) had received a letter from those relatives, in which they deprecated the idea of allowing any consideration of their situation to weigh with the Court, when the health and liberty of their venerated friend were at stake; and agonized with the sense of those sufferings which awaited him, they implored the Court to avert that punishment which the worthy major himself was disposed to hail with the genuine spirit of martyrdom in a cause to which his life had been devoted. Such were the feelings of those beloved relations. The worthy major, though a nominal defendant in this case, would be the greatest sufferer; but he came with manly fortitude to meet all that could be inflicted on him, consoling himself, that, under every dispensation, there was a public who would respect him, and an impartial posterity who would do justice to his name and actions. The learned counsel sat down amidst a burst of uncontrollable applause from the auditory.

Mr Justice Bayley proceeded to pass sentence. It was his duty, the learned Judge said, after careful consideration by the Court, and nice discrimination between their respective cases, to pronounce judgment upon the defendants. It would have been some alleviation to his mind, if, in the interval which had elapsed between the month of July, 1819, and the present period, they had been induced to look back upon their own conduct, at least with a feeling that they might have been wrong in what they had done, and without that prejudice which men in general are but too apt to entertain as to that which regards their particular selves. It was the duty of the Court to pass sentence on individuals, not for the sake of inflicting punishment upon them, but in order, as far as possible, to produce security to the public at large, and especially to that portion of the public which might be deluded or led away for want of sufficient knowledge to judge for themselves. As far as he (the learned Judge) could have an opinion, he had no difficulty in saying, that the defendants had committed a great crime, to insinuate into the minds of the lower orders, that they had certain rights, which, in fact, they had not; to fill their minds with imaginary or exaggerated evils; in short, to hold such language to them as should induce them to endeavour to change by physical force the constitution of the kingdom, was an offence of a very aggravated description. The insinuating, therefore, to a large body of men, that they had such an inherent right, was not only holding unconstitutional doctrine, but trying to engender in their minds principles which

could not be justified, and which might induce them perhaps to adopt conduct which might at last involve them and their families, and indeed other peaceable inhabitants of the kingdom, and their families, in great distress. He (the learned Judge) did not mean to insinuate that such consequences had been foreseen in the present case; he believed that they had not; but it was the duty of the Court to estimate conduct by its probable result. Every man at all acquainted with the constitution of his country, would be aware that there could be no election without the King's writ; and that if, under the circumstances of the case, the House of Commons had permitted Sir Charles Wolseley to take his place among them, they would not only have been guilty of a violation of the constitution, but have rendered invalid every act which, as a Parliament, they might have done The meeting in question was held on the 12th of July, and from 16,000 to 20,000 were present at it. The whole proceeding was regular; and, bating some ill language to two persons, Pemberton and Dickenson, who dissented from the resolutions, the crowd dispersed without any breach of the peace; but a meeting intended for an ill purpose might pass off peaceably, and the true mode of discovering the motive and intent with which a meeting was held, was to look at the speeches delivered at it Upon that part of the case the evidence affected the defendants in different degrees The learned Judge then went at considerable length over the evidence given at the trial, and over the speeches as published subsequently to the meeting by the defendants, Edmonds and Wooller. Five hundred seats in the House of Commons were described as being sold to the best bidder.—Was that assertion, or was it not, calculated to diminish the respect which persons would otherwise feel for that House? That there might be some instances in which, contrary to the spirit of the constitution, corruption was employed in returning members to the House of Commons, might be true; but here the imputation extended to 500 seats out of 658. He (the learned Judge) put it to the hearers of the defendants themselves, whether such an assertion was not calculated to bring the House of Commons into contempt. As to the principle of universal suffrage, it was the peculiar blessing of the British constitution that every man was virtually represented in Parliament Members were chosen by particular places; but the moment they were chosen, they became bound to act, not merely for the benefit of their constituents, but for the good of the public at large.—If every man had an inherent right, however, a natural right, independent of the law, to vote for Members of Parliament, why were women to be excluded from the same free right? The learned Judge then adverted to the motion for a new trial, and commented on the facts and arguments which had been adduced in support of that application His Lordship proceeded.—The Court had attended to the affidavits which had been laid before them. It was the most unpleasant part of its duty to inflict punishment upon individuals, particularly where that punishment affected their innocent families. His Lordship wished that before persons subjected themselves to danger, they would think on the situation of those who were dependent upon them. The Court had not forgotten the family of the defendant Edmonds; and they wished that the conduct of the defendant Madox had been such as to strengthen the claim which his family also gave him upon their merciful consideration The affidavit of Major Cartwright ex-

hibited the feelings of an extremely good heart, strong principles of religion, and great attachment for the country to which he belonged. The learned Judge lamented to see that upon one subject, and perhaps upon only one, there was, to a certain degree, in the mind of that gentleman a delusion, an unfortunate delusion, as to the rights of adult men to vote for their own representatives The major's preference of imprisonment to fine, was a preference which deserved to weigh, and would weigh, with every well-constituted mind; but the Court was bound to look at the major's age, and to judge more prudently for him than he had done for himself. The Court, taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, did order and adjudge—that the defendant Edmonds should be imprisoned for nine months; the defendant Madox, for eighteen, and the defendant Wooler, for fifteen months, in the jail of Warwick; to find securities for their good behaviour during five years, themselves in 400*l.* each, and two securities in 200*l.* each. The sentence of the Court upon Major Cartwright was—that he should pay a fine of 100*l.* to the King, and be imprisoned until that fine be paid.

O'BRIEN FOR CONSPIRING, WITH FRANKLIN, OR FLETCHER, TO EXCITE DISAFFECTION.

Court of King's Bench, Feb. 21.

This was an indictment against the defendant, for conspiring with a person named Forbes, *alias* Fletcher, *alias* Franklin, to excite disaffection amongst his Majesty's subjects, by the publication of certain seditious placards and documents. There was a second count, for causing certain individuals to be punished by those publications.

The case on the part of the crown was stated by Mr Pearson; Mr Scarlett and Mr Gurney conducted the defendant's case.

The first witness called was Arthur Seale; he stated that he resides in the vicinity of Tottenham-court-road; knows a person of the name of Forbes, or Fletcher, or Franklin; first knew him by the name of Oliver, and afterwards by the name of Fletcher—did business for him; had seen him on the 1st of July, 1818; applied to witness to print bills for him, received that order on Saturday evening, and on the Sunday evening following, worked off between four and five hundred bills for him. A bill was here handed to the witness, which he stated to be one of those that he had printed at that time. It was addressed to the unpolled Electors of Westminster, and dated July 2, 1818 Witness remembered the chairing of Sir Francis Burdett, that was on the 11th of July, on Monday, and Fletcher was with him on the Saturday preceding; witness had some conversation with him about certain hat labels which he had printed for Fletcher, and Fletcher said, "Let the fools wear them, and they will the more easily be cut down"—A paper was here handed to witness, in manuscript, which he said he had received from Fletcher, who wrote it at his (witness's) own desk; he printed 500 copies of it by Fletcher's own order, about the beginning of September, 1818. The paper alluded to by the witness was then read It called upon the people to remember that the great were not their only enemies, &c. Other handbills were proved in like manner. On one occasion, Franklin, when he came to take the bills away, came in a hackney chariot; the chariot did not drive up to the door of witness's printing-office, but drew

up about seven doors from it. He (Franklin) came on Monday, in a hackney chariot; he had been at his printing office the Saturday before with the manuscript, from which the bill was printed; he does not know whether on that first occasion Fletcher came in a hackney coach, but he came in a hackney coach to his printing-office about a quarter past seven in the evening; there was an elderly gentleman sitting with him in the carriage, whom he did not then know, but whom he now knows to be Mr O'Brien; he remained in the coach while Fletcher went into the printing-office, and is sure that the chariot in which he saw that person was the one which brought Fletcher; the coach came up the road from St Giles's Witness knows a person of the name of Hockley; he was at witness's house when Franklin came there on the Monday

The hand-bills to the "Non-represented," "the Leicester Jury," &c. were next proved.

Witness had some conversation with Franklin about this last production. He asked Fletcher of what possible use it could be to forward a paper to a Jury which, through fear of assassination, might make them acquit the defendant; and Fletcher observed, that the trial was all a sham—that the minds of the Jury were made up, and that they were determined to convict Sir Francis Burdett. The next bill which he had printed for and delivered to Fletcher, was dated about the 25th of August 1819, and he had printed four hundred of these bills. It commenced, "Evil to him who evil thinks," and it was on the subject of the Queen's plate Witness proceeded to state, that Fletcher always took away with him the manuscript, with the exception of the one which witness preserved. Witness once objected to print certain hat labels, and Fletcher told him that he had nothing to fear, that in every thing he did he should be sure of protection. When witness gave the last bill to him, Fletcher said, that while the Queen's business went on he should have more to do, and added, that he would, in the course of a few days, bring down copy which he wished no one to do but witness himself

Cross-examined by Mr Scarlett.—He first learned that the name of this man was Fletcher after Mr Pearson had taken him; he always thought before that period that his name was Oliver; he called him Oliver to his face up to that time; it was on the Sunday morning after he had been taken that he first learned from Pearson that his name was Franklin; he never saw him after that Sunday morning; on the 21st of July, the hackney chariot drove up to his printing-office; saw Franklin get out of it; it stopped about seven doors from his printing-office; saw Franklin get out of it, and walk to his printing-office, and afterwards returned to the carriage with a gentleman whom he had reason to believe was Mr O'Brien; had since learned where Mr O'Brien resides; went to his house one day; no one shewed him that house; he does not think Mr Pearson desired him to go there; nobody in particular ordered him to go there; does not think Mr Pearson asked him to go; he, witness, said that he should wish to see Mr O Brien before he would positively swear to him; never saw him before the night he came with Franklin in the hackney coach, nor since that night, until Monday evening last; went to O'Brien's with Mr Hockley, on Monday last, about half past three o'clock, and walked up and down Craven-street, until a little after five. He then saw O'Brien in a gentleman's carriage coming from the Strand towards his own house; followed the carriage and saw O'Brien get out at his own house; this was about five o'clock, and he is satisfied that it

was the same gentleman whom he had before seen in hackney chariot with Franklin

John Jones is a bill-sticker; resides in No 1, Gardiner's-lane, King-street, Westminster; remembers a gentleman turned of forty, who came to him in the year 1819, for the purpose of employing him to post some bills relating to the Westminster meeting; he was a ruddy-faced, jolly-looking man, not quite five feet seven; he asked him if he were a bill-sticker, and told witness that he had been recommended to him; this was on Sunday afternoon; he wanted witness to go with him that evening, and witness refused to go, as it was Sunday. he afterwards brought about 100 bills to witness, and desired him to stick them up, and he accompanied witness, who placed them up; he paid witness five shillings, and told him that he would give him more, and he afterwards received from him seven shillings, he called and again employed him; said there was nothing to fear, "that I was as safe as Lord Sidmouth." Witness on one occasion ordered his daughter to watch him, and see to what place he went.

Anne Jones is daughter of the last witness; she proved that she had, by her father's desire, watched a gentleman whom she had before seen at her father's house, and who went to No 21, Craven-street, Strand, the house of Mr O'Brien.

John Hockley knows a person who calls himself Fletcher; remembers the chairing of Sir Francis Burdett on July 13, 1818; saw him the Saturday before the chairing of Sir F. Burdett; witness saw Fletcher that day in Tottenham-court-road, and was afterwards employed by him. Remembers the Smithfield meeting, and a few days before that meeting he again saw Fletcher in Tottenham-court-road, about eight o'clock at night; it was dark; the lamps were lighted; he saw him near Mr Seale's printing-office; he was in a carriage, which came from St Giles's; it stopped before it reached Seale's; he saw Fletcher get out; before this he had seen Fletcher by day-light; he went into Seale's house; there was a gentleman in powdered hair in the carriage; he had seen that gentleman on Monday last in Craven-street; that gentleman was Mr O'Brien; he saw Fletcher coming out of Seale's; the chariot was then standing as it was left, the horses were turned down towards Charing-cross; they had been turned towards Charing-cross, he thinks, after Fletcher came out of the carriage. When Fletcher came out he went on to a distance from the carriage, on the opposite side nearer to Charing-cross, to a tobacconist's Fletcher got into it, and witness got behind the carriage and went with it to Charing-cross. The chariot drew up there, and Franklin and the gentleman whom he had seen before got out of it. He saw them both distinctly. When they got out of the chariot they called another coach, and Fletcher went down to Parliament-street, and the other gentleman went up towards the Strand. Fletcher moved a large brown paper parcel, which he had carried from Seale's, to the coach; and he afterwards removed it to the coach which took him to Parliament-street. The carriage stopped at the Parliament Coffee-house, about two doors from Charles-street. Fletcher got out there, and turned down Charles-street. Witness followed him to Downing-street, and Fletcher entered a house about the middle of Downing-street. He remained there for an hour, and witness did not see him come out. When he returned he got into this coach, which drove to Northumberland-street, Strand. It rained very hard that day. He got out at Northumberland-court, went through it into Craven-street; he had that parcel with him, and went in-

to No. 21, Craven-street, the house of Mr O'Brien; it was about twelve when he went to O'Brien's; he knocked and drew his stick along the rails, and a servant came into the area and asked who was there? and he said, "Betsy, let me in." The servant came, opened the door, let him in.

Cross-examined.—Witness was very wet, and at Charing-cross he got behind the second coach; he got to Northumberland street about ten minutes after twelve; he knew it was after twelve, for it was half past twelve when he got home He saw the strange gentleman with the powdered head on Monday last, but he had not seen him more than twice; he went to see him on Monday last, because Mr Pearson told him to see the gentleman again. It was about eleven o'clock on Monday, in the Strand, while riding in a coach, that Pearson told both witness and Seale to go and see if they should know the gentleman again. He was going into his house when they saw him. Mr Pearson told him that the cause was to be tried on Wednesday.

Sarah Haddan lived in the service of Mr O'Brien, entered his service Jan. 26, 1820, and left it the 2d of January, 1821 Witness knows Mr Forbes, whom Mr O'Brien considered as a friend of his, as one of his own family Mr Forbes came frequently to her master's house; knows that Mr Forbes was called Mr Franklin by Mr O'Brien, and never by any other name than Forbes or Franklin, but he had sons who visited there, and who were called Fletcher. Witness remembers Mr Pearson inquiring often for Franklin some time in October last, at her master's house; her master was at dinner when Mr Pearson called, and witness having seen him, he told her that he expected no such person as Franklin there on that day: Mrs O'Brien frequently questioned her as to the appearance of the gentleman who called, and witness said that it was dusk and she could not see him, but she thought he had the appearance of a gentleman; witness remembered that after this occurred she went to bed one Sunday night at twelve o'clock, having left a clean hearth and a good fire; no paper had been burnt there during the evening, and no one but Mr O'Brien was up when she went to bed; she found in the morning a quantity of burnt paper; it was entirely consumed, and there was not remaining a bit larger than half a-crown; her master's family at that time consisted but of her master, a boy, and herself; she has never had a difference with her master, and has left his service.

Cross-examined by Mr Scarlett — O'Brien stopped her wages, and she went to Mr Harmer's office for the purpose of taking steps to recover them, and there she found Mr Pearson; she has employed Mr Harmer to recover her wages, and she believes that Mr O'Brien has paid her all the wages he would pay her. The gentlemanly-looking man who came gave his name as Johnston, and that gentleman was Mr Pearson.

William Turner was journeyman to Arthur Seale for nearly two years, and assisted in printing several of the bills which were already given in evidence.

Charles Pearson, attorney, having deposed as to the Queen's Plate Committee, he spoke of the advertisement, purporting to proceed from the Queen's Plate Committee, and watched some person, whom he could now say was Fletcher, from Seale's to Mr O'Brien's; he had then a parcel with him, saw him afterwards in conversation with Mr O'Brien, in his parlour; O'Brien came out a little before, and Franklin proceeded to a subscription-house in St James's-street; witness followed him from thence, and lost him at Charing-cross; he applied afterwards at Bow-street for a warrant against him, and went

to Maida-hill to a house which he heard was Franklin's. Went with Vickery on the Monday following to Mr O'Brien's, and having obtained admittance after some difficulty, Vickery proceeded to search the house, while witness remained in the hall, and during that time Mr O'Brien frequently protested with great warmth that he knew nothing of Franklin, though witness had told him that he had seen him in company with Mr O'Brien on the Thursday before.

Mr Scarlett addressed the Court for the defendant, and said, in his opinion, no evidence against his client was produced, and he really had some curiosity to know on what grounds the Grand Jury had found a bill against Mr O'Brien. One of the great objects of those seditious placards was to libel the Whigs, and Mr O'Brien was, therefore, anxious to call those noble individuals, who were Whigs still, as to whether they believed Mr O'Brien capable of abusing those noble persons, as he was stated to have done

The Duke of Bedford first knew Mr O'Brien in 1784; from what he knew of Mr O'Brien formerly, he could not think him capable of writing such seditious placards, for such foul purposes as those of riot and disorder.

Lord Holland.—Has known Mr O'Brien since he was a boy; formerly he often saw him; from all he ever knew of Mr O'Brien, he thought him the last man who would write any thing libellous of Mr Fox

Lord Erskine knew Mr O'Brien about ten years after 1778, when he was called to the Bar; he has seen Mr O'Brien lately, and he owed it to Mr O'Brien to say, he once had a difference with him, and that on that occasion he behaved as a man of honour; that increased his repute, in his Lordship's opinion.

Sir James Mackintosh knew Mr O'Brien from about 1791 to 1804; since that time his acquaintance was not as great with him as before; since 1812 he has not seen him often; from what he knew of Mr O'Brien, most certainly he should not think him likely to write a libel on Mr Fox.

At twenty minutes before nine, the Lord Chief Justice proceeded to recapitulate the evidence, and stated to the Jury, as his opinion, that no distinct evidence of participation in the guilty designs of Franklin or Fletcher was traced to Mr O'Brien.

The Jury consulted about five minutes, and, without leaving the box, pronounced a verdict of Not Guilty.

Proceedings before the Lord Mayor, relative to the Constitutional Association.

Mansion-House, June 18.

Mr Sheriff Parkins presented an information from Joseph Tyler, bookseller, Wych Street, (against whom a bill preferred by the Association had been thrown out by the Grand Jury) against Charles Murray, as member of an Association of an illegal nature, coming under the Act for the more effectual suppression of societies, established for seditious and treasonable purposes, and for preventing treasonable and seditious practices. The Lord Mayor appointed a future day for deciding whether or not he would receive the information.

June 27.

Mr Thackeray opened the case upon the part of the informant, by observing, that he thought little more was necessary for him to do, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, than to call evidence in support of the averments in the information. The words of the Act, in his judgment, were so

sufficiently clear, as not to need a lengthened speech to shew their application to the present defendant; but, as certain objections might be raised as to the operation of the Act, and it might be contended to extend only to societies for a seditious or disloyal purpose, it would be proper he should make a few remarks, to shew that this Association was strictly within the operation of the statute. He disclaimed, for himself and his friend, Mr Parkins, all personal motives of hostility to the defendant, or any of the members of the Association, many of whom he knew to be highly respectable, and with some of whom he was bound by the ties of relationship. He declared himself equally hostile with the members of the Association to disloyalty and sedition, and considered no evils more destructive to the peace and happiness of the community. His only object, and that of his friend, was to put a stop to the proceedings of an Association, which they considered to be contrary to law. It might be argued, that the societies, which it was the object of this statute to suppress, were enumerated in the Act, and therefore it would be absurd to endeavour to include, as under the operation of the Act, this Association, established for purposes avowedly of a very different nature and tendency; but he would contend, that it would have been very unwise in the legislature not to have foreseen, and they did foresee, that other societies might be established with plausible names, and apparently with praiseworthy views, whose proceedings it might be necessary to guard against or control, besides those enumerated in the preamble of the Act. It ought not, therefore, to be inferred, that the whole object of the statute was set forth in the preamble; that it never was so intended was clear, for, in former times, acts were passed without any preamble at all. In his opinion, the preamble of this Act had reference only to the first section, and that the enactments were general, affecting all societies within the descriptive words of the Act. The only exception he could discover, was in favour of freemasons' lodges; but even in their case, the lodge must be registered; and would it be said, that a society, with the great name of Lord Wellington enrolled among its members, ought not also to be registered? Did it not imply, that there was something suspicious in its nature, although it had assumed a plausible designation? —The learned gentleman here quoted the address of the Association, and contended that it amounted to a declaration within the meaning of the Act. It announced the existence of the evil, and the remedy necessary to be applied, and formed a combination for the purpose of suppressing and preventing the mischiefs complained of, by uniting to oppose the seditious; and also resolved upon a system of correspondence with those living at a distance. The Society of Quakers were indeed exempted from the Act; but this would not exempt the Noble Duke, unless he, who never quaked before should be made a Quaker, by his apprehensions of the penalties of this Act. The Association itself denies that it is established for moral purposes: Societies for those purposes, they declare, are already established; and if their object be really to put down libellous and indecent publications, why, he would ask, have they not prosecuted on both sides? Why had they not prosecuted for libels against the Queen, and why had not such caricatures met their vengeance? One libeller of the Queen had, indeed, been proceeded against, the Rev. Mr Blacow, but that was not the act of this Association. They sought out the poor starving bookseller, who might be ignorant of what he sold,

and compelled to the sale to procure an existence, while this libel, which was delivered from the pulpit, they allowed to pass unnoticed The learned gentleman then remarked on the suggestion to his Lordship, to appoint an assessor, which he deemed such an insult, as ought to have subjected the person making it to be committed. He wished only for a decision upon the legality of the Association, and therefore he called only for the mildest penalty; and concluded a speech of about half an hour, by adjuring his Lordship, as he valued his public character, and as he would be answerable at a higher tribunal, to give that decision which he believed to be the law of the land

Mr Parkins was then called, and sworn.

Previous to his examination, Mr Adolphus asked him if he was to have any share in the penalty in case of conviction, as it was now avowed that a penalty was sought for?

Mr Parkins replied, Certainly not.

Mr Parkins was then examined by Mr Thackeray.—Knew the Association; they met at No 6, New Bridge-street; there was a brass plate, with the words "Constitutional Association," on the door; saw a young man, whom he since knows to be Orton, at the door, who introduced him up stairs; saw the defendant, Sharp, there; asked him to give him the latest list of subscribers, which he did very politely; and also a copy of a circular letter, signed by himself, and a pamphlet. Being asked in what capacity he applied to Mr Sharp, and what induced him to ask for the list?

Mr Adolphus objected, and some time was spent in argument between the learned gentlemen—Mr Adolphus contending that the witness should be confined to give his evidence only to what passed between the defendant and himself, and not as to his motives, or the character in which he applied to Mr Sharp, which was so ruled by his Lordship. Under this restriction, the evidence of Mr Parkins went no farther, than as to the receipt of copies of the address of the Association, with the list of subscribers annexed.

On his cross-examination by Mr Adolphus, he said he had never attended any meeting of the Association; did not go for the purpose of getting evidence for this information, but for general information; did not recollect whether or not he had applied to the Lord Mayor before he saw Mr Sharp, but rather thought he had; never told Sharp he thought the Association a good one.

The printed address of the Association was then put in as evidence, and certain parts of it read, particularly the name of Mr Sharp, as honorary secretary, and again in the list of subscribers, and the declaratory resolutions.

Mr Shelton, the clerk of the peace for the city of London, proved that the Association was not registered at his office. Not one society, except the freemasons', had been registered with him under the Act in question.

Mr Adolphus read from his brief a list of about twenty public societies of different descriptions, none of which, Mr Shelton said, were registered. This closed the case for the informant.

Mr Adolphus now said, that he was glad the time had come for him to answer the attack which had been made on an Association, with which some of the highest and most illustrious individuals in the land were connected; brought forward, too, for the purpose of disgracing them, in the shape of a proceeding by an informer. But those who built their present safety and future renown on the suppression of a Constitutional Association, formed of

such individuals, would, he trusted, be disappointed in this their desperate attempt If, however, the object of this attack was to descant in terms of obloquy and reproach on the illustrious individuals who supported this Association, the object had certainly been attained, and that too without any danger of retaliation. It was easy to throw stones at such individuals, whose exalted rank and station afforded many points of contact; whilst the assailants, from their insignificance, were only to be found, on looking for them, in impervious holes and inscrutable corners He would not waste the time of his Lordship, by replying to such trash as roses smelling sweetly under whatever name, and the other shabby and threadbare quotations that had been made use of, nor the sneers that had been attempted to be thrown upon the Association. Had it been the real intention of the prosecutors, or the informers, to put an end to this society, or had that alone been their object, they should not have seen it attempted to be accomplished by a proceeding before a Justice of the Peace; (he spoke it in no disrespect, for it was in that character that his Lordship appeared on the information,) but they would have seen a jury of honest men impanelled, and the matter fairly tried before the sages of the law It would have been put in the hands of lawyers, men of practice and of established weight. It would not have been left to be supported by the flippant assertions of one, whom he had never seen or heard of either in a Court of Justice or elsewhere He (Mr Adolphus) was surprised at the hardihood with which they had on this occasion ventured charges so utterly destitute of evidence or truth. Not one word had been given in evidence to prove the existence of any meeting whatever, of any combination, or of the "unlawful, treasonable, or seditious purposes" of the Association The witness had seen Mr Sharp in a room, but Mr Sharp did not form any meeting He admitted the correctness of the observation, that an illegal society was not the less illegal, because the Duke of Wellington belonged to it The law viewed all with an equal eye; and the poor man of the pot-house, who became a member of his benefit club, had equal advantages with the most illustrious But he would guard himself from admitting, that attacks ought to be suffered with impunity upon those on whom a stain was a wound, and dishonour not to be endured, whilst those who assailed were beneath reproach. His Lordship had been told most happily, that his decision would make the Duke of Wellington *quake!* He congratulated them on the excellence of the pun, which was well worthy of the quarter from which it came; but he could not think that the bar was so low, that any member of it could be father of it He would tell them the origin of the joke: During the French Revolution, at a Jacobin club, Marat, a celebrated reformer of those days, mentioned to the club, "I waited on Dumourier, and when I entered the room Dumourier trembled"—"Dumourier tremble!" said some one present, "Dumourier would not tremble at the sight of 10,000 such fellows as you!"—"The Duke of Wellington quake!" said the learned counsel, in a tone of ineffable contempt, "he would tell them, that neither their words nor their blows would reduce him to that, although it was part of the system to throw dirt at men of exalted rank, to render their situations less tenable." As to the allusion which had been made to his having recommended an assessor, he must say that he did it as a mere matter of suggestion, and with

all that genuine and sincere respect which he paid to every civil officer, before whom he had the honour to appear He was one who thought respect to the magistracy the first duty of the subject. The "class" was always respectable, and respect ought to be paid to it, although the individual might be unworthy of it; and he displayed bad taste, if not bad sense, who could censure a "class;" and he (Mr Adolphus) would not follow any example set him that way by any persons, however high their stations might be The learned gentleman then adverted to the statute under which the proceedings had been instituted, and asked whether any evidence had been given, to shew that the objects of the Association were as had been described? If this society, in defiance of the obloquy cast upon its members, and the machinations set on foot against them, proceeded with firmness to repress that blasphemy with which we were inundated—if, in defiance of placards and paragraphs, they dragged to light and punishment those whose trade was to blaspheme, from the God who made us, to the meanest officer of society, in such a cause, and with such objects, he thought that the society deserved the support of all good and honest men. Want of confidence, despair in the attack that had been made upon this society after so much preparation, so many consultations and meetings, was visible in every feature. They appeared tremblingly alive to the objections that would be made to it, and they had carefully recapitulated them. But he would proceed to remark on the facts set out in the information, and the shabby and desperate attempts that had been made at proof, after he should have made some observations on the origin of the Act. It would be recollected, that this Act was passed in the year 99, a year memorable for the situation in which the country was placed At that time, societies were formed by those who wished to bring about a revolution in this country, in which only a portion of the members were permitted to be acquainted with the general management; these were controlled by others, and those in their turn by an executive directory, (in the manner of the Executive Directory, which was then the form of government in France), having a director who governed the whole, but who was kept out of sight. It was against societies of this nature, having the character and intention of hostility to the established institutions of the country, that this Act was directed; and at that time, it having been shewn by the Abbe Barruel in France, and by another person in England, that, under the name of freemasons' lodges, societies of this nature were held for the purposes above-mentioned; they were therefore obliged by the Act, to register their declarations. As to the societies for charitable purposes, they were lawful before, and were never made unlawful by any thing that had been done since The society was charged in the information with being an unlawful combination and confederacy. He then took a view of the history of the Act, and quoted the preamble, to shew the nature and description of societies intended to be suppressed, which were clearly designated, while the objects of the present Association were entirely opposite He denied that the address of the Association could be construed into a declaration under the Act, and remarked that the word "test" was omitted in the information, because it was known that there was no test subscribed or assented to He instanced the case of a society, which should be formed for the encouragement of home manufactures, the members of which

should assent to a declaration to dine together, and to have a ball, where every one must appear in the manufacture of the country This would be a declaration not required by law; but would any one venture to say, that this was an illegal combination? This construction would equally affect numberless valuable societies and institutions; and let it be remembered, that this object was now avowed, as the learned gentleman had contended, that let their intents be wicked or charitable, they were all equally within the meaning of the Act. Thus he might claim an acquittal, on the high ground of the principles of the Association, and a denial that any test existed among them; but there was not even a tittle of evidence in support of the facts set forth in the information. The existence of the Association had not been proved. No evidence had been given that they had ever met. Mr Parkins had seen only Mr Sharp alone in a room, and solitude and society he had always understood were direct opposites. No proof had been adduced but the list of subscribers; and persons might be subscribers, and yet not members. Even in the list Mr Sharp was set down as secretary, and it seldom happened that the secretary was a member of a society; nobody thought that the Clerk of the House of Commons was therefore a member; the very printed address had not been proved to have been issued by the society; the manuscript should have been produced, and evidence brought forward, tracing it to the defendant.—The learned gentleman concluded, by repeating that he had a right to claim a decision in his favour, upon the high ground that the Association was not within the meaning of the Act; but even if that should fail him, upon the total absence of evidence to prove the facts stated in the information.

The Lord Mayor consulted for a few minutes with Mr Newman, when the latter gave the decision, that his Lordship thought there was not evidence before him to induce him to pronounce the Association an illegal combination, and therefore he dismissed the information.

TRIALS FOR LIBEL.

Thos. Flindell for libel against the Queen.

Exeter Assizes.

Guildhall, March 19.

The information charged the defendant with having published a scandalous and malicious libel against the Queen, contained in the *Western Luminary* of July 11, 1820, in the following words:—"Shall a woman, who is as notoriously devoted to Bacchus as to Venus—shall such an one as would, if found on our pavement, be committed to Bridewell and whipped, be held up in the light of suffering innocence, and enthroned in our hearts on the prostration of our boasted principles?"

Mr Sergeant Pell briefly stated the case for the Crown. The words selected by his Majesty's Attorney-General as the subject of this information, were embodied in a dissertation of much greater length, which it was right the

Jury should hear.—[Here the Learned Sergeant read the article in the *Western Luminary* of July 11, in which the Libel was contained.] This, he said, was the paper on which the Jury, under the obligation of their sacred oaths, would have to pronounce; and unless some species of proof, some line of argument with which he was wholly unacquainted, should be adopted for the defence, he was sure they would be bound to consider it, as he himself did, a foul, scandalous, and malicious libel.

Proof of publication was then adduced, and Mr Sergeant Pell said this was his case

Mr Coleridge rose for the defendant. If in his conscience he went along with the Learned Counsel for the prosecution, as to the character of the alleged libel, and the probable result of the case, he would not waste the time of the Jury, or that of his Lordship, by another word, but would reserve his arguments for a future opportunity. However the prospect of being engaged in this case might have been flattering to him, as he approached it, the nearer view was alarming. It needed not the disparity that existed between himself and the Counsel for the Crown, to clothe this case with disadvantages to the defendant; for the information charged him with having published a foul, slanderous, and malicious libel; and such a charge was inferior only to those that affected the lives and property of individuals, because it attacked the reputation. And against whom was the defendant charged to have published this libel? Against a woman who, of all others was in a situation entitled to commiseration—an individual of exalted rank, the Queen of this mighty empire. He would not justify the passage which formed the ground of this information—it was an intemperate sentence; and if the defendant would have had him justify it, he must have sought another advocate. The evidence of crime, however, rested on the intention of a party; and if he could shew them, from a train of circumstances, that Mr Flindell had no malicious intent, he would be entitled to their verdict. In doing this he should be compelled to enter into a painful detail of particulars, which he deeply deplored should ever have taken place, and which he wished could be forgotten.—The Learned Counsel, after disclaiming the influence of any personal feelings, proceeded to narrate the circumstances that preceded the late trial of her Majesty. He particularly dwelt on the Report of the House of Lords, which cast a reflection on the Queen's character, ten thousand times more serious than any thing the defendant had said; and a bill was brought into Parliament, that, for the charges it contained, out-heroded Herod. The libel, in comparison with it, was milk and water. Was Mr Flindell to take no notice of this? Was he to be the only one to remain unmoved on the subject? But he should wrong his cause if he stopped here. It was generally thought that those who favoured the Queen's cause were connected on other political points; and it was Mr Flindell's intention to oppose them; an injury to the person of the Queen was not his intention; he thought only of the idol whom the party had set up; for in the same breath as he makes the accusation against her Majesty, he tells you, that her answers to addresses were written by the same persons as the addresses themselves. He should not, however, be dealing candidly, if he did not admit, that the line of defence he was pursuing did not cover the whole of the alleged libel; yet, if the Jury found that the sentence, though intemperate, was not written in a bad spirit, they would give a verdict in his favour. He had brought the matter to a balance of evidence—on one side they had the bare proof of publication, on

the other a thousand facts of extenuation. If the evidence appeared to them so balanced, that their minds wavered, they should acquit; for the still small voice of mercy was of more avail than the loudest tones of justice. Could either of the Jury go home and say, "I have consigned an honest, industrious man, the father of twelve children, to a prison, although the reasons in his favour raised a doubt in my mind whether his error was the effect of intemperance or guilt?" The Learned Counsel concluded by saying, he knew of no occurrence more heart-rending to an honest Juror, than the reflection that he had given an inconsiderate verdict.

Mr Sergeant Pell rose to reply. He could not conceive how the Jury were to consider the defendant the innocent man represented by his Learned Friend. At the very time when the defendant published this paper, the Queen of England was, according to his Learned Friend's statement, in a situation that ought to have excited the greatest commiseration; this was a broad admission of his Learned Friend, but it was nothing more than the truth. On that day, when her Majesty was surrounded by dangers that almost reached her life, the defendant had described her as abandoned to the utmost profligacy, a fit inmate for a prison, and deserving of a degrading punishment, inflicted only on the most notorious criminals. His Learned Friend had admitted it was a coarse publication, that reflected no credit on the taste of Mr Findell. He agreed with his Learned Friend, that it was as coarse, as illiberal a sentence as was ever put forth from the press; but, though vulgar, it was not less malignant; though the weapon were rough, the wound inflicted by it would not be less deadly. His Learned Friend had commented on a circumstance which he confessed he heard with some degree of surprise—that because the King upon his throne, aided by his Privy Council, had made representations of the nature alluded to, every subject in the kingdom had a right to do the same. This was sacred ground—it was not for him to call in question the motives of such high authority, or to impugn the wisdom of his councils. Yet Mr Fiudell had gone far beyond even that description. Good God! was it in England, a country where a charge was not considered as implication of guilt, that a person charged with a crime should be prejudged just on the eve of being called up for trial? Was that justice?—was that according to the spirit of the Constitution under which we live? What would this innocent man—this father of a numerous family say, if one of his children were about to be charged with a crime before a tribunal of his country, which God forbid—what would *he* say of that man, the justice of his mind, or the honour of his feelings, who should attempt to corrupt the source of justice, and poison the minds of those who may be called on to pronounce on his guilt or innocence? The liberty of the press, invaluable as it was, had unfortunately gone beyond what may be termed its legitimate bounds. God forbid he should ever live to see the day when its power should be cramped beyond a necessary restriction—he would rather see it licentious than dead. It could not be ascertained where its limits began, or where they ended—a British Jury were its guardians, and would best protect this invaluable blessing by restraining it when it degenerated into licentiousness; for where there was licentiousness there was crime. He would call their attention to the strong language of the libel, and leave it with the Jury to say, if it were not of the foul, infamous, and malicious description charged in the information. "A woman as notoriously devoted to Bacchus as to Venus." It was false—he would

confidently assert it to be an unfounded and scandalous libel. He did not find in any of the charges which had been brought against her Majesty, that she was "notoriously devoted to Bacchus," he had, indeed, heard the filthy whisperings that were abroad, but he treated them as they deserved. "Shall such an one as would, if found on our pavement, be committed to Bridewell and whipped, be held up in the light of suffering innocence?" There was a coarseness here—a degree of personal bitterness that did no credit to the heart of any man. The contrasting her Majesty with her daughter, in the same paper, also went beyond any thing of human guilt he had ever heard The Learned Sergeant made some further observations on the libel, and concluded with enforcing upon the Jury to find the defendant Guilty.

The Judge, in his address to the Jury, principally directed their attention to the injustice of prejudicing the public mind against a person charged with an offence The offence of the defendant was precisely of this description, and it was his duty unequivocally to state, that he considered it a libel.

The Jury deliberated a few minutes, and returned a verdict of Guilty, but strongly and unanimously recommended the defendant to the clemency and consideration of the Crown. The Judge said, he would take care that their recommendation should be made known in the proper quarter.

Court of King's Bench, May 28.

The Solicitor-General moved for judgment upon Thomas Flindell.

The defendant put in a long affidavit, stating that he was fifty-four years of age, that he had twelve children, nine of whom were dependent upon him for support, and that if he was imprisoned for any length of time at a place distant from that where he carried on his business, it would be ruinous to himself and family.

He then addressed the Court in mitigation of punishment, while the Solicitor-General spoke in aggravation.

Mr Justice Bayley pronounced judgment. He said, that the defendant had been found guilty of what was truly described as being a foul and infamous libel upon her Majesty the Queen—a libel too, which was published at a period well calculated to aggravate the character of the offence. It was at a time when a Committee of the House of Lords had recommended an inquiry into certain conduct imputed to her Majesty; the defendant said, that, as a public journalist, he felt authorised by the report to publish the libel in question; but he should have known that inquiry was not in itself identified with guilt—he should have known, that when a form of proceeding, in furtherance of that Report, was ordered by the House of Lords, where witnesses were to be seen, examined, and their testimony sifted, it was his bounden duty to have abstained from criminatory remarks upon her Majesty, until the result of a constitutional investigation had decided upon the case. There was nothing more important to the due administration of justice, than that the party whose conduct was impugned, should go unprejudiced before a constitutional tribunal. It was the wisest and most leading maxim of the laws of this kingdom, that a person should be presumed innocent until the contrary appeared in due course of law. The defendant had not only disregarded this maxim of law, which it ought to have been his first duty to have obeyed, but had added other charges against her Majesty, which were properly designated in the indictment as being calculated to defame and

slander the character of her Majesty, the Queen. The defendant had said, that he had uniformly supported the reigning family upon the throne, he should have recollected that her Majesty was the consort of the King who sat on that throne, and that she was nearly allied to the royal family for which he professed so devoted an attachment. The Learned Judge in conclusion said, that the Court had taken seriously into its consideration the very strong recommendation of the Jury, who must have known the defendant's character in his neighbourhood, and that that recommendation had materially weighed with them in pronouncing their judgment, which was—that the defendant should be imprisoned in the county gaol of Devon, at Exeter, for the space of eight calendar months, and that at the expiration of that term he should give sureties to keep the peace for three years, himself in 500*l.* and two sufficient sureties in 250*l.* each.

The Rev Richard Blacow, for Libel on the Queen

Lancaster Assizes, Friday, Sept. 14

Mr Tindall stated the pleadings. This was an indictment against the Rev. Richard Blacow, for a scandalous and malicious libel against the late Queen The first count charged, that he had composed and preached the words charged as libellous; the second count charged that he had composed and published the words in a pamphlet, entitled "The Substance of a Discourse," &c.; the third count charged, that he had composed and published the words set forth in the indictment The defendant pleaded Not Guilty, upon which issue was joined

Mr Brougham—May it please your Lordship, Gentlemen of the Jury,—It is my painful duty to lay before you the particulars of this case, and it is yours to try it; and my part shall be performed in a very short time indeed, for I have little, if any thing, more to do, than merely to read—what I will not characterise by words of my own, but what I will leave to you, and may leave to every man whose mind is not perverted, to affix a proper description of I read to you what the defendant composed and printed You have heard from my learned friend,—and if you have any doubt, it will soon be removed,—to whom the following passage applies. Of the Queen it is that the passage is written and printed —

"The term 'cowardly,' which they have now laid to my charge, I think you will do me the justice to say, does not belong to me; that feeling was never an inmate of my bosom, neither when the Jacobins raged around us with all their fury; nor in the present day of radical uproar and delusion. The latter, indeed, it must be allowed, have one feature about them even more hideous and disgusting than the Jacobins themselves They fell down and worshipped the Goddess of Reason, a most respectable and decent sort of being"

And you know, Gentlemen, that she was a common prostitute taken from the stews of Paris

"A most respectable and decent sort of being, compared with that which the radicals have set up as the idol of their worship. They have elevated the Goddess of Lust on the pedestal of Shame, an object of all others the most congenial to their taste, the most deserving of their homage, the most worthy of their adoration After exhibiting her claims to their favour in two distant quarters of the globe, after compassing sea and land with her guilty paramour, to gratify to the full her impure desires, and even polluting the holy sepulchre itself with

her presence, to which she was carried in mock majesty astride upon an ass, she returned to this hallowed soil so hardened in sin, so bronzed with infamy, so callous to every feeling of decency or of shame, as to go on Sunday last"—

Here, gentlemen, the Rev. Preacher alluded, not to the public procession to St Paul's to return thanks, or to other processions, which might, partly at least, be considered as political, but to her late Majesty's humble, unaffected, pious devotion in the church of Hammersmith.

—" to go on Sunday last, clothed in the mantle of adultery, to kneel down at the altar of that God who is ' of purer eyes than to behold iniquity,' when she ought rather to have stood barefoot in the aisle, covered with a sheet as white as ' unsunned snow,' doing penance for her sins. Till this had been done, I would never have defiled my hands by placing the sacred symbols in hers . and this she would have been compelled to do in those good old days when church discipline was in its pristine vigour and activity."

Gentlemen, the author of this libel is a minister of the gospel. The libel is a sermon ;—the act of publication was preaching ,—the place was his church ;—the day was the sabbath ;—the audience was his congregation Far be it from me to treat lightly that office of which he wears the outward vestments, and which he by his conduct profanes A pious, humble, inoffensive, charitable minister of the gospel of peace, is duly entitled to the tribute of affection and respect which is ever cheerfully bestowed. But I know no title to our affection or veneration which is possessed by a meddling, intriguing, turbulent priest, even when he chooses to separate his sacred office from his profane acts ; but far less when he mixes up both together—when he refrains not from entering the sanctuary with calumny—when he not only invades the sacred circle of domestic life with the torch of slander, but enters the hallowed threshold of the temple, and casts it flaming on the altar—when he pollutes with rank calumnies the air which he especially is bound to preserve holy and pure—when he makes the worship of God the means of injuring his neighbour, and polluting the flock committed to his care Of the defendant's motives I say nothing. I care not what they were ; for innocent they could not be. I care not whether he wished to pay court to some patron, to look up to the bounty of power, or whether it was mere mischief and wickedness, or whether it was a union of interest with spite. But be his motives of a darker or lighter shade, innocent they cannot have been ; and unless the passage I have read proceeded from innocency, it would be a libel on you to doubt that you will find it a libel Of the illustrious and unfortunate individual who was the object of this attack, I forbear to speak. She is now removed from such low strife, and there is an end, with respect to her, of, I cannot say, chequered, for her life was one continued course of injustice, oppression, and animosity, from all who either held or looked up to—all who either possessed or courted, emolument and aggrandizement ;—but the grave has closed over her unrelenting persecutions Unrelenting I may well call them, for they have not spared her ashes. The evil passions which beset her steps in life have not ceased to pursue her memory, and with a resentment more implacable than death But it is yours to vindicate the insulted laws of your country. If your verdict will have no effect on the defendant, if he still go on unrepenting and unabashed, it will at least teach others or deter them from violating the decency of the law.

Mr Thomas Burgland Johnston.—

I am a printer at Liverpool. Mr Blacow applied to me for printing of his sermon. That was the sermon now handed to me. During the time the printing was going on I saw him repeatedly. I delivered to him the proof-sheets. I have one in my custody. It contains a few marks made by him. The word "crisis" is altered to "juncture" It was delivered back with that alteration to me by Mr Blacow. The sermon was afterwards printed by me. Mr Blacow paid me for the printing.

By Mr Blacow.—I do not know the instigators of this prosecution. I don't know at whose expence it is carried on. I know Mr Brougham. He offered himself a candidate for Liverpool some years ago.

Mr Justice Holroyd.—What has that to do with your defence?

Mr Blacow.—I wish to shew that Mr Brougham is connected with those in Liverpool who instigated the prosecution

Mr Justice Holroyd.—That is immaterial.

Mr Blacow bowed with great submission, and said he would do nothing which his lordship thought irregular.

Cross-examination continued.—Mr Brougham is a member of the Concentric Society I know Egerton Smith, the editor of the *Liverpool Mercury*, perfectly well I have known him nine or ten years His character and principles are perfectly well known to me.

Mr Justice Holroyd.—That can have nothing to do with your defence.

Mr Blacow.—My lord, I wish to show the spirit of the party in Liverpool, with whom Mr Brougham is connected.

Mr Justice Holroyd.—If I allowed you to go into such inquiries, I should be guilty of perverting justice.

Mr Blacow.—My lord, I shall ask nothing which your lordship shall think irregular or improper

Cross-examination continued.—When I was engaged in printing the sermon, you undoubtedly had frequent conversations with me respecting its principles and tendency.—The substance of your motives, as you stated them, was to expose the views of the whigs and radicals. You never shewed bitterness or hostility towards the Queen on these occasions. You often expressed your regret that she had connected herself with a desperate faction in the state. You often lamented the danger to which the country was exposed from the intrigues of that faction and the dread of its consequences There was a procession in Liverpool a few days before your sermon was preached, in honour of what was called the Queen's triumphant acquittal. I was not near the procession. I cannot testify whether there was confusion and uproar in consequence.

Mr Blacow.—It is my desire that the whole sermon should be read. I don't wish the notes, except perhaps one note.

Mr Brougham.—If the whole sermon be read, I shall insist upon the notes being read.

Mr Justice Holroyd.—Do you wish the whole discourse to be read, as bearing upon the charge against you, and material for your defence?

Mr Blacow.—Yes, that is my desire

Mr Cross here read the sermon, consisting of thirty pages. In one page were the two following notes:—

"(Note to 'guilty paramour')—See Juvenal's account, in his 6th satire, of Hippiah's journeyings in the self-same region of the world, by sea and land, with her paramour Sergius. But such parallels, it should seem, however opposite or striking, are not to be adduced, while the advocates of 'injured innocence' and 'unsullied purity' feel no scruple whatever in holding up to public execration, as the very antitype of Nero himself, one, whose forbearance and generosity of character—whose great, noble, and truly magnani-

mous qualities, place him in the very first rank of Princes, who have adorned and dignified their exalted stations, and who, ever since the sceptre of power was lodged in his hands, has swayed it with so much honour to himself, such glory to his country, and such inestimable advantage to those who have the happiness to live under his mild and auspicious rule and government."

"(Note to 'Mock-Majesty astride upon an ass')—

"Enter Jerusalem on an ass,
Then on the stage act Columbine;
Attend with Bergami at mass,
Then to St Paul's—oh! Caroline!!!"

Mr Cross got through the printed sermon in about an hour's time.

Mr Blacow next read a speech in manuscript, which occupied about two hours and a half. The Jury having heard the whole of that discourse, he would now proceed to state his motives, and then he would conclude with some reflections. He entered on this subject with great reluctance, owing to an event so awful and sudden as the Queen's death That event ought to have hushed all angry feelings. But Mr Brougham was the first to disturb her ashes Alas, alas! On that party death made no impression. The malignant feelings which were brooding in their hearts vegetated in their breasts, even beneath the cypress. The hydra of faction had reared its terrific head on the day of her funeral. That disclosed the unparalleled malignity and atrocity of the designs they had entertained. Her Counsel were determined to carry their vindictive feelings beyond the tomb. Her mantle was on their heads, and they were endeavouring to raise trophies on her tomb. This was a posthumous effort of their malice; nothing but the lowest and most malignant feelings of revenge could have drawn him into this Court. Blasphemy and sedition had raised themselves beneath her banner; treason itself had been distilled from her pen. Previously to her trial, he had always felt the warmest interest in her favour, and supposed that it was only levities and indiscretions that were brought to the country with velocipede celerity on the wings of the wind. Favoured as she had been by the late King, and widowed as she had been from the first years she was in this country, he had felt great interest in her. He felt for her perhaps with greater sincerity than her vaunted professional champions. But when the foul, filthy, and abominable charges against her were established—

Mr Brougham.—I should not wish unnecessarily to interfere, and I have stayed long before I offered my interruption; but surely this is not to be endured.

Mr Justice Holroyd.—No evidence would be admitted of what you assert, if you could produce it; and we must not, therefore, hear assertions resorted to.

Mr Blacow.—When the foul and filthy——

Mr Brougham—He is just repeating the very terms

Mr Justice Holroyd—No, sir, you must not use such language I am sorry to interrupt you on your defence, but I cannot in law hear such assertions.

Mr Blacow.—Surely I may shew what my motives were.

Mr Justice Holroyd.—You cannot make assertions of guilt, when proof would not be admitted You may state your own opinion and belief.

Mr Blacow—This is my opinion.

Mr Justice Holroyd—But you may not prove your opinion from newspapers, or other sources. The law will not allow it.

Mr Blacow.—The highest court of law tried the question, and gave a verdict.

Mr Justice Holroyd.—We don't legally know what was done there.

Mr Blacow.—It appeared the highest verdict that could be given.

Mr Brougham.—There was no verdict.

Mr Blacow.—No ingenuity could pervert the evidence of her own witnesses; and then he felt indignation and disgust, in place of pity and respect. Then there was a mock procession in the place he lived in The howling tempest desolated the land. Then, and not till then, it was that he took up his pen. Every man who had a spark of loyalty, a grain of religion, a particle of affection for his country, was bound to arrest the progress of the desolating storm. He was satisfied that it was his duty to bring all the energies of the pulpit to bear upon it. Party politics were far beneath their notice, but there were Christian politics which had a strict claim on their attention. (Here the defendant quoted the several passages of Scripture that are usually applied to politics.) With all the systems of dissenters, disloyalty and disaffection were interwoven; and if they were not checked, they would soon revive in an Oliverian dynasty — Having made these remarks, he would go on next to shew, that the symptoms which had preceded the French Revolution had begun to appear in this country when he preached his sermon. "When bad men conspire, good men must combine." In their ranks he took his stand against the raging waves, and the blood-hounds, and 6000 other figurative horrors. It was a cool and deliberate act he did. He had yet to learn the head and front of his offending. He had supported the sacred shield of protection, the banner of the Sovereign, against the standard of anarchy, tumult, and rebellion. If the moral desolation had not been turned by the pen, where would the diadem, where the stars of nobility, where the mitres have been? The democratic mob, under the many-headed monster, the majesty of the people, would have triumphed. "Thank God, who gave me courage to do my duty in affliction," &c. (quoting the fine peroration of Burke to the electors of Bristol), "this will be my consolation." If they would lend an ear to the faction which brought him there, to the advocate who had had the audacity to threaten the Peers—

Mr Justice Holroyd —That is quite irregular.

Mr Blacow.—It was so reported in the newspapers

Mr Brougham —If it was, it was most falsely reported, but it never was so reported.

Mr Blacow —It was not contradicted; and it was on the lips of every radical.

Mr Justice Holroyd.—You cannot assume it as a fact.

Mr Blacow next spoke of "such reptiles as Wood and Waithman, who had talent only to weigh a drug or measure a yard of tape—regular traders in guile and deception."

Mr Justice Holroyd.—If you go on so, I must stop you.

Mr Blacow.—Then I cannot go on.

Mr Justice Holroyd.—No slanders are to be repeated here

Mr Blacow —As public men?

Mr Justice Holroyd —Not on another transaction

Mr Blacow then said, Mr Brougham had been guilty of a moral degradation, which he hoped would never again be seen at the bar. But the good and great old Chancellor nobly replied to him, "*Fiat justitia ruat cœlum;*" he was like a venerable oak in his native soil. Mr Brougham had endeavoured to intimidate by his threats, when he could not cajole by his sophistry. That was the practice of his ferocious school. He borrowed the word from Mr Creevey, of Whig-radical notoriety—for Liverpool had the honour of giving that statesman birth. (The Reverend Defendant again plunged in-

to the vortex of the French Revolution, and the comparison to the ferocious monster Nero) They crept into Parliament, after all, through the crannies of rotten boroughs Mr Brougham, and Sir Francis Burdett, and others of that pestilent faction, were members of the Concentric Club, that horde of ferocious persons. He (Mr Blacow) had not defamed the Queen, and he was prosecuted, not for defaming the Queen, but for the many editions of his sermon against the whigs and radicals. When it went through two editions, a full conclave of raging Liverpool radicals resolved to prosecute him. (Here quotations of proceedings in the Lords and Commons were repeatedly checked in vain.) In the picture between the ferocious Nero and our generous King, was it not a direct call to rebellion? This had been the intention of the radical faction in taking up the Queen's case The well known journal of this faction was the Liverpool Mercury, the common receptacle of sedition and blasphemy, and attacks on private character. He (Mr Blacow) knew the faction. They had fury on their lips, vengeance in their hearts, and blood on their hands. (The Reverend Defendant next entered into a long history of his efforts to deprive an Atheist of parish offices, and of his failure, through the conduct of "the well-known Colleague of a Radical Counsel for the Queen, and Member for Nottingham.")

Mr Justice Holroyd.—No, sir.

Mr Blacow.—As public characters?

Mr Justice Holroyd.—As a man of education, conducting your own defence, and professing zeal for submission to authority, I am surprised that you can go on so.

Mr Blacow again reverted to Nero, and the comparison to him, alluded to blasphemies against ministers, and said the Queen's answers, to use a well-known expression of Mr Scarlett's, smelt of blood. Why was this prosecution brought against him after the Queen's demise? Why was he selected? He next lauded the Judges of the land, and lamented the audacious slanders even upon them, and concluded this part by exclaiming—"Perish the arm that would not be raised at such a crisis; silent for ever be the tongue that would not speak." He defamed not the Queen. It was utterly impossible, if he had had the eloquence of Sir Harcourt Lees in Ireland, or of that man of straw John Bull, against which he understood Sir John Copley set his face. (The interruptions were incessant here and unavailing) His arm had dropped from the shoulder blade before he had suffered the finger of pollution to touch the sacred symbols of Christ's body (He next proposed to read passages much stronger than he had used, from a volume called "Gynecocracy," but he was prevented from that course as irrelevant. He pleaded the example of Hone and Carlile, and complained that the whole of his defence would be cut up)

Mr Brougham explained, that Hone had quoted parodies, not to shew that others had not been prosecuted, but to shew that he was not guilty of profane or blasphemous parody, inasmuch as parodies as liable to that charge had been written by persons of undoubted piety, and ornaments of the church.

Mr Blacow—If racks, tortures, even the gibbet were his reward, he would not abate one word of what he had said The image of the "Pedestal of Shame" he borrowed from a letter in a London paper—not the leading journal; no, it was not from *The Times*, the most false, most pestilential, most licentious, most inflammatory paper that ever disgraced any country; nor from *John Bull*, the rays of whose honest truth dispelled the mists of delusion which anarchy had raised. But honest *John* was sometimes beside him-

self, for he attacked even Mr Brougham, whose malignity now rankled in the gloomy recesses of his vengeful heart; but they would deliver him (Mr Blacow) from his merciless grasp, and let him and *John Bull* fight it out. *John Bull*, by interrogatories, put cross-grained questions. Of the purity of Mr Brougham's family he knew nothing; but the Duke of Wellington said to the mob, "May all your wives be like the Queen." If the cap fitted Mr Brougham, he might take it.

Mr Justice Holroyd.—It is quite irregular.

Mr Blacow.—But the letter he alluded to was in the *Courier*, which prided itself on decorous and gentlemanly language, and which admitted nothing low or scandalous. He had been happy to borrow from its well attempted page. He mentioned this to shew that there were some other reasons for fixing Mr Brougham's legal harpoon in him. He had probed the apple of his eye when he had praised the King's ministers. Hone was properly acquitted, because he had not had the intention for which he was prosecuted; so ought he (Mr Blacow) to be now acquitted.

Mr Brougham—It is quite untrue that you alone are selected. Bills are found by the Grand Jury against others, and it is well known.

Mr Blacow—Before God, he solemnly swore he was not guilty of the charge. The Common Council of London was a viperous brood, a nest of pestilential radicals, and mountebank dealers in disloyalty. When they talked of "her eminent virtues," the very stones of this house would start from their beds and speak. (Again he struggled to go into the evidence before the Lords, but after much petulant resistance to the authority of the Court, he was restrained.) Who instigated this trial? Was it Alderman Wood—Billy Austin—or that paragon of wit, and wisdom, and fine writing, Lady Hood?—the Escort Committee?—or the Common Council? No, it was the Whig-Radicals, because he had "confounded their politics, and frustrated their knavish tricks." If a London Jury acquitted Hone, surely a Lancaster Jury would acquit him. (Blacow.) The Queen left nothing in her will to Alderman Wood; and it was said that Mr Brougham had said of him, that except the identical animal who eats thistle, there was not a more stupid animal, from which he supposed he called him Absolute Wisdom.

Mr Brougham.—There is not a syllable of truth in that.

Mr Blacow was very glad to hear it. The Whigs in office were always tyrants; out of office always traitors. They were as ready to cast off the Queen when she should have answered their purposes, as that old crazy-headed goat Lord Erskine, to cast off his concubine.

Mr Brougham—O! O! There's a minister of the gospel!

Mr Blacow then eulogised the Constitutional Association, the joyous acclamations of the Irish, and poured forth a fervent prayer for every earthly and eternal blessing to George IV.

Mr Justice Holroyd, in the most guarded and temperate language, gave his opinion that it was a libel. The epithets were most abusive and derogatory. Could he be ignorant that he was traducing and vilifying the Queen? By a particular statute they were to judge whether the defendant was guilty. As a clergyman of the church of England, holding himself out as very loyal and very desirous of the preservation of the state, he gave his opinion of the Queen's guilt, left not the people to their own reflections, and thus he disturbed the peace. But it was for them to judge whether it was a libel or not. They were to lay out of their minds all other considerations, and to form

their own opinion respecting the question of the Queen's guilt or innocence. The only question was, whether the publication tended to degrade the Queen, to traduce her, and was published with intent to vilify her, and to break the peace. In his opinion it was a libel.

The Jury retired for a quarter of an hour, and found a verdict of Guilty.

Court of King's Bench, Nov. 26.

Mr Blacow was brought up to reverse judgment He declined reading an affidavit, or saying any thing in mitigation of punishment

Mr Brougham.—I really feel it unnecessary to address many words to your Lordships. You have heard the libel read, of which the defendant has been convicted; but your Lordships have not heard the defence which he made for himself upon his trial; and I will venture to say, that there never was in this country exhibited a scene so indecorous, so degrading to the character of a man, and more especially to the character of a clergyman—a scene distinguished by the utterance of such base and foul calumnies.

Mr Justice Best.—This is not repeated on the notes which have been read to the Court.

Mr Brougham.—For that very reason I wish to inform your Lordships of what did actually occur, and I appeal to the learned Judge by whom the case was tried, with great effect, whether he ever witnessed a more disgraceful exhibition in a court of justice. As to the libel itself, it is sufficient for me, in praying the judgment of the Court, to request your Lordships' attention to the slanders—the vile, gross, and indecent slanders, of which that libel is composed, and which were delivered by a clergyman of the church of England from the pulpit, in his vocation of Minister of the Gospel—as well as to the fact, that it is not the first time of this man having been convicted of a similar offence.

Mr Justice Best.—Have you any affidavit to this?

Mr Brougham—I have, my lord. The sentence of the Court will be found upon its files, and I have an affidavit to prove that the defendant is the person who was convicted, and received that sentence. If the Court shall think fit I will put it in. (An affidavit was handed in)

Mr Justice Best.—This affidavit should have been read before, in order to afford the defendant an opportunity of reply.

Mr Brougham.—I have not the smallest objection that the defendant should be permitted to reply.

The Chief-Justice—In point of regularity, this affidavit ought to have been read before the defendant was called upon The affidavits on both sides should be read in the first instance Perhaps it is hardly worth while reading this affidavit

(The affidavit was withdrawn)

Mr Brougham then made a short speech in aggravation of punishment.

Mr Justice Bayley proceeded to pass sentence on the defendant in the following words —"It is my painful duty to be called upon to pass on you, the Reverend Richard Blacow, a clergyman of the church of England, the sentence of this Court for a libel, first uttered by you in your capacity of a clergyman, in a place set apart for very different purposes, and afterwards printed and published as part of a sermon preached in the church of St Mark. It is in itself a very great evil, that a place so sacred should be perverted to such purposes. It ought to have been with very different feelings that the minds of those who attended should have been impressed, nor should you, upon so solemn an occasion, have mingled with Christian instruction, any observations upon living characters.

We all have sufficient faults of our own to correct, without commenting upon the faults of others. It is no small aggravation of the case, that there did not exist an unanimity of opinion on the topic that is the subject of this libel. It was, therefore, at the time you mentioned it, calculated to produce different feelings in different minds, but not such feelings as ought to prevail in a house of Christian worship; the nature of the place itself is one of the great stings in this case—that which gives to it a feature of peculiar aggravation. I must say, that you have exercised a wise discretion, in having declined to offer any thing this day in mitigation of the offence of which you have been convicted; and I hope that determination arose from a conviction, that, on looking back to your conduct, you saw nothing in it for which you could offer any defence. Taking all the circumstances of the case into consideration, the sentence of the Court on you is, that you do pay to the King a fine of One Hundred Pounds, that you be committed to the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea of this Court for the term of of six calendar months, that at the expiration of that time, you do enter into sureties to keep the peace for five years, yourself in the sum of 500*l.* and two sureties in the sum of 100*l.* each.

Mary Ann Carlisle for Blasphemous Libel.

Court of King's Bench, July 24.

This was an indictment upon the prosecution of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. It was charged that some of the Jury were members of this Society, or of the Constitutional Society. All, however, denied it.

Mr Gurney stated, that the defendant stood indicted for selling a pamphlet, entitled "An Appendix to the Theological Works of Thomas Paine" She was the sister of Richard Carlile, and, after the conviction of that individual and of his wife, carried on their business at the shop in Fleet-street. How long that shop, which was a disgrace to the magistracy of the City of London, would be allowed to remain open, he (Mr Gurney) could not tell; but he trusted that the conviction of the present defendant would be one step made towards the removal of the nuisance. The effrontery with which arrangements were made for continuing the sale of Mr Carlile's libels, would be best known to the Jury by an advertisement which appeared in the *Republican* of the 20th of October, 1820. The paragraph was this —"In consequence of the verdict of *guilty* found against Mrs Carlile for selling the *Life of Paine*, and the first volume of the *Republican*, she would be liable to banishment for again serving in the shop, according to our glorious constitution The business will therefore now be carried on by Mary Ann Carlile, sister of Mr Richard Carlile, for the benefit of the infant children, or rather for the benefit of the whole family. Should the house in Fleet-street again be exposed to the violence of the legal thieves, the business will be re-opened as near to the spot as possible, and due notice will be given. As this kind of business depends upon periodical publications, we can begin any where at half an hour's notice, and defy the Vice Society or any other society. If one web be destroyed, a few hours will weave another, and a stronger than before."

James Rignall had purchased the libel. After giving the book, the defendant had shewn symptoms of alarm, but had notwithstanding received the money.

The libel was put in. It denied the authenticity of the prophecies, and spoke of the Scriptures as a mass of wicked falsehoods, &c.

Mr Justice Best asked if the defendant had any thing to offer.

The defendant put in a written book, and requested that it might be read.

The defence, which was voluminous, was then read by the officer of the Court. It set out by stating, that the article in question had been copied from an American newspaper; and by adverting to the doctrine laid down by the present Lord Chief Justice, that Scripture might be analysed, provided it were done temperately and without reviling. By finding the defendant guilty of libel, the Jury would find that the Christian religion could not bear examination; and such a finding would go nearer to destroy it than all the pamphlets that ever had been, or ever could be, published against it. The Jews publicly denied the historical truth of the Old Testament; and sects of Christians too numerous to name, differed as widely from what the law called Christianity, and from each other, as they could differ from Jews or from Mahometans. The utmost latitude that discussion could assume would never do harm to truth or to honesty The defendant then stated that she was a servant at fixed wages to her brother, and proceeded to speak of the laws of the country. The common law was common abuse—

Mr Justice Best could not permit the laws of his country to be reviled in his presence. He begged that the defendant would take her manuscript and expunge such objectionable matter.

The defendant.—I have no other defence.

Mr Justice Best.—I shall be happy to hear any thing which you can urge to the Jury, to shew that the work in question is not a libel, or that you are not the publisher of it. Take the manuscript, and cut out the objectionable parts; or let your friends do it for you.

Defendant.—I have no other defence, if you will not take that.

Mr Justice Best.—Let it be read; but if it goes on in the same strain, I must stop it. You had better retire with your friends, and get the thing done. The Court will wait for you.

Defendant.—I have no friend to do it.

Mr Justice Best.—There are plenty of gentlemen in Court, who I am sure will assist you

A Juryman intimated that the defendant was only doing herself harm; it would be better that she should take the learned Judge's advice

The defendant repeated that she had no other defence, but left the Court

A pause of a few minutes followed; and the defendant returned with the following words written upon her book —"If the Court means to decide that an Englishwoman is not to state that which she thinks necessary for her defence, she must abide the consequence of that decision"

Mr Justice Best —I have decided no such thing. I have said, and I say again, that I am ready to hear any thing you can say in your defence. I would advise you to retire again, and to consult your own feelings, rather than those of the persons by whom you are surrounded.

The Jury again interfered.

Mr Justice Best.—There is not a gentleman behind the bar, I am sure, who will not readily assist you.

The defendant chose to abide by her determination.

Mr Justice Best, in summing up

the case, told the Jury that the publication was a libel

The Jury, without any deliberation, found a verdict of Guilty.

Court of King's Bench, Nov. 13.

Mr Cooper moved for a new trial of the above cause. He read an affidavit from the defendant, stating, that she had been prevented from reading the greater part of her defence, but for which, she was convinced that she would have obtained a verdict of acquittal.

Mr Justice Best stated the particulars of the case, insisting that he had not stopped the defendant. He had advised her to apply to some friend to revise her defence; but she returned, saying she had no friend, although it now appeared that Mr Cooper himself, who was engaged to plead for her in another cause that very day, was in the next coffee-house.

The Judge then said:—I wish to have these facts brought fully before the Court, because it must not be said that I stopped this woman in her defence. I wished every thing to be brought forward that could properly and decently be urged on her behalf, but I thought at the moment—and I thought still more afterwards when I found she was provided with Counsel in the next cause—I thought that she elected in that case to make her own defence, because she meant to make such a defence as no gentleman at the bar could be found to make for her. She meant to defend herself against one blasphemy by uttering a hundred. That was the evident course she was pursuing. I thought it my duty to put a stop to it.

Mr Cooper said, that the learned Judge (Mr Justice Best) had certainly added several circumstances to those contained in the defendant's affidavit; but he had stated nothing which was not concurrent with that affidavit. He (Mr Cooper) was still in a condition, therefore, he apprehended, to go on with his statement of facts; but he wished, in consequence of something which had fallen from the learned Judge, to say a few words in the way of explanation. The learned Judge (Mr Justice Best) had held the defendant evidently to have a friend in Court, because he (Mr Cooper) was employed by her in the ensuing cause. He (Mr Cooper) begged distinctly to say, that if upon the occasion in question he had been applied to by the defendant, he would not have interfered. He would not have taken any part in a cause in which he had neither been retained nor instructed In the ensuing cause he certainly had exerted himself for the defendant to the utmost of his powers; and he should have felt himself unworthy of his situation at the bar, if he had failed to do so. With the nature of the charge against his client he had nothing to do; all parties were taken by law to be innocent, until they were legally proved to be otherwise; he (Mr Cooper) had done his best for the defendant, as he would ever do for every person who should trust themselves to his hands; and if there were any persons so weak and so silly—like children at the play—as to mix up the actor with the character in which he appeared, to such persons no feeling but contempt was due, and with no other feeling should he (Mr Cooper) ever regard them. Once more he submitted, that, the learned Judge having (no doubt from the purest motives) stopped M^r^ A. Carlile's defence, she (M. A. Carlile) had not received the benefit of full and impartial hearing, and she was, therefore, entitled to a new trial.

The Lord Chief Justice.—Does your affidavit, Mr Cooper, state with

any particularity, what other matters (besides those read at the trial) were contained in the paper put in by the defendant? Does she set out any matters in such a way as to enable us to decide whether they are such as ought to be submitted to a Jury?

Mr Cooper.—No, my lord; nor, as I apprehend, is it necessary that she should do so. The defence, as I take it, must be presumed to be correct until the contrary is shewn. It will be answered, no doubt, that as far as the reading of the defence has already gone, objectionable matters have been found; but I say that a far greater portion of that part so read was found to be without objection; so that as far as regards the probability of the nature of the remaining part, the weight of evidence is considerably in my favour. The Court (Mr Cooper continued) would remember, no doubt, the recent case of "The King v Davison" In that case, when the defendant indulged himself in improper expressions, the remedy resorted to had been a fine. Davison had been fined, but his defence had not been stopped altogether; and if the same course had been taken in the present case, it would have been a practice far more favourable to the defendant, and more congenial (Mr Cooper submitted) to principles of justice

Mr Justice Bayley.—Does that course, Mr Cooper, afford an adequate remedy? Mischief may be produced to the minds of an audience by the utterance of seditious and blasphemous principles, which no subsequent infliction upon the utterer can remedy.

Mr Cooper observed, that by that holding, no defendant would be enabled to read an address, or barrister to deliver one, without being subject to a command from the Judge to revise it.

The Lord Chief Justice.—No such consequence can follow. If you look at the whole case, you will perceive that none such can.

Mr Cooper believed that he had the whole case upon his affidavit.

The Lord Chief Justice.—The whole does not appear upon the affidavit.

Mr Justice Bayley.—I am now about to suppose an impossible case—a case at least which I believe to be impossible. I will suppose a gentleman at the bar to have written a speech which he intends to deliver. It turns out, after he has advanced some way in his discourse, that there arises one very objectionable passage. A judge would perceive that the counsel uttered such passage not in the heat and flow of oratory, but coolly, deliberately, and in a prepared and written argument. Then would not a judge, in such a case, be well warranted to presume, at least, the possibility of the recurrence of similar matters in the ensuing part of the speech? And would it not become his duty to require a pledge from the speaker that no such further offensive matters should occur?

Mr Cooper apprehended that a judge in such a case could only caution counsel not to indulge in similar strictures. The speaker must go on at his peril. In the present case, however, the defendant had been precluded from going on at all. She was sent out of Court to revise her defence, and she found nothing to revise.

Mr Justice Bayley.—Does she state that in her affidavit?

Mr Cooper.—She does, my lord.

Mr Justice Bayley.—Did she communicate to the Judge, upon her return into Court, that there were no further offensive passages in her paper?

Mr Cooper.—I was not in Court, my lord, at the time.

The Lord Chief Justice.—Does she venture to say in her affidavit, that she told the learned Judge, that if he would suffer her defence to be proceeded in,

he should find no more offensive passages contained in it?

Mr Cooper.—She says, my lord, that there was nothing which she thought offensive. I trust that will be sufficient

The Lord Chief Justice.—It is not sufficient; she may think blasphemy not offensive.

Mr Cooper.—Still, my lord, she can only depend upon her own opinion. How, otherwise, is she to know what will be objectionable?

The Lord Chief Justice requested that Mr Cooper would go on, the Court had not lost all common understanding

Mr Cooper had no doubt that their lordships possessed, not merely common, but very extraordinary understanding To return, however, to the case before the Court—the learned Judge had said to the defendant at the trial, "Any gentleman at the Bar will assist you in reducing your defence." No gentleman at the bar, however, had offered his assistance, and such he (Mr Cooper) feared was the proscribed state of the defendant, and persons in her situation, that no gentleman at the bar was very likely, upon such an occasion, to volunteer his services.

Mr Justice Best.—Sir, you take a very incorrect estimate of the bar.

Mr Cooper trusted that he did not.

Mr Justice Best was sure that he did.

The Lord Chief Justice was of the same opinion

Mr Platt thought himself bound to state, that he had personally gone out of Court, and offered assistance to the defendant, and that his offer had been refused.

Mr Cooper was very glad to find himself mistaken. The offer did infinite honour to the gentleman who had made it He again submitted, that there ought to be a new trial

Mr Justice Bayley.—Does the defendant swear that the defence was prepared by herself?

Mr Cooper.—No, my lord.

The Lord Chief Justice.—No, nor, that she even knew its contents.

Mr Cooper thought that she must be presumed to have known its contents.

The Lord Chief Justice.—Perhaps it would be more charitable to presume the other way

Mr Cooper concluded by recapitulating the points upon which his motion was grounded.

The Lord Chief Justice.—The struggle in the present case, like that which has occurred in some former cases, is this—that persons charged with blasphemous libels may, in the face and presence of a Court of Justice, utter, or cause to be uttered, just so much matter of the same offensive description as any officious friend will take the trouble to put together The attempt is, in other words, to make a public court of law a public theatre for the promulgation of blasphemy. The defendant upon the present indictment desires to read that which it would be disgraceful to any judge to sit to hear The learned Judge desires the defendant to withdraw and to revise her paper, in order that her defence may proceed in the only way in which it can be permitted to proceed. The defendant then does withdraw with a friend whom she has in Court; and, on her return, she does not say that the remainder of her paper contains nothing of the kind before objected to; but she says, "This is my defence; I am an Englishwoman," &c, which is virtually as much as telling the Judge—"I will not say what the contents of my paper are; but be they what they may, I insist upon their being read." It would be a great disgrace to the law, and to those who administer it, if there was such a power left to a defendant. In the present

case, I am perfectly clear, that if the defendant was prevented from urging any thing necessary to her cause, she was so prevented by her own misconduct; I think it was imperative upon the Judge to prevent her from defending herself against a charge of one blasphemy by the utterance of others; and I therefore think that no new trial should be granted.

Court of King's Bench, Nov. 16.

Mary Ann Carlile was brought up for sentence

Mr Justice Bayley (after deliberating with his learned brothers) pronounced the sentence of the Court nearly in the following terms:—"Mary Ann Carlile, you stand here to receive the judgment of the Court, for a libel reflecting upon the Old and New Testaments. Every subject of Great Britain is entitled to hold whatever opinions he pleases; but none can be allowed to impeach established faith, or to endeavour to unsettle the belief of others. Your counsel, in his very judicious address to the Court, has treated your opinions as erroneous, and I believe that every man who thinks upon the subject will come, sooner or later, to the same conclusion. For myself, I can only say, that, after much deliberation and research, such is the conclusion at which I have arrived. The Court has no fears for the safety of the Christian religion It does not believe that the rock upon which Christianity stands can ever be shaken by exertions like yours. But the Court has a duty to perform to society; to the poor, who have not the means of examination; and to the young, who may neglect to use the means. To those persons, whose greatest enemy you are, the Court is bound to give its protection. The example of your family has not deterred you from offending; and it would be dreadful indeed, if, for your particular profit, you could be allowed to poison the minds of a whole community The Court, taking into consideration the circumstances of your case, does order and adjudge, that you, Mary Ann Carlile, do pay to the King a fine of 500*l.*; that you be imprisoned in Dorchester gaol for a period of twelve months; that, at the expiration of that time, you do find sureties for your good behaviour during five years, yourself in 1000*l.*, and two other persons in 100*l.* each; and that you be further imprisoned until your fine be paid, and your sureties provided.

Mary Ann Carlisle for a seditious Libel.

This was an indictment at the instance of the Constitutional Association.

Mr Gurney said that the present indictment had been found by a Grand Jury, at the instance of the Constitutional Association, against the defendant, Mary Ann Carlile, for libel. The learned counsel then commented upon the obstinate guiltiness of Mr Carlile and his family. The libel purported to have been written by Richard Carlile in Dorchester gaol; and it was entitled, "A New Year's Address to the Reformers of Great Britain."

James Rignall purchased the libel from the defendant, at Richard Carlile's shop, in Fleet-street, on the 9th of March last—Was employed by Mr Murray, secretary to the society—Had been employed in a number of other similar jobs—Received his directions usually from Mr Sharpe, assistant-secretary—Had received from 7*l* to 7*l.* 7*s*—Had been in the customs, but had no other present means of livelihood.

The alleged libel was then put in

and read. It was contained in a pamphlet entitled, *An Address to the Reformers*, printed with her name to it. The first count set out the following alleged libellous matter:—"To talk about the British constitution, is, in my opinion, a sure proof of dishonesty. Britain has no constitution. If we speak of the Spanish constitution, we have something tangible; there is a substance and meaning as well as a sound. In Britain there is nothing constituted but corruption in the system of government Our very laws are corrupt and partial, both in themselves and in their administration. In fact, corruption, 'as notorious as the sun at noon-day,' is an avowed part of the system, and is denominated the necessary oil for the wheels of the government It is most pernicious oil to the interests of the people" The second count set out the following matter:—"Reform will be obtained when the existing authorities have no longer the power to withhold it, and not before. We shall gain it as early without petitioning as with it, and I would again put forward my opinion that something more than a petitioning attitude is necessary At this moment I would not say a word about insurrection, but I would strongly recommend union, activity, and co-operation. Be ready and steady to meet any concurrent circumstance"

Mr Cooper conceived that this publication was altogether unworthy of notice, and could never have done any harm, but for the prosecution now instituted. Would it ever have come under consideration of the Jury (a publication five hundred times greater than any it could otherwise have hoped to arrive at;) would it ever have been canvassed, and discussed, and considered, and printed in half a dozen shapes, and made palatable and readable by admixture with matter more interesting than itself, but for the base, sordid, prying, yet silly conduct of the soi-disant Constitutional Society, and their most worthy emissary—that enlightened judge of libel or no libel—the informer Rignall, the ci-devant honourable officer of his Majesty's customs? Really, if the publication of the libel was a crime, the prosecutors themselves were the most eminent culprits. And they were so active too, so earnest, so zealous for the common weal! Here was a government, with no trifling powers at its back; bucklered with soldiers, with police magistrates, and with lawyers; able, one would think, to contend, even unallied, with half a dozen wretched scribblers; but no, the generous, disinterested, noble minded Association, "burning to bleed in battles not their own," stepped forward to meddle in that which no way concerned them Why, all this was no doubt very loyal and very public spirited, but might it not be carried so far as to be a little impertinent? Such particular attention did sometimes become troublesome; and there were circumstances which made its convenience in the present case a little doubtful Why, Mr Carlile's shop did not stand in a corner. It was known; and the present libel (as it was called) was known to the law officers of the Crown. Either the Attorney- and Solicitor-General had done their duty, or they had not. It was to be presumed that they had done their duty; and they did not stand forward as prosecutors upon the present occasion. In fact, the publication impeached was not deemed by the Attorney-General to be worth his attention; *a fortiori*, then, was it worth the attention of the Court? What! to ask a jury to find that to be a libel which even the law officers of the Crown could not find to be a libel? Surely (even for a Constitutional Society) that was too impudent a demand. But really the thing went fur-

shirt; for there was no evidence of any sale of the work in question, except to the agents of the Association; no proof of vending, except that into which the defendant had been seduced by the spies employed to destroy her. Was it possible that a British jury would permit a society first to gull men into the commission of crime, and then to prosecute them for it? The tempters turning accusers!—Good Heaven! such conduct was characteristic of devils, not of men; but the learned counsel would drop the precious society altogether; they were really too mean for any thing stronger than ridicule. The learned counsel urged the general inexpediency of proceedings of this nature. Prosecution for state libel was neither wise nor necessary. It was mischievous, inasmuch as it invariably strengthened every opinion against which it was directed; it was mischievous, because it attracted a hundred readers to the libel, when, let it alone, and not ten would have been found. Governments were not endangered by sixpenny pamphlets. Rome had not fallen a victim to libels. Athens had not been levelled by a paper war. Rousseau, Helvetius, and Voltaire, had been charged with giving birth to the French Revolution; but take away the corruption of the Court, the oppressions of the nobility, the licentiousness of the rich, and the wretchedness of the poor; and Rousseau and Helvetius might have written themselves blind before a hand had been raised in furtherance of their doctrines, before an ear would have taken the trouble to listen to them.

Mr Justice Best went carefully into the contents of the pamphlet, and expressed his decided opinion, that it was a libel of the most dangerous description.

The Jury, after a few moments' consultation, left the Court at half past four o'clock.

When the Jury had been out an hour, a written communication was delivered from their Foreman to Mr Justice Best. Upon reading the paper, his Lordship directed that the Jury should be conducted into Court; and, on their assembling in the box, inquired if there was any thing in which he could assist them.

Foreman.—My lord, we cannot agree; there is no probability of our doing so.

Mr Justice Best.—I am sorry for it, gentlemen; but I cannot assist you.

A Juryman.—My lord, I think the Foreman was premature in troubling your lordship with a little more discussion we might have agreed

Another Juryman said—My lord, there is obstinacy.

Second Juryman.—This is invidious. I am not the only one who stands out; there are four of us

The Foreman expressed his opinion that they should not agree

Mr Justice Best.—Gentlemen, you must see the impropriety of this public discussion; you had better retire, and endeavour to agree among yourselves.

The Jury again retired, and at eight o'clock desired their families might be informed that it was not likely they would return home before the morning.

Mr Justice Holroyd, finding that the Jury could not agree, and the counsel on both sides refusing to come to any terms, sent a communication to the former, suggesting the propriety of withdrawing a Juror, which the gentlemen, after some little discussion, consented to. The Jury were much exhausted during the night, and frequently applied for refreshments, which, of course, could not be granted.

Next day the Jury having declared that they were totally unable to agree, a negotiation took place, and it was

agreed that they should be discharged without returning a verdict.

JOHN HUNT FOR LIBEL ON THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Court of King's Bench, Feb. 21.

The defendant in this case is the proprietor of the Examiner weekly newspaper, and the present was an information filed against him by the Attorney-General, for a libel in that paper, on the 24th of July last, reflecting on the House of Commons.

The alleged libel, after describing the majority of the members as greedy place-hunters, pensioners, and needy adventurers, asserted that the House contained a far greater number of public criminals than public guardians, &c &c. This was the libel complained of.

The Attorney-General stated the case to the Jury, and urged the mischievous tendency of such publications as that now brought under their consideration He disclaimed any personal motives in this prosecution, he now proceeded against the defendant in the discharge of his public duty; and having done his duty, he now called upon the Jury to discharge theirs.

The usual proof of publication, and of the defendant being proprietor of the paper in question, was put in

The defendant proceeded to address the Jury in his own defence, and read a long written paper, in which he disclaimed any other motive than a wish to benefit the public, he denied that he had libelled the House of Commons, or that he had any intention of vilifying and degrading it; he had only applied the same epithets, and given the same description of it, as had previously been done by many political characters

The Chief Justice, in summing up, commented on the nature and mischievous tendency of the publication in question, and declared himself decidedly of opinion that it was a libel.

The Jury retired, and after being out some time, they came into Court, and put a question to his lordship, as to the necessity of there being a proof of malice to constitute the offence.

The Chief Justice said, the motive of a man's act must be inferred from the effect which his act was likely to have. If a man were wilfully to do an act which might in its effect cause the death of another, he must be presumed to have malice in his heart

The Jury again retired, and in a few minutes returned with a verdict of Guilty.

May 14.

Mr Denman moved for a rule to set aside the trial, on the ground that two of the Jurymen had not been originally summoned. After a good deal of discussion, the Lord Chief Justice stated, that this could not be a legal ground, unless some injustice could be proved to have been suffered in consequence. —Rule refused.

May 28

Mr Hunt was brought up for judgment. He began with protesting against the nomination of the Jury by the Master of the Crown-office, but he was told, that this was a point with which the Court had nothing to do, and which could only be amended by the legislature.

Mr Hunt said, then he must state his motives for publishing the supposed libel. The Jury had found by their verdict, that his object was to bring the House of Commons into hatred and contempt. He must again, as he did at the trial, deliberately af-

firm, that far from wishing to bring that branch of the legislature into hatred and contempt, he had always entertained the highest respect for that portion of the Constitution. It was not at the branch, but at the corruptions, which threatened to destroy both branch and tree, that he aimed his humble efforts; and if the result of his trial depended upon the real state of his feelings, and the motives of his conduct, the Court would have no more right to send him to prison, than to incarcerate the industrious gardener, who, at this season, was striving to protect his fruit-trees from blight and injury. His motives for putting forth the offending matter, originated in a belief that such calls upon the public attention might give rise to measures which would rescue the House of Commons from that very hatred and contempt, into which he believed it was rapidly declining. If he was wrong in this opinion, he was wrong with many eminent British statesmen, one of whom, Lord Chatham, was so strongly convinced of the corruptions of Parliament, that he deemed them no longer endurable, and solemnly asserted, that unless they were reformed from within, they would be reformed from without with a vengeance. The truth of the paragraph prosecuted had not been controverted, and therefore how could a man's motives be fairly impeached, when he was found only putting forth well-known facts respecting one of the public institutions? He would venture to assert, that no public writer, still less the humble individual before the Court, could possibly bring an upright and a truly constitutional House of Commons into hatred and contempt, because, under such a state of things, the opinions of the writer must be utterly disregarded. It seemed, that it was only the public exposure of the corruptions and improper practices of that House, which even one of its own most eminent speakers had denounced as notorious, which constituted his present offence. In saying that the sale of seats was a common practice—that the House was filled with needy adventurers in the Parliamentary market, he merely echoed the language of some of its own distinguished members.

The Chief Justice.—Consistently with our duty as Judges, we cannot allow any of the branches of the legislature to be thus defamed.

Mr Hunt said, that he was merely putting the case hypothetically, and if he only echoed the opinions of the members of the House itself, publicly expressed, surely the liberty of the press permitted him so to do.

Mr Justice Best.—We don't know what passes in the House of Commons.

Mr Justice Bayley.—The House of Commons has peculiar privileges, and its members may say in that House what would not be permitted out of it. In my Lord Abingdon's and Mr Creevey's cases, it was held, that even those who have the privilege of Parliament, may not reiterate out of Parliament what the privileges of the House might warrant within its walls.

Mr Hunt desired it to be understood, that in publishing the supposed libel, he was doing no more than what he conceived to be a publication of the truth. As a proof of that, nothing had been offered on the other side to shew the falsehood of his statements. He had done no more than what he conceived to be his duty; and no sentence that the Court could pronounce, should repress his determination to speak the language of truth, because he was convinced, that a want of public spirit, even in the most humble individual, was the greatest evil that could befal the British nation. He had long been

satisfied, that the British nation could never become a flourishing, or remain a great or respectable people, without an adequate reform in Parliament; and he should deem himself below contempt, if the fear of that punishment about to be inflicted, should ever deter him from raising his feeble voice in support of such a change in the constitution of Parliament; as would make it the constitutional organ of the people, instead of being a well-contrived instrument for the advancement of individual and selfish interests. He now fearlessly awaited the judgment of the Court.

The Solicitor-General shortly replied, by admitting the lawful exercise of the liberty of the press, and temperately animadverting on the character and conduct of that branch of the legislature, but insisted on the necessity of abstaining from all irreverent and indecorous terms, disrespectful and insulting to the House of Commons, and defamatory of its political character

Mr Justice Bayley, after a short pause, delivered the judgment of the Court. The law, the learned Judge said, licenced fair argument and reasonable discussion; but the libel in question stated, in language of general declamation, not arguments, but conclusions The respect professed by the defendant for the House of Commons was a contradiction in terms, for what respect could be felt for a House of Commons such as he had described? The sentence of the Court was, that the defendant should be imprisoned in the House of Correction, Coldbath-fields, for a term of one year, to give securities, at the end of that period, for his good behaviour during three years—himself in 500*l.*, and two other persons in 250*l.* each.

Dolby for Libel, at the instance of the Constitutional Association.

Court of King's Bench, Dec. 14.

Before the case was entered upon, Mr Scarlett put in an objection to the Jury, that Alderman Garratt, the Sheriff by whom it had been struck, was a member of the Constitutional Association, and was therefore a prosecutor. After some discussion, William Fisher and Francis Tatton, Esqrs were named to try this question.

Mr Scarlett addressed a few words to the Jury, merely to inform them of the question they had to decide. Mr Alderman Garratt, the present Sheriff, in the course of his duty, returned the Common Jury, and he (the Alderman) was member of a society calling itself "Constitutional," and prosecuting the present indictment. That Mr Garratt was a member of that society, would be distinctly proved. His name, in fact, appeared in a list of subscribers furnished by the solicitor for the prosecution, to the solicitor of the defendant; and that list had since been printed and made public. The Alderman was a subscriber at the commencement of the prosecution; but something would be set up about his having since withdrawn his name. That something so set up, he (Mr Scarlett) should at once put down. If Mr Garratt had withdrawn his name from the lists, he had not withdrawn his money from the funds of the society; and the money was the sinew which enabled the society to act. A partner could never cease to be a partner, so long as he left his money in the firm; and a partner was liable, even after he withdrew, throughout those transactions which had been undertaken in his time of office.

William Nettlefold being called and examined, said, I am attorney to the defendant in this case. I appeared at the Crown-office, to strike the Special Jury, and I then demanded from Mr Murray a list of the members and subscribers of the Constitutional Society Mr Murray admitted that the society were the prosecutors, and sent me, on the 29th of May, the list I have in my hand. In that list I find the name of Garratt occurring twice. There is a Sir George Garratt, and a John Garratt, styled an Alderman Opposite to Mr John Garratt's name, there appears a subscription of 5*l*. 5*s*. I have no doubt that the Mr John Garratt, there named, is the present Sheriff.

John Roberts knew the person of Alderman Garratt, and was at Guildhall at the time when the alderman was chosen Sheriff. At the conclusion of the first day's poll, Mr Garratt stated that he had been a member of the "Constitutional Association;" but that, since he had been chosen alderman, he had thought it incompatible with his duty to remain among them; and he had therefore ceased to be a member. Witness was at Guildhall on several following days during the poll for Sheriffs; and either on the first or second day after that to which he had already alluded, he heard Alderman Garratt retract his former declaration.

The witness was pressed upon his cross-examination, and upon his re-examination, and also by the Judge, to give the words which Mr Garratt had used; but he could only, he said, give the sum and substance. Being taxed, on a subsequent day, with his declaration, that he had abandoned the Bridge-street Society, Mr Alderman Garratt did retract that declaration.

Mr Gurney, considering that the Sheriff had really nothing to do with the choice of the jury, was a little surprised at the course which Mr Scarlett had taken. The objection, if it could be made out, was, notwithstanding, sufficient. The learned gentleman then commented upon the inconclusive nature of the evidence adduced, and proposed to set the matter completely at rest, by calling John Garratt, Esq. Alderman and Sheriff.

Mr Scarlett submitted, that Mr Garratt was not a competent witness. The objection being to the Sheriff's return, the Sheriff could not in person give support to his own act. Besides, by supporting Mr Gurney's case, and obviating his (Mr Scarlett's) objection, Mr Garratt would further the indictment, of which he was a prosecutor.

The Lord Chief Justice said, that he would endeavour, if possible, to recollect some authority.

Mr Scarlett confessed that he could furnish none

Mr Tindall, during a pause of some minutes which ensued, observed, that jurymen had been allowed to give evidence as to their own competency.

The Lord Chief Justice thought that the cases were dissimilar.

No authority whatever occurring upon the point, the learned counsel were driven back to argument.

Mr Gurney contended, that the question before the triers was merely a collateral issue, and an issue in which Mr Garratt could have no interest.

The Lord Chief Justice.—I think not.

Mr Scarlett begged to be understood, in what he was about to say, as casting no imputation upon Mr Alderman Garratt To shew that he meant any thing rather than an offence, he would begin with citing a case, in which a namesake of his own, a man named Robert Scarlett, had been the subject of criminal prosecution in a court of justice. The case, which appeared in Coke's Reports, was this: Robert Scarlett became a member of the Grand Jury of the county of Essex; and he was indicted before the

Court of Star-Chamber, upon a charge of having so become a member of the Grand Jury, to aid in the finding of certain indictments, in which he (R. Scarlett) was personally interested It appeared, therefore, that if a person, knowing himself to be interested, voluntarily, and by his own seeking, did that office which the law required should be performed by an impartial hand, he subjected himself, for such act, to public prosecution Now, put the case that a man became Sheriff, in order, by returning particular jurors, to aid and support a particular indictment, he would, for so becoming sheriff, be actually punishable, and such a sheriff (the case was merely a case supposed) would clearly have an interest in a collateral issue like the present. He would be called to give evidence in a collateral issue, when the effect of his own evidence might be to purge himself from misdemeanour

The Lord Chief Justice —Supposing such a case, Mr Scarlett, as you have imagined, could the verdict upon the collateral issue be admitted afterwards as evidence upon an indictment?

Mr Scarlett clearly apprehended that it might The issue would be tried before a court of competent jurisdiction, a verdict of acquittal would be an answer to the indictment; and therefore a verdict of guilty would be evidence. Such a verdict would not only be evidence, but conclusive evidence A court of law must take it in the same way that the House of Lords took the verdicts of ecclesiastical courts, without reference to the proceedings upon which those verdicts had been obtained.

The Lord Chief Justice, in the absence of all authority, thought the safer course would be to treat the witness as incompetent. He by no means meant to pledge himself as to the law upon the point, and wished distinctly to be understood that his decision could afford no precedent The question deserved much serious consideration, and he was only desirous, at present, of taking the safer side.

Mr Scarlett merely understood that Mr Gurney withdrew his witness on account of the novelty and uncertainty of the case.

Mr Gurney —Certainly. Call Mr Sharp.

Mr Sharp got into the box.

Mr Scarlett —I mean to object to you too. You are a prosecutor in this case?

Witness.—I apprehend that there can be no doubt of that.

Mr Scarlett —I apprehend, my Lord, that it is the witness's interest to complete that which has been begun by the Sheriff.

Mr Gurney said, that the point was a good joke, but his learned friend could not be serious

Mr Scarlett was quite serious

Lord Chief Justice —I think, Mr Scarlett, you are going too far Such an objection would exclude every witness.

Mr Sharp was then examined by Mr Gurney.

Have you attended every meeting of the committee of the Constitutional Society since January last?—I have.

In the months of May and June was Mr John Garratt a member of the society?—In May certainly, and, I think, in June.

Did he cease to be a member some time before he was elected Sheriff?—Yes.

Had he ever attended any meeting of the society?—No.

Has he done any thing but give 5*l.* 5*s.*?—Nothing.

Cross-examined by Mr Scarlett—What are you?—I am the honorary assistant secretary to the Association.

You do not mean to say that that is

your business; I ask you what you are—what is your business?—I mean to say that I hold that situation

Yes; but what business do you follow?—I am of no business.

You live on your fortune?—I live on means that I possess.

Were you ever in any business?—I was in the Manchester trade.

How long ago?—Two years.

You say that Mr Garratt became a member of this Association, by subscribing his money?—Yes.

That was the case with a great many people, I believe?—Yes

Have you returned the Alderman his money?—I am not aware that the money has been returned

What has become of it?—It has gone into the general fund

Are you treasurer?—No, Mr Alderman Atkins is.

And what do you mean by Mr Garratt's having ceased to be a member?—I mean that Mr Garratt addressed a letter to the committee to that effect. I am not aware of any other circumstance

The Lord Chief Justice—What act did he do?—He addressed a letter to me as secretary.

Have you the letter?—No, it is at home.

Mr Scarlett thanked Mr Gurney's witnesses for the support they had given to the defendant's case

The Lord Chief Justice summed up the evidence The question was, whether, at the time of his returning the Jury, the Sheriff had, or had not, been a prosecutor of the indictment. The indictment was preferred on the 17th of May; and on the 29th of May, Mr Garratt's name appeared upon the list of the Association. The name stood Mr "Alderman Garratt" It was clear, therefore, that Mr Garratt was a member subsequent to the time at which he became an alderman. The evidence had clearly proved to the Jury, that at the time of the finding of the indictment, and for some time after, the Sheriff was a member of the Prosecuting Association; and the only question was, whether, before his return of the present Jury, he had withdrawn himself from that situation. The fact of his having been a member being in proof on the one side, it was incumbent on the other side to shew the withdrawal, and to shew that withdrawal by very satisfactory evidence. If the triers were satisfied that Alderman Garratt had withdrawn himself before the return in question, they would find their verdict for the prosecutor, but if they were not fully satisfied upon that point, the safer course would be to find for the defendant.

The question was then formally put to the triers, whether Mr Garratt, at the given time, was or was not a prosecutor of the indictment; to which they replied without hesitation, that he was

Mr Scarlett supposed that Mr Gurney would not call upon him in the other prosecutions

The Lord Chief Justice said, that all had better stand over.

The Proprietors of John Bull, for Libel on Lady Caroline Wrottesley.

Court of King's Bench, Feb. 4.

Mr Scarlett moved for a rule to shew cause why a criminal information should not be filed against Robert Thomas Weaver, the printer, and John Arrowsmith and Shackell, the proprietors of a new Sunday newspaper called the *John Bull*, for publishing, in No. V. of that paper, a wicked, scandalous, and defamatory libel on the memory of the late Lady Caroline Wrottesley. The libel was contained in a paragraph headed

"Queen's Visitors," and imputed to Lady Caroline Wrottesley, that, during her life, she had been detected in a criminal intrigue with a menial servant It appeared from the affidavits of Sir John Wrottesley, that the late Lady Caroline Wrottesley died in the year 1818, that, at that period, she had been twenty-three years married to deponent, that she had been the mother of fourteen children, and that from her infancy to the hour of her death there had never been a shade of reproach upon her character The affidavits of the Countess of Tankerville, Lady Caroline's mother, and of Lord Ossulston, and the Honourable H Grey Bennet, two of her brothers, equally bore testimony to the infamous falsehood of the charge attempted to be cast upon her memory. It appeared, from further affidavits, that the libel in question had been circulated with the most unremitting assiduity, particularly in those places where it was likely to meet the eye of the relatives of the deceased Mr Scarlett, after commenting, (in terms of well-merited severity,) upon the conduct of the libeller, stated, that it would scarcely be necessary to cite cases to the Court, to show that libels upon parties deceased, as well as upon living individuals, were criminally punishable.

The Court had no doubt whatever upon the point, and granted a rule to show cause.

July 27.

The Solicitor-General, for the defendants, feeling that this was a gross libel, and that no available defence could be made, allowed a verdict of Guilty to be taken.

November 24.

The defendants were brought up to receive judgment Affidavits were read from Sir John Wrottesley, the Countess of Tankerville, Lord Ossulston, and Mr H. Grey Bennet, stating the highly respectable character of the deceased, and the utter falsehood of the calumny.

The defendants then put in affidavits, expressing contrition for the insertion of the article; that they had been ignorant of its falsehood, and had not been personally concerned in its insertion

The Solicitor-General (in mitigation) said, that he had very few observations to make in addition to the statement contained in the affidavits of the defendants. Certainly, as their counsel, he did not stand before the Court for the purpose of justifying, or in the slightest degree excusing, the libel which had been selected as the subject of the present charge Such a course would be inconsistent with his own feelings, inconsistent with the habits of his life, as well as inconsistent with the instructions he had received, not now for the first time, but through the whole course of these proceedings, from the first moment the motion for the criminal information had been made. After that motion had been made, the defendants had done him the honour of consulting him as to the course it would be proper for them to pursue. He had stated to them the nature of the proceedings in such cases, and the different courses which might be adopted, when they, without hesitation, had desired him not to attempt to show cause against the rule. Afterwards, when the case came on to be tried, for the defendants had not suffered judgment to go by default, preferring to put a plea of not guilty on the record, in order to afford an opportunity of publicly confessing the error, he (the Solicitor-General) had, by their instructions, expressly stated their contrition and regret for a publication, in the falsehood of which they had every reason to concur. It was quite impos-

sible that the Court should not feel that the situation of the proprietor of a newspaper was one of great anxiety It very seldom happened that a person standing in the situation of proprietor was himself the conductor of a newspaper He was compelled, therefore, to trust to the care, the vigilance, and the judgment of the individual whom he employed to conduct his paper for him The individuals chosen for these offices were generally men of literary habits, and the name of the person engaged in the present instance had been disclosed in the affidavits Their Lordships would not fail to recollect also, that there was something of indulgence due to the proprietor and publisher of a newspaper for an accidental slip, when the rapidity with which the matter for publication was collected and sent to press was taken into consideration, when they considered that a newspaper was composed of a great variety of articles, got together in haste, and often published at so late an hour as to prevent that cool and careful examination which, under other circumstances, would naturally be afforded. Such (the learned Solicitor-General said) were the general observations which he connected with the case; but it would be material to look at the situation of the particular defendants Two of them were certainly proprietors of the *John Bull*, but so little did they know of its contents, or of its conduct that although the libel was published on the 15th of January, yet neither of them saw it until several days after. The third defendant stood in a different situation He was, in fact, but a servant, and had no authority or power either to admit or expunge an article which was given to him to be printed. His office was merely of a mechanical description, and it was clear, therefore, that he could not be influenced by personal malignity.—The learned Solicitor-General then proceeded to urge the other topics contained in the affidavits of the defendants in palliation of their offence, and concluded, (after denying every thing like malicious motive,) by submitting them, with humility, to the judgment of the Court

Mr Puller, on the same side, adverted to the suppression, as far as was in their power, of the libel by the defendants.

Mr Scarlett rose on the part of the prosecution It was at all times (the learned Counsel said) an unpleasant, sometimes an invidious, and perhaps it might in time become a dangerous duty, to press for punishment against offenders like the defendants For his part, if he could believe that either the persons on the floor, or the author of the libel, felt any of that contrition expressed for them by their counsel—if he had any reason to think that they had offered reparation for their slander, or that they were even desirous of offering it, he should feel happy in relinquishing the duty imposed upon him, without adding one word in aggravation of punishment But he had (the learned counsel continued) no such belief in the profession of the defendants; he did feel the most perfect conviction, that, from the hour when the libel had been written, up to the current moment, not one step had been taken by them, other than with a view to save themselves from punishment; and, under that conviction, he should proceed unhesitatingly to the discharge of his duty He knew very well, that on all subjects connected with libels, it was difficult to distinguish between the author and publisher He was aware of the usual topics urged on behalf of defendants in such cases; such as the necessity of securing the freedom of the press, and even of tolerating some little licentiousness, as almost necessarily growing out of that freedom. He (Mr Scarlett) felt the

full force of all such considerations; but he found none of them applicable to the case before the Court. In the deliberate malice of the present defendants, there was none of that sincere, though intemperate zeal, for which even the Solicitor-General himself, in Bere's case, had been disposed to make allowance, none of that well-meant, though indiscreet excess, through which a political writer—fancying his dream the salvation of mankind—forgot all consequence in the cause of his fellow-creatures, the libel was such as could not, even in imagination, benefit the public, and it directed its intent to the destruction of private happiness. If the defendants on the floor were to evade punishment, or to escape with a mitigated punishment, from any distinction drawn between them and the author, by what possibility (Mr Scarlett would ask) was the author ever to be got at? He knew not whether the usual machinery of newspapers was such as had been disclosed by the affidavits of the defendants, it was a subject with which he had little acquaintance, but the Court would see, that, upon the system described, the most profligate individual might defame the most virtuous in the land, and screen himself by the medium of such respectable gentlemen as the defendants. After conducting their paper (by burning all manuscripts) in such a way as effectually to conceal the authors of slander from the Court, it was presumption in such persons to ask for pity, because they were mere publishers. The learned Solicitor-General had observed upon the last affidavit made by Mr Harmer, and had suggested the possibility of reply in mitigation of it. Why, there was nothing new in the matter of that affidavit; the attention of the defendants had been fully called to its contents, for it had been distinctly sworn upon the motion for the rule, that the first number of the *John Bull*, containing those infamous imputations upon the character of Lady Caroline, with which the Court had already been disgusted, had been left by the mail-guard at the house of Sir J. Wrottesley. And what were the defences which these libellers set up? Mr Weaver said, "I would not have put in the libel if I had known it to be false." Had it ever occurred to Mr Weaver that it might, by possibility, be scandalous? Because his reasoning powers might then have carried him to the consequence—that he ought not to put it in unless he knew it to be true. But Mr Weaver went farther.—if he had known it to be false, he would have remonstrated with the editor. Why, then he had, it appeared, the power of remonstrance. It was to be hoped that their Lordships would teach Mr Weaver that, possessing so much power, his forbearance to exercise it had been most unwise. But, to come to the farther ingenious excuses propounded. The defendants had no intention, they said, to wound the feelings of the Tankerville family. Then, why had the libel been published? To what end? For what purpose? If malice was not the motive, what, in Heaven's name, was the motive? That was a fact which the defendants had not been so obliging as to state. And was it to be endured, that, without motive assigned, such a libel should be published, and the publisher should say, "I had no malice against the parties?" He (Mr Scarlett) wished that the ingenuity of the Solicitor-General could point out a single demonstration of that repentance in the defendants, on the abundance of which he had so eloquently enlarged. Let it be shewn by one single paragraph published since the libel, that the defendants had expressed concern or contrition for their crime. Did the Court believe, that if any such paragraph had appeared, that paragraph

would not have been set out in the affidavits of the defendants? And how then did the case stand? The persons on the floor admitted their legal responsibility; they admitted that they were conscious of having acted improperly, but they had taken no steps to state that consciousness to the world. They had taken no steps, no, nor would they,—yet these persons claimed the consideration of the Court! There were some newspapers bold enough to say, "You threaten us with prosecution, but we despise your threats Such persons must be taught that the threat could not with impunity be despised, and if ever a private libel could deserve punishment, that punishment was merited by the publication before the Court Allowance might be claimed for party feeling, or for anger, which even a supposed sense of injury might create. In cases like those some motive was apparent; and a man might sometimes forget his prudence in that which he deemed just towards himself, or beneficial to his country. But what could be said for the cold-blooded slanderer who invented stories without foundation in fact, or who stated circumstances which might easily be explained in such a way as to wound and to injure honourable persons? What plea could be urged by that most malignant libeller, who would even rake up the ashes of the dead, if he could sting, by such baseness, the hearts of the living? Their Lordships were told that it was not the author who stood before them He (Mr Scarlett) maintained, that the defendants stood exactly in the situation of the author They wittingly and wilfully refused to give the author up, and the Court was bound to punish them in his stead

Mr Justice Bayley, after deliberating with his learned brothers for a considerable time, pronounced the judgment of the Court.—"Robert Thomas Weaver, William Shackell, and Thomas Arrowsmith—You are now called up to receive judgment, after being found guilty of a libel, and that on the character of a deceased lady. In any case, to make a newspaper the vehicle of private attack, is most reprehensible, but when it is so made on the character of one who is dead, and on a point so deeply affecting her honour, it is the bitterest pang that can be inflicted on her surviving friends. Two of you state your ignorance of the nature of the paragraph at the time of its insertion, and it would have been but prudent on the part of the other, if, when he did see it, he had remonstrated with the editor, or had held some communication respecting it with the proprietors It would have been wise, too, if he had preserved the manuscript, so that, in case of necessity, the real author might have been discovered, and punished if he deserved it It appears, that in a former number of your paper matter was published attacking the memory of this ill-treated lady I call your attention to that fact, in order to observe, that, after such matter had once found its way into your columns, you ought to have been very careful indeed how you permitted a second paragraph to go forth. I find no statement in the affidavit of Weaver, that, against the admission of that first article, he remonstrated with the editor, nor that he ever made any remonstrance, even after the publication of the libel in question. It does not appear that, when application was made by the prosecutors, Mr Cooper, (this editor,) was given up as the hand who had composed the paragraph, or that any search after the original manuscript was made. It is a most improper mode of conducting a journal, to receive articles from persons unknown, and then to destroy the manuscripts themselves, in order that no clue to the authors may

remain To dwell upon the nature of your offence is unnecessary. It is contrary to every interest of society, that public newspapers should become the vehicles of private scandal and the attack complained of here is peculiarly unpardonable, for it is made upon one who has gone to her account, and you might have allowed the dead to sleep in peace The Court, having taken into consideration all the circumstances of your case, doth order and adjudge, that you, R. T Weaver, do pay to the King a fine of 100*l*, that you, T Arrowsmith and W Shackell, pay each a fine of 500*l*., that each and all of you be kept in the custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea for the space of nine months, that you then find two securities, each in the sum of 250*l*., that you enter into your own personal recognizances in the sum of 500*l* to keep the peace for five years, and that you be further imprisoned until the same fines be paid, and recognizances entered into"

CRIMINAL TRIALS

Messrs Christie and Trail, for the Duel with Mr Scott

Old Bailey, April 13.

The Lord Chief-Justice Abbot and Mr Justice Park having taken their seats on the bench, Messrs Christie and Trail, who appeared to be about twenty-five years of age, then surendered in form to Mr Shelton, the clerk of arraigns They were immediately placed at the bar.

The Lord Chief-Justice said, that, on referring to the indictment, he observed the name of a third person, Mr Patmore, included therein, and wished to know if that gentleman was also forthcoming to take his trial

Mr Gurney said, he understood that gentleman was not now in Court

Mr Justice Park desired that Mr Patmore should be called on his recognizances

Mr Shelton replied, that no recognizances had been entered into by the parties.

The indictment, charging the prisoners at the bar with the wilful murder of John Scott, Esq on the 16th of February last, at Chalk Farm, was read to them, and they severally pleaded Not Guilty

The Jury being sworn,

Mr Walford rose to state the case for the prosecution. He commenced by assuring the Jury, that it was difficult for him to find adequate language to convey any idea of the painful feelings with which he rose to state the evidence he had to adduce in support of this indictment against the gentlemen at the bar. It was impossible for him, when he recollected the rank in society in which these gentlemen moved, and when he reflected upon the fatal consequences which might ensue to them upon this trial—it was, he repeated, impossible for him to behold their situation without emotion. The man who, standing there, could do so, must have firmer nerves than he possessed He should, however, endeavour to discharge the painful duty which devolved upon him, as clearly and as succinctly as he was enabled to

do by the instructions which he held in his hand. He must, however, premise his statement of the facts of the case, by entreating the Jury to dismiss altogether from their minds all previous statements which had reached them respecting this melancholy transaction He trusted they were fully sensible that their verdict must alone be founded upon the evidence which would this day be legally submitted for their consideration. That could alone be the proper and legitimate source of the information upon which they would be warranted in acting This prosecution was, he said, instituted by the relatives of the deceased In bringing it forward, they were actuated alone by an anxiety to have the matter calmly and deliberately investigated. They disclaimed all vindictive feeling, and were only anxious that the facts should be examined before the proper authorities, and such conclusions drawn from them as the law authorised It so happened, that of the nature or extent of the provocation which had led to this unhappy affair, the Jury must remain uninformed Upon that part of the transaction he had no evidence to offer The deceased Mr Scott was a gentleman well known in the literary world, and at the time when this unfortunate affair happened, was editor of a well-known periodical work called "The London Magazine" Mr Christie, one of the gentlemen at the bar, was, he understood, a conveyancer The other gentleman, Mr Trail, was also of the profession of the law, and a barrister He had already informed them they must remain ignorant of what had passed between the principals in this unhappy affair, whatever it was, it probably occurred in secret in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of its being made matter of evidence. From what would appear before them, they would find that a medical gentleman, of the name of Pettigrew, residing in Spring-Gardens, was requested by Mr Patmore to meet him and Mr Scott the same night at Chalk-Farm, in his capacity as a surgeon. He went, according to the direction of Mr Patmore, to the Hampstead-road in a post-chaise, with Mr Morris, his pupil When they came to the avenue leading from the Hampstead-road to Chalk-Farm, they alighted from the chaise, and after passing through the avenue, ascended the hill behind the house Mr Morris, who went first, would inform them that he thought he heard a shot fired as he ascended the hill. It did not appear that Mr Pettigrew heard this shot, but they both distinctly heard the knocking and priming of pistols, and they observed four or five gentlemen standing in the field beyond the hedge, two of them apart from the rest At that moment they heard another shot, and saw one gentleman fall They immediately proceeded over the hedge into the field, where the parties were, and saw Mr Scott on the ground, and a gentleman, whom they supposed to be Mr Christie, speaking to him, in extreme distress and agitation They heard Mr Scott say that all was fair, and the other gentleman who was speaking to him remarked, with great emotion, that it was a pity he should have been permitted to fire a second time, having fired his first pistol down the field. The attention of the medical gentlemen was then directed to Mr Scott, and Mr Pettigrew thought that the best step he could take was to have him removed to town, and he set out himself to Mr Scott's lodgings to prepare for his reception After waiting in town some time, he was surprised that Mr Scott had not arrived, and he concluded, what ultimately proved to be the fact, that he was found too weak for removal. He immediately returned to Chalk-Farm to see the deceased In the course of that night,

Dr Darling, an eminent physician, was called to Chalk-Farm, to attend Mr Scott, and the latter made a communication to the Doctor, respecting what occurred on the ground, and the parties engaged in it; but, for reasons he would state, he should abstain from now relating that conversation. According to law, the declaration of a man believing himself to be dying, was evidence against a prisoner The law held, that what was stated by a man on the brink of eternity, was equivalent to what was said on the solemnity of an oath, and, therefore, safe evidence for a jury. Now, a question would here arise, whether at the time Mr Scott made this declaration, there was reason to believe that he thought himself in a dying state. That he felt himself in great danger, was clear, but it would be for the Court to say, when Dr Darling was called, whether the deceased at the time felt his danger so imminent as to entitle his declaration to the force of legal evidence He should therefore abstain from saying any thing more upon that point until they heard the witness. Mr Scott continued at Chalk-Farm from the night of Friday, the 16th of February, till he died These were the circumstances which he had to detail to them in evidence, and he should now say a few words upon the law of the case If two parties quarrelled, and, in the heat of passion, or before their feelings had time to cool and reason to resume her influence, went forth in a hostile manner towards each other, and that one of them lost his life, the law would deem it not murder, but manslaughter But if (no matter what was the provocation or original circumstances attending the quarrel) a sufficient time had elapsed between the provocation and the catastrophe, so as to afford presumption that the passions had cooled, then the law allowed no mitigation of its severity, and the parties implicated incurred all the penalties of committing wilful murder. The law, which was framed to restrain the impetuosity of human passion, allowed no man to become the avenger of his own quarrel, the law provided redress for any injury that could be inflicted upon any man, and all were bound to resort to that law for redress — There remained but one consideration more, and that was, whether any doubts were entertained in the minds of the Jury as to the prisoners at the bar being the persons engaged in the transaction, if so, they were, of course, bound to acquit them On this he had no expectation It would rest with the Jury to take all the facts of the case into their most serious consideration, and to return that verdict which their own consciences, after mature deliberation, dictated

The first witness was Mr Thomas Joseph Pettigrew He had not, he said, been acquainted with the deceased, but he knew, for many years, Mr Patmore, who called upon him on Friday evening, the 16th February, and stated, that, in consequence of something which had arisen out of an affair between Mr Scott and Mr Lockhart, Mr Patmore requested him (Mr Pettigrew) to attend in the neighbourhood of Chalk-Farm on the same evening He went there, accordingly, in a post-chaise, accompanied by his pupil, W. B Morris He got to the lane leading to Chalk-Farm about eight o'clock on the same evening It was moon-light They proceeded through the lane towards the fields, and at last reached the top of the hill He then saw some gentlemen in a field, two of them walking backwards and forwards, and two others by the side of the hedge. He then heard the knocking of pistols, the priming of them, and flashing of pans. Soon afterwards both pistols were fired He heard the sound, and saw the

flash. He next heard an exclamation from one of the gentlemen, as if wounded. Witness got over the hedge, and found Mr Scott on his knees on the ground. He pointed out to witness his being wounded on the right side; the other gentlemen were supporting him. At that time there was no conversation. Witness partly undressed Mr Scott, and examined the wound. Mr Scott was fainting One of the gentlemen (which of them he does not know) came up and took him by the hand, and expressed a wish that he had himself, rather than Mr Scott, been in his situation This was when Mr Scott was fainting, upon his recovery he said—"Whatever may be the issue of this case, I beg you all to bear in remembrance that every thing has been fair and honourable" During the time witness was examining the wound an altercation took place between Mr Patmore and another gentleman He did not distinctly hear the whole of the conversation, except that Mr Patmore said, "Why was it not communicated to me?—I knew nothing of it." A gentleman, during this altercation, came up to witness, and asked him if the wound was mortal? He answered, he feared it was, if it entered the cavity of the abdomen The gentleman was in great agony, wringing his hands, and exclaimed, "Good God! why was I permitted to fire a second time? I fired down the field—I could do no more." Nothing more passed on the spot The wound was the cause of Mr Scott's death

Cross-examined by Mr Gurney.—The gentleman alluded to did say, that when he fired down the field the first time, he was obliged to fire the second time in his own defence—he appeared certainly in great agony, and manifested the most humane solicitude for Mr Scott Witness left them in the act of carrying him to the house

Witness said, in answer to questions by the Judge, the night was not sufficiently clear to distinguish the persons of either of the two gentlemen whom he saw in the field

[William Bevill Morris; Hugh Watson, landlord of the Chalk-Farm Tavern; James Ryan, the hostler; and Thomas Smith, a carpenter, were next examined in succession Their collective evidence went to substantiate the statement of the learned Counsel, who conducted the prosecution, relatively to the movements of the parties, and the care taken of the deceased]

Dr George Darling examined—Is a physician, living in Brunswick Square He was called on by Mrs Scott to attend Mr J Scott, in the middle of the night, between Friday and Saturday, he found him sensible, but he certainly was in great danger Witness communicated to him his opinion. Mr Scott asked if the wound was necessarily mortal, and he was answered, that it was not necessarily mortal He was told, that it was just possible his intestines might not have been perforated, in which case recovery was possible Mr Scott then inquired of Surgeon Guthrie, and said, "I have only one question to ask—Is my wound necessarily mortal? The answer given was, "Not necessarily" This was before the ball was extracted Mr Guthrie added, that it was a case of the greatest danger, but he had seen recovery from similar wounds Mr Scott replied, "I am satisfied," and laid his head down on the pillow again Mr Scott made a statement to witness of what took place in the field The conversation respecting his state of danger took place at the first visit on the following morning (Saturday morning) before the ball was extracted.

Mr Gurney left it to the Court, whether Mr Scott's statement, under the circumstances, could be received in evidence

The Lord Chief-Justice, Mr Justice Park, and Mr Common Sergeant,

consulted together for a short time, when his lordship delivered the opinion of the Court, that the statement could not be received, as it did not appear that Mr Scott thought himself at the point of death at the time when he made the declaration; he had been told, that his wound was not necessarily mortal, unless the intestines were perforated There might have been still a hope that that had not taken place which rendered the wound mortal The declaration could not, therefore, be received in the sense of that of a dying man

Mr Walford having closed his case on the part of the prosecution,

Mr Gurney left his place in Court, and communicated for some moments with the defendants.

The Lord Chief-Justice then informed Mr Christie, that the period for his defence had arrived.

Mr Christie, in a voice almost inaudible, from emotion, said, that he should merely call witnesses to his general character and habits of life.

Mr Trail, to a similar intimation from the bench, replied in the same terms used by Mr Christie.

Mr Gurney then called, successively, the Reverend Thomas Griffiths, Mr Robert Baker, surgeon, Mr Dubois, Mr Serrier, Mr Groome, Mr W Ford, Mr Wately, and Mr Amos, barristers, Dr Jenkins, Master of Baliol College the Reverend W Nicholl, Mr Tate, the Reverend W Knight, Mr R Swain, attorney-at-law, Mr Herring, conveyancer, Mr Russell, law student, the Reverend J Williams, Mr W James, Mr E Blount, Mr W Colmar, special pleader, Mr Connell, and Mr John Balfour, M P, and Dr Goldhardt The majority of these gentlemen deposed to long and intimate acquaintance with both the defendants; and all bore witness to the general humanity and benevolence of their dispositions

The Lord Chief-Justice then, after stating to the Jury the nature of the indictment proceeded to instruct them as to the law of the case. The accusation charged three persons as aiding and concurring in the death of Mr Scott; two individuals only appeared; but if the Jury believed that the individuals at the bar were really two of those who had aided in the commission of the crime, it mattered not by whose particular hand the pistol had been discharged. The distinction, in cases of duels, between manslaughter and murder, had been very clearly and correctly marked out by the learned Counsel for the prosecution If parties, in heat of blood, went out and fought with deadly weapons, then the law, allowing for the frailty of human nature, deemed the party killing guilty of manslaughter only, but if, yielding to a false notion of honour, they went out upon deliberation and in cool blood, to fight, then the death of one man fixed the crime of murder upon all concerned; upon seconds (frequently the more culpable parties) as well as upon principals The first question then was—Were the prisoners at the bar two of the parties known to have been in the field at the time when the shot was fired? and was the duel fought in heat of blood or upon deliberation? His lordship then recapitulated the main points of evidence, and upon that evidence left the fact of identity to the Jury. It was possible he said, that the real perpetrators of the crime might have escaped from the field before the arrival of Mr Pettigrew, and that the prisoners at the bar might have appeared accidentally at the moment; still the *onus* of shewing that such had been the case lay in some measure upon them. Upon the second point, his lordship continued, the feeling under which (assuming the identity) the duel had taken place, there was little in proof before the Jury. Of the time or place at which the quarrel originated, there was no evidence, and although

between the time at which Mr Patmore first applied to Mr Pettigrew, and the time of the meeting at Chalk-Farm, there was certainly space enough for reflection; yet it was possible that, at the moment of Mr Patmore's application to his surgeon, the meeting might not have been contemplated by Mr Trail or Mr Christie The declaration of Mr Scott, at the moment of his fall, that all had been done fairly and honourably, was, although the law would not recognize such ideas of honour, entitled to the attention of the Jury; and there was another circumstance arising out of the words of Mr Christie, to which their consideration should be directed. The words to which his lordship alluded were these "Why was I allowed to fire a second time? I fired down the field at first—what could I do more? I was compelled to fire in my own defence' Now, the circumstances were not such as would, in law, acquit a man as having fired in his own defence; but the words might have an operation upon the feeling under which the second shot—for that was the shot which did the mischief—had been fired. The parties might have met deliberately and in cold blood, and under those circumstances the first fire might have taken place. Had death followed that fire, such death would have been murder; but it was possible that Mr Christie, having forborne to take aim the first time, might have fired his second shot under an impulse of immediate anger, produced by the failure of his pacific proceeding; and, in that case, although his adversary fell, the crime amounted only to manslaughter. The Lord Chief-Justice concluded by recommending to the Jury, in a case of doubt, to take the side of mercy; and by observing (upon the excellent characters which the prisoners had received) that, unfortunately, men of the most exemplary humanity and benevolent feeling were too often led to take part in transactions which led to the loss of life on one side, and to remorse and repentance during life on the other.

The Jury, after a deliberation of twenty-five minutes, returned a verdict of—Not Guilty.

Manasseh Gouldstein for forging Prussian Dollar Notes.

Old Bailey, Sept. 19

Manasseh Gouldstein was indicted for feloniously forging and counterfeiting diverse Prussian notes for payment of one dollar, purporting to be treasury notes of one of the ministers and officers employed in the service of the King of Prussia. The prisoner's age is 62.

Mr Law stated, that in some counts the instrument was called an order, and in others an undertaking of the Prussian monarch or his minister.

Mr Bolland stated the facts of the case to the Jury. He commenced by reading an extract from an act passed in the 43d of Geo. III., which provides that any person convicted of forging any promissory-note or bill of exchange, with intent to defraud any foreign prince or minister, shall be liable to transportation for a term not exceeding fourteen years. It was immaterial whether the instrument was composed in the English or a foreign language, or in both together. In June last year two persons appeared in the city of Berlin, of the names of Lobb and Simeon, and were detected in uttering copies of the forged instrument which formed the subject of the present indictment. A large number, some thousands, of the notes were found in their possession. The King of Prussia, in

order to prevent the deterioration of his currency, considered it necessary to endeavour to discover the manufacturer of those notes. It having been intimated that the notes were manufactured in this country, the King of Prussia commanded the director of his police, Mr Echard, to proceed to England with Simeon On the 10th of July Mr Echard arrived in London with Simeon Simeon was supplied with money by Mr Echard, and on different occasions purchased parcels of forged notes from the prisoner, amounting altogether to 5000, 6000, or 7000 notes On the last occasion, when Simeon purchased notes from the prisoner, he met him by appointment on the Strand-bridge Foy and Clements, two police officers, watched Simeon, to whom they had previously given two 5*l.* notes, to pay for the forged notes, and when they saw him give the money to the prisoner, they ran up and seized the latter Foy found the two 5*l.* notes in the prisoner's hand, who said that he had received them in payment for some watches which he had sold to Simeon some time before. Foy asked him whether he had any of the King of Prussia's notes about him, he said no, and when searched none were found on him The prisoner was then asked if he knew where the forged plates were He replied that he did not, Foy, however, who had been watching the prisoner for some time, and had frequently observed him go to the house of Mr Newman, an engraver in Widegate-street, Bishopsgate, took the prisoner thither Here the learned gentleman observed, that he fully acquitted Mr Newman of all blame in this transaction. The plate was composed in a language of which Mr Newman was entirely ignorant, and he understood that it was an admission to a theatre at Berlin. When Foy arrived at Mr Newman's, he found the plate at work, which he seized. If, in addition to the facts which he had already stated, it could be proved that the prisoner employed Mr Newman to engrave the plates from which the forged instruments were struck off, and that he caused a peculiar species of paper to be manufactured for the purpose, he thought the Jury could entertain no doubt of the prisoner's guilt.

Mr Bolland then called the following evidence —

William Newman deposed, that he was a copper plate engraver, living at No. 27, Widegate-street, Bishopsgate-street He knew the prisoner, and had some communication with him in March, or April of the present year He had known him personally for 20 years, but had never done business for him When the prisoner called on him in March, he said he wanted a little business done in engraving Witness asked what it was, and the prisoner then shewed him a print like one of those in Court, and asked him whether he could engrave it? Witness replied Yes, and asked what it was. The prisoner replied, a Prussian ticket Witness asked, what ticket? when the prisoner replied, a ticket of admission The witness saw the word "current," which was the only one he could make out, and was going to ask a question about it, when the prisoner said, "God bless me, do you think I am going to give you any thing wrong to do? You know me" Witness replied that he did. Witness then agreed to engrave the two plates, and to print 30,000 copies He wanted them done in a fortnight. Witness replied that the time was too short, but that he would print 10,000 in a fortnight. The job was to be done for about 3*l.* a thousand. The witness pulled proofs, and the prisoner not approving of the paper, agreed to find his own paper. Paper was included in the charge of 3*l.* a thousand. The witness struck off ten thousand copies from the plate in about a fortnight or three weeks. The

prisoner used to come to the shop and remove the printed copies from time to time. Three plates were used because one was worn out; but only two plates were necessary to complete the impression. After the plates were struck off, a line of letter-press was inserted in red ink This was also executed by the witness, he being a letter-press as well as a copper-plate printer. About 7000 or 8000 copies were struck off before one of the plates was worn out. The witness told the prisoner that he could not afford to provide a new plate for the money which he was to receive for the work. The prisoner then said, he would give him two guineas if he would get a new plate. The plates were left with the witness. The line of letter-press which was introduced, was also in the original copy furnished by the prisoner About August the prisoner told the witness that he had got a fresh order for 5000 The prisoner himself brought the paper cut ready for receiving the impression. About 2000 of the latter order had been done when Foy came to the shop At that time the impressions were lying about the shop The prisoner called at least thirty times during the execution of the two orders, and appeared very anxious to get the impressions (The witness identified the plates and impressions from them, and also the original from which the plates were made)

A number of other witnesses were called

Mr Platt, counsel for the defendant, rested chiefly on an error in the indictment

The Jury with very little hesitation found the defendant Guilty

PROSECUTIONS AND MISCELLANEOUS CASES.

Respecting the legality of the Marriage between the Marquis and Marchioness of Donegal

Consistory Court, July 28

Dr Swabey —In this case a citation had issued under the seal of the Court, against Charlotte Anna May, falsely calling herself the most noble the Marchioness of Donegal, citing her to appear and answer to the most noble George Augustus, Marquis of Donegal, in a suit of nullity of marriage by reason of minority A decree, also, to see proceedings, had issued against Arthur Chichester, Esq, and George Hamilton Chichester, Esq., as the sons and next of kin, and a similar decree was served upon Arthur Chichester, Esq, M P, and the Rev Edward Chichester, Clerk, as the nephews and two next in succession to the estate and dignities of the Marquisate of Donegal. These two latter gentlemen had appeared and affirmed their protest: they had been made parties in the cause, and protested against such hability. The learned counsel, after stating the history of the proceedings which have been had in this singular cause, said—that, upon the part of his client, Mr Arthur Chichester, M P, who was called upon by the process of the Court to see proceedings in this case, he was to allege, that Mr Chichester being interested in the entail of

the Marquis of Donegal's estate, in the event of the Marquis's death without lawful issue, found himself under an obligation to appear on every general session, and on the by-day of every term—*de die in diem*—during the dependence of this suit To that process he had already appeared under protest, and it was for him (Dr Swabey) to submit to the Court the difficulty under which he laboured now to proceed under the terms of the decree

Lord Stowell desired to know what was the objection of the learned counsel?

Dr Swabey stated, that unfortunately the term had now elapsed, whereas this being a proceeding *in pœnam*, could only be heard, according to the ancient and invariable practice of the Court, either upon the regular days of session during the term, or upon the by-day after the term

Dr Lushington, on the same side, informed the Court, that a minor had been cited who had not yet appeared to the citation

Dr Phillimore had understood that it was agreed on all hands, the last time that this case was before the Court, that the argument was to be entered upon this day.

Dr Adams, who appeared on behalf of the Marquis of Donegal, also understood the arrangement in this way. In the course of the argument which he should have to offer, he should only address himself to disprove the charge of collusion between these two noble parties, which he hoped satisfactorily to do. That charge appeared to rest upon the fact of the Marchioness of Donegal's having taken out a decree to see proceedings Counsel being agreed to take the case, the pleas and acts of Court were read. The Proctor for A. Chichester, Esq M. P, set forth that his party was unduly cited in this case; that on the 8th of August, 1795, the marriage of the two real and only parties in the cause took place by virtue of a licence, in which it was stated that Charlotte Anna May was a minor, about 18 years of age; that such marriage was about to be had by and with the consent of Sir Edward May, Bart. (then E. May, Esq.) the consent of whom was so given as her reputed father; and that in the month of June 1819, the invalidity of such marriage being matter of general notoriety and publicly talked of, another marriage, which was then about to take place between George Hamilton Chichester, Esq (calling himself Earl of Belfast, as eldest son of the said Marquis of Donegal) and a lady of high rank, was broken off by reason thereof. It was further alleged, that Dame Elizabeth May, for whom a commission of examination *de bene esse* had been obtained of the Court through the representations of Counsel as to her advanced age and very precarious state of health, was at that very time going about to routs and parties, and paying and receiving visits, "that the said Marquis and Marchioness of Donegal, notwithstanding the institution of the present suit of nullity of marriage, still lived and cohabited together;" that such suit had been instituted "collusively between the Marquis and Marchioness for the purpose of obtaining from this Court a sentence in favour of the said reputed but invalid marriage," and that their proctors were instructed, under the pretence of conducting a suit for the annulling the same, to adopt any and every step that might tend to secure for their parties such a sentence. The other allegations were of a general nature; that the said marriage was *ab initio* void and of none effect; that improper means had been resorted to to stop the mouths of witnesses; and that George Hamilton Chichester, Esq. calling himself Earl of Belfast, had declared that he had adopted every measure which might prevent the vali-

dity of such marriage being now inquired into Their allegations, or the major part of them, were denied in detail, by the proctors for the noble parties in the suit, and for the next of kin.

Dr Swabey then addressed the Court. The protest of Mr Arthur Chichester, M P, was not against the jurisdiction of the Court, but against his liability to be made a party in this suit, either as nephew of the Marquis of Donegal, or as next entitled in the entail of his lordship's estates, failing lawful male issue of his lordship's body. This suit was brought under the act of Geo. II for the better preventing of clandestine marriages. By that act, the marriage of a minor, without the lawful consent therein described, was declared to be *ipso facto* void Such a marriage, therefore, required no declaratory sentence of voidance whatever. It had been permitted, however, since 1760 (the 34th of Geo II) to the parties to go for such a declaratory sentence, and the same permission had been extended, beyond the parties themselves, to parents and guardians; the law presuming that these might be interested in the decision of such questions. It was evident that these suits, in the intention of the law, could only be brought *inter vivos*, and those, the parties immediately contracting the bond of matrimony. With them the question at issue was, whether they had contracted *verum matrimonium*; and such was the nature of the question here put at issue between the Marquis and Marchioness of Donegal. But his client, Mr Chichester, could have no interest in that question. He might, indeed, be consequentially interested in his temporal estate, supposing the event of the Marquis of Donegal's death without lawful male issue. But if the marriage should be declared to be invalid, the Marquis might marry again, and have lawful issue. Therefore, the interest of Mr Chichester, at the highest could be contingent merely, and was not absolute enough to constitute him a party in this cause. Supposing that after publication it should suit these noble parties (between whom, the learned Counsel declared, he must say that he saw some sort of consent and collusion) to drop this suit, would it be competent for Mr Chichester to continue it? By no means, for he was not legally or ostensibly a party to it. Neither would Mr Chichester in any case have any title to intervene in the suit, and say, "Let me see fair play, because I am consequentially interested" It followed, therefore, that he was not legally liable to be made a party in it. The desire and will of the other parties, and their citing him to see proceedings, were not enough to clothe him with such a character; and still less could his contingent interest in the entailed estates of Lord Donegal do so Here was a suit professedly and legally "*inter vivos*," and the maxim of law was, '*Nemo hæres est viventis*" A suit which should of necessity and in law involve Mr Chichester as a party, could only be instituted after the death of one of the other parties. At present he had a right to protest against being drawn in to be one in a suit which might be to him vexatious and expensive The learned Counsel, in an able and extensive speech, adverted to the case of "Dalrymple v Dalrymple;" and quoted at some length from Oughton—(Title 193.—"Quod, causæ tangentes matrimonium postulare solent, et quomodo in curiis Ecclesiasticis propositæ sint, et de forma earundem instituendi;") and from the 106th canon, as promulgated in the year 1603. Finally, he contended that this Court had no jurisdiction in this matter, it being deposed that the Marchioness of Donegal had been resident for the last four years, and did now

reside, in Ireland. In all cases he should hold that the rule must obtain *actor sequitur forum rei* If this proceeding had been laid even in the Higher Court, it might be doubted whether, if the letters of request were not signed, it could be removed thither from the Irish diocese, the words of the statute being express in providing that all such cases should be heard before the ordinary of the diocese wherein they should happen to arise

Dr Lushington followed on the same side, but our limits prevent us from giving any report of his able speech, or of the speeches of the learned counsel, Drs Burnaby, Phillimore, Adams, and J Adams, by whom he was followed

Lord Stowell said, that as this point of jurisdiction had been started, with something of surprise to the other parties, he should allow them a short time to consider it in, and give his opinion next week.

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After hearing farther counsel, Lord Stowell was of opinion, that the stream of authorities was in favour of the binding a party by his voluntary appearance, and that the jurisdiction of the Court in this matter was established.

Dr Swabey intimated Mr Chichester's intention to appeal to some other Court.

Vice-Chancellor's Court, Aug. 4

Application was made by Mr Arthur Chichester, for a writ of prohibition, directed to the Judge of the Consistorial Court, against proceeding in the above case

The motion was strongly supported by Mr Wetherall, Dr Lushington, Dr Dodson, and Mr Blake, and resisted by Dr Phillimore, Dr Adams, Mr Blake, M. Stephens, and Mr Bell.

The Vice-Chancellor pronounced his decision. This was (his honour stated) an application on the part of Mr Arthur Chichester for a writ of prohibition directed to the Judge of the Consistorial Court of London, restraining him from proceeding in a case of nullity of marriage, instituted by the Marquis of Donegal against the Marchioness. It was a case, undoubtedly, which, from its extreme importance, would require the most mature deliberation, but his honour was disposed to give his opinion now—first, because, from the advanced age of some of the witnesses, any delay would expose the parties to the risk of losing the benefit of their testimony, and next, because, the case having been so minutely considered, and so ably discussed by the Counsel on both sides, it must be the fault of the Judge, if he could not at once come to decision upon the question In the month of May last, the Marquis of Donegal applied to the Judge of the Consistorial Court of London to issue his writ of citation against the Marchioness of Donegal, whom he described as resident in the parish of St James's, Westminster, to answer him in a suit of nullity of marriage If that writ had been directed to the Marchioness as living in Ireland, then on the face of the record it was clear that the Court had no jurisdiction in the case. But the writ was directed to the parish of St James, Westminster, and she appeared two days after, and pleaded to it, thereby admitting that she was living in the parish of St James, and not taking advantage of the non-description. Being instructed by her legal advisers that this would not determine the rights of her children, although it would establish her own as against her husband, and that, according to the forms of the Ecclesiastical Courts, she had a right to call upon Mr Chichester, as a party interested in the result of the suit, to ap-

pear in it, in order that she might establish against him, as well as her husband, the facts of her marriage, he was, at her instance, served with a writ of citation, to which he appeared under protest upon two grounds, 1st, that he was not a proper party, as having no interest in the suit, and 2dly, that it was instituted by collusion between the Marquis and Marchioness To this an answer was put in, stating that he was a proper party, and denying all collusion Mr Chichester replied to that answer, insisting that there must have been collusion, otherwise it was impossible that a party who had been constantly resident in Ireland for the last four years could appear in London to a citation in two days after it had been served upon her Although this fact seemed to have been at first only introduced as an argument to shew the existence of collusion, it was afterwards urged as a ground of objection to the farther prosecution of the suit The Judge having decided against the objection, Mr Chichester appealed from that decision to the Court of Arches Undoubtedly the authority of the very learned and able Judge (Lord Stowell) who had pronounced his opinion upon this question, must weigh considerably with him (the Vice-Chancellor), yet he must decide the case upon his own judgment, rather than upon the weight of his lordship's authority There were two questions for his honour to decide:—First, it was stated that Lady Donegal herself was still at liberty to allege want of jurisdiction in the Court, and therefore Mr Chichester must be at liberty to do the same; and next, even if she be not, having, by appearing to the writ and pleading, precluded herself from so doing, still her conduct did not deprive Mr Chichester of the right of objecting to the jurisdiction of the Court; and it was a most important principle to decide whether the act of a principal party could conclude an intervening party, and intervening too against his consent. First, then, as to the Marchioness being still at liberty to object to the jurisdiction The want of jurisdiction may arise from two causes —1st, from the nature of the subject, which is a defect that cannot be cured by any subsequent consent, and, 2dly, from its local jurisdiction, which was the case alleged here, it being admitted that the Court had jurisdiction over the subject It appeared, indeed it hardly admitted of a question, that this was a Court of limited jurisdiction, and it was plain that it could not have jurisdiction beyond its own limits, by the common law, as well as by the statute of 23 Henry VIII, which was evidently enacted merely in aid of the common law, which it enforced by certain penalties The same thing might be said of the canon law His honour did not, therefore, place great weight upon them, except merely as evidence of the principle Now, as to Lady Donegal's having appeared to the jurisdiction; if she chose, she might have objected, that she was living in Ireland, and consequently was not resident within the jurisdiction of the Court But she did not think fit so to do, and when she appeared to plead, it was an admission on her part, that she was properly described as living in the parish of St James, Westminster. It was said, that notwithstanding this admission, she had a right to retire from the jurisdiction of the Court at any time before sentence was pronounced He (the Vice-Chancellor) was bound to say, that no authority had been cited to him which at all touched that question. There were expressions in one of the cases quoted which were consistent with it, but in his honour's opinion, the right of authority, if any there was, was the other

way. He was therefore to consider this case as a case to be decided on principle. They had, every day, points arising in the Courts of Law, and of Equity, in which the same principle was decided—namely, that where a party appeared to a suit and pleaded, and admitted facts, he could not afterwards withdraw himself, and (as it is termed in Scotland) recoil from those facts. The Marchioness, therefore (his honour thought,) was concluded from objecting now. Then came the important question, whether, because she had concluded herself, she had also concluded an intervening party And this appeared to be a most important point at first sight. But the object of the law being for the benefit of persons living out of the limits of the jurisdiction of the Court, she might waive her right to such benefit if she chose But, then, could she waive the rights of others? Undoubtedly, if it could be made out that Mr Chichester could be prejudiced in any possible way, if he (the Vice-Chancellor) could fancy a case in which it could prejudice him, it would go a great way to affect his opinion But he could conceive no such case. If the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts depended on the locality of the subject, then, indeed, if Lady Donegal had transferred the suit from the Court at A to the Court at B, a third party ought not to be affected by her act. But their jurisdiction depended on the locality of the person. Now, how were the interests of Mr Chichester to be prejudiced by the proceedings being instituted in London, instead of Ireland? So far from its being an inconvenience, it was a great convenience to him to have those interests tried there, rather than elsewhere. His honour, therefore, confining himself to those two points, was of opinion, on authority and principle, that the Marchioness of Donegal was now precluded from objecting, having submitted to the jurisdiction, and that Mr Chichester was bound by her submission.

Motion refused.

Lord Erskine against Lady Erskine.

Consistory Court, May 25.

The counsel for her ladyship stated, that this was a cause originally instituted by the noble peer for a separation, on the alleged ground of infidelity by his lady. An appearance was given for her on the first session of Michaelmas Term, 1820; a libel or plea, on the part of his lordship, charging various criminal acts, was afterwards given in, and admitted to proof without opposition, and several witnesses were produced and examined upon it In the course of the following Term, two separate pleas had been given in by Lady Erskine; the first being what is technically called an allegation of faculties, stating the amount of his lordship's income, in order to obtain therefrom a suitable allotment for support during the pendency of the cause; the other was an allegation, with some documentary proofs annexed, charging his lordship with criminalities similar to those which he imputed to his wife Both those allegations were also admitted to proof without opposition. His lordship had not yet given his personal answers to either; but on the latter plea, charging him with infidelity, various witnesses had been produced, and had undergone examination. Among these latter was one Mary Ann Buck, a young person, niece to her ladyship Against this witness it had been found necessary to obtain a compulsory de-

cree to oblige her to attend. A decree of confrontation to compel his lordship to appear and be confronted with the witnesses, had also been taken out; and both decrees were served on the respective individuals, and returned into Court by the proper officer with a special certificate of service.

The evidence of the witnesses taken by secret examination, as is customary in these Courts, had not yet been made public; but on the first Session of this Term, Lord Erskine's proctor declared that his lordship did not mean to proceed any farther, and prayed that the Court would allow him to be dismissed from the suit. On the part of her ladyship, this declaration and prayer were opposed, and both parties were accordingly assigned to set forth the grounds of their application in an act on petition

After this introductory statement, the act of petition was read, and an affidavit by her ladyship's proctor and his clerk was tendered; but the counsel for the noble lord opposed its being read. They stated, that it related principally to the supposed causes which had induced the witness, Mary Ann Buck, to delay appearing; but she having afterwards appeared, it became quite irrelevant. It was indeed irregular at first. The proper mandatory to execute the Court's decrees, is the Court's officer, and he is to explain their service, and not the proctor of either party, or the proctor's clerk. Here the witness, being of tender age, and standing in the peculiar situation in which she did, was naturally averse to appear A compulsory decree was therefore served on her, and if she had still kept back, a decree *nisi* and *modis* might have issued. The affidavit was made on the 8th of May, but she appeared and was produced for examination on the 10th, and this affidavit was not made till the 11th.

The Court then intimated a desire to know why it was brought in at all, after the compulsory decree had had its effect?

Lady Erskine's counsel said, the affidavit was, in fact, delivered to the opposite party before the 10th of May; The officer having made a return to the compulsory decree, certifying that the witness still kept back, it became perfectly regular in the proctor to make an affidavit, stating, on the best information he could obtain, the belief which he entertained that she was kept back by his lordship's means Nor was it only regular at the time of making it, but it was relevant to the present act on petition; for in that act, the proctor for Lord Erskine referred to a notice sent to him by the adverse proctor, on the 4th of April, that if his lordship did not proceed in the cause, Lady Erskine would apply to the Court to be dismissed. This was, in fact, only the usual notice to urge a dilatory complainant to expedite the cause; but it had been attempted to raise an inference from either, that Lady Erskine was thereby bound to agree to the dismissal of the suit; or, at least, that Lord Erskine was led to suppose that from that period she would proceed no farther. Now, on the contrary, it appears, that from the 8th of May, he was not only aware that she was proceeding to compel Mary Ann Buck to appear; but that he was charged at least on suspicion with an attempt to tamper with the witness, and keep her back from justice. The learned counsel said, it gave them great pain to allude to such matters, but their duty to their client demanded it. They would have been justified in making them the ground of a more formal plea, and demanding his lordship's an-

swers to them upon oath, but they were satisfied to state them on affidavit leaving it to his lordship to repel the imputation in any way he thought best, but he had not attempted to repel it in any way

To this it was replied by the opposite counsel, that his lordship had been advised by them to take no notice of a mere surmise taken up at third or fourth hand, and, therefore, deserving no notice by the Court—that the affidavit was really made with no other view than to ground a further application for compelling the witness to appear, which end had been fully answered by her appearance

The Court said, that it should not admit the affidavit Only two purposes were alleged for its introduction, one to compel a witness to appear, who had since appeared, the other to throw imputations of a serious nature on one of the parties in this painful cause If such imputations were well founded, they certainly ought not to be brought forward on a mere loose affidavit, which the noble lord cannot be compelled to answer, but they should have been put into a more formal shape.

The main question of his lordship's right to be dismissed, in the present stage of the cause, was then proceeded on, and the adverse counsel contended, that it was absurd to suppose that a party having brought an accusation against another, and that other having put in a formal plea of recrimination, and examined witnesses upon it, the first accuser could be at liberty to put an end to the business at his pleasure. Lady Erskine here may prove her allegation against his lordship; and if she does, and his lordship fails in his proof, she will be entitled to demand a separation from him, with a proper alimony suited to the circumstances.

Lord Erskine's counsel contended, that where the second allegation was merely defensive, and did not formally deny the guilt charged in the first instance, these principles would not hold Here Lady Erskine not only does not deny the guilt, but she is charged with confessing it, and she does not even deny that Moreover, she pleads that since the alleged acts of infidelity on her part, Lord Erskine has voluntarily continued his intercourse, now this can only be pleaded as a condonation, and as such is equivalent to an admission of guilt The case is different where a party from the beginning stands on the ground of innocence Again, if the lady has connived at her own dishonour, she cannot claim a separation Now it is alleged in her plea, that Lord Erskine frequented houses of ill-fame from October, 1818, to the time of the plea in February, 1821, and also kept up an illicit intercourse during that time with one Elizabeth Fenning.

The cases referred to on both sides, were those of Chettle *v.* Chettle, in the Court of Arches, 7th June, 1820, and Best *v.* Best, Consistory of Rochester, 24th May, 1821. The former was a suit by the husband for adultery, which was replied to by a charge of adultery and cruelty; but the Court rejected the articles pleading cruelty, as no bar to the original suit The latter was a charge of cruelty, but the husband alleged adultery, on which it was allowed, that he might, if it were proved, obtain a divorce

The Court took time to deliberate on the question, whether his lordship might be allowed to retire from the suit.

Next day, the noble lord addressed the following letter to the editor of a Morning Paper —

Sir,

I have read with the utmost surprise, in several newspapers, the reports of what passed on Friday last in the Consistorial Court, in the suit which I preferred against Lady Erskine for adultery Not having been myself present, I do not know whether they, or any of them, are correct or incorrect, but I feel myself bound, in justice to my own character, to declare through you to the public, what the case actually was —I had preferred (as I have just stated) a suit against Lady Erskine for adultery, but, in the course of it, circumstances having come to my knowledge which fully convinced me of her innocence, I directed my proctor, Mr Nicholl, to withdraw my suit, which was accordingly done, and afterwards delivered to him and to my senior counsel, Dr Swabey, a written paper to that effect, and entreated them that this reason might be stated in open Court, in justice to Lady Erskine

We had also agreed on a deed of separation, but because I would not execute it until the suit had been withdrawn, that my motive for withdrawing it might not be misinterpreted, the suit was continued by Lady Erskine's proctors against me, which gave the opportunity of reading my paper in Court, or of having the effect of it stated by my counsel; but, from the reports of what passed in several newspapers, I found, to my great surprise, my counsel maintaining Lady Erskine's guilt, though the evidence still continued secret, and though I had instructed them to declare my fullest conviction of her innocence; and imputing also to me the baseness of cohabiting with her, believing her to be guilty, though no such allegation was before the Court. Being ignorant of what passed in Court, I impute neither malice nor mistake to any of the several reporters; but knowing that my proctor and my learned counsel must confirm what I have stated, it is my intention to attend in the Court on the 5th of June, being the next Court day, to justify my conduct to the world

In the paper above-mentioned, which I desired might either be read, or the purport of it brought before the Court, I stated, that having now a full conviction of her innocence, I should think it wicked to submit to the Court for its judgment, and to the world through the publication of the evidence, what in my conscience I believe to be unfounded.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ERSKINE.

Sunday, May 27

June 5

As soon as the Court met this morning, Lord Erskine, in pursuance of the public notification which he gave in his letter in the newspapers some days ago, appeared in Court, and took his seat on the bench next Sir William Scott, the presiding Judge

As soon as the proctor had read the names of the distinguished parties in the suit,

Dr Swabey rose and said, that he was counsel in this suit for Lord Erskine, and he was instructed to inform the Court, that the noble lord being, since the institution of these proceedings, perfectly satisfied of the innocence of Lady Erskine, had determined, in justice to her ladyship, and to his own feelings, to withdraw his suit for a divorce Certain proceedings were now pending between the parties, which, the learned doctor said, he hoped would terminate the matter at issue, by a deed of separation, which was then drawn up. The Court was aware that Lady Erskine had also ap-

plied for alimony, and a separation, and her suit was still pending. Lord Erskine was, however, anxious to state, that he meant altogether to withdraw his application, even if her ladyship were advised to continue her suit against his lordship, should the adjustment now going on out of Court, not terminate in a deed of separation between the parties, so that notwithstanding this abandonment of his lordship's suit, Lady Erskine might, if so advised by her counsel, still pursue her application to the Court, if the proceedings now carrying on between the parties did not end in a deed of separation He therefore prayed, that the assignation granted by the Court should be allowed to stand over till the next Court day

Dr Adams said, that, as counsel for Lady Erskine, he could of course have no objection to the application made on the part of Lord Erskine, that the assignation decreed by the Court should stand over until a future day. Upon the other matters referred to by Dr Swabey, he (Dr Adams) should perhaps better consult his duty by saying nothing upon the present occasion.

Sir W. Scott then ordered that the assignation should stand over till the next Court day

Lord Erskine then rose, and, with evident emotion, observed, that he attended this morning in Court, for the purpose of declaring his concurrence in what had fallen from his counsel. He was the more anxious to do so, and he made the declaration loudly and openly, because there was no person in this land, in whose good opinion he was more anxious to stand well, than in that of the learned person who presided in that Court. The noble lord then bowed to the Court, and resumed his seat.

Sir William Scott said, that as the matter now stood, he trusted the learned counsel who advised Lady Erskine, would concur as far as they could, according to their sense of the justice of the case, in recommending such a course as would spare the Court the painful necessity of deciding upon this case. He (Sir Wm. Scott) had an ancient regard and friendship for Lord Erskine, and must always feel a deep interest in whatever concerned Lord Erskine, or the peace of his family.

Marquis of Londonderry, for Windows broken at the Queen's Acquittal.

This was an action against the Hundred of Ossulston, for damage done to the noble plaintiff's house in St James's square, upon several occasions pending the proceedings against her Majesty.

Mr Gurney stated the case. The mischief had been done upon several days—to wit, upon the 6th and 7th of June, and upon the 10th, 11th, and 13th of November, 1820 Actions like the present, the learned counsel said, became matters of public duty; for the true mode of preventing the outrages of mobs was to convince them that their attack did no real mischief to the individual against whom it might be directed.

Richard Pigott stated that he was, at the time specified in the record, in the employ of the Marquis of Londonderry. On the night of the 6th June, a mob of 150 or 200 persons assembled before his master's house. They knocked at the door and called for lights; they then threw stones, and six panes of glass were broken. On the 7th June, a mob of from 300 to 400 conducted themselves in a similar manner.

Cross-examined.—Witness had Bow-street officers in the house; and, upon the attack being made, they sallied forth and dispersed the mob.

Charles Evans, porter to the Marquis, said, that on the 10th, 11th, and 13th November, a very numerous mob assembled before his master's house, knocking at the door, breaking the windows, and using very abusive language; 51 panes of glass (some of them plate glass) were broken; witness could not have gone into the street without endangering his life.

John Smith was in the Marquis's house on the 6th of June; as soon as the mob commenced their attack, witness sallied out with the servants and the Bow-street officers to disperse them.

Thomas Middleton was in the mob on the 10th November, in order, if possible, to mark and apprehend the assailants. The darkness of the night prevented him from distinguishing the particular persons who threw stones.

Cross examined.—Witness was sent for to the house of Lord Londonderry before the mob assembled. As soon as they appeared he went among them, because he apprehended mischief.

Michael O'Bryan, a glazier, proved the repairs performed.

Mr Thomson, for the Hundred, offered no defence.

The Lord Chief Justice told the Jury that the case was proved. The amount of the claim was 29*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

A Juryman wished to know whether the noble plaintiff could recover for his plate glass broken, or merely the value of an equal quantity of crown glass.

The Lord Chief Justice said, that, whatever glass a man might have in his house, if it was broken he was entitled to be paid for it.

The Jury objected to the magnitude of the panes.

The Lord Chief Justice observed, that a man was not bound to keep small and inconvenient panes of glass in his windows.

The Jury then found a verdict for the plaintiff.—Damages, 29*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

After the verdict was delivered, the Jury said they had understood that if a shopkeeper had a pane of plate glass broken, he could only recover as for crown glass.

The Lord Chief Justice said, he knew nothing of what was done elsewhere. The law, in the case before the Court, was as he had delivered it.

Mr Elliston for the Representation of Marino Faliero

Court of Chancery, April 27.

The Attorney-General began by reading the bill which had been entered, calling on his lordship to prevent Mr Elliston, or any other person or persons, from performing, on the stage, the tragedy of *Marino Faliero*, and he then recited the affidavit of Mr Murray, on which the application was founded. The affidavit set forth, that the copy-right of the tragedy was his property; that he had not given Mr Elliston permission to perform it; and that, to the best of his belief, Lord Byron had not granted any such permission. The learned gentleman then observed, that, from the very short period during which these papers were in his hands, he had not been able to search for cases applicable to this question. There was, however, a case, in which Lord Kenyon held, that reciting a subject from memory, did not amount to a publication, under the statute of Anne.

Mr Shadwell.—That was an action at law.

The Attorney-General admitted this to be the fact; but he called on his

lordship to consider, if the injunction were sustained in the present instance, whether the Court would not be compelled to interfere in many cases where such interference was not now thought of It had always been understood by the managers of theatres, when an author gave a play to the public, or, in other words, when he published it, that they were at liberty to perform it This was done every day, and injunctions might, in consequence, be applied for against different theatres, because it had been generally supposed, when a play was once given to the public, it might be recited on the stage with the same freedom that it might be recited in a private room. In an ingenious book lately published on the subject of injunctions, two particular cases were mentioned—that of Morris and Harris, and that of Mathews and Taylor With respect to the second case, he was not acquainted with its peculiar features, but there were very remarkable circumstances connected with the first case Mr Coleman, it appeared, had agreed that all his dramatic productions should be acted at the Haymarket theatre, of which he and Mr Morris were proprietors, and that he, unknown to Mr Morris, had furnished Mr Harris, of Covent-Garden theatre, with a farce called X Y Z, in violation of that compact, which the defendant acted, knowing that the compact had been entered into. But no two cases could be more dissimilar than that and the present, since the application for the injunction, in the case of Morris and Harris, proceeded on the act of fraud.

Mr Shadwell.—The circumstances in the case of Mathews and Taylor, were these:—Mathews exhibited to the public an effusion of his fancy, which never was in writing.

Mr Ellistone—That is incorrect. It was in writing; and its composition was paid for.

Mr Shadwell.—No matter In the course of the entertainment, he introduced to the public several jocular matters, which a person, having an extraordinary memory, got by heart, and recited after him

Mr Elliston —In that case, the complaint was for publication, not for acting.

The Attorney-General would contend, under the novelty of this proceeding, that when Lord Byron gave this tragedy to the public, (the object of writing a tragedy being to have it performed,) the defendant, though he had no right to publish it as a book, might lawfully have it acted. Every body had a right to read the tragedy to as many friends as he pleased, and the performance, though not a reading, but a public recitation of it, was not such an invasion of property, as entitled the plaintiff to relief in that Court What injury had the opposite party sustained? They did not state in their bill any injury. Mr Murray did not venture to say that he was injured by the performance: On the contrary, one would naturally suppose, that the success of the play would rather increase than injure its sale If so, he submitted that the plaintiff was not entitled to this equitable relief If he called for redress, it should be in consequence of some injury done to that property, which he had acquired by assignment, and as nothing of that kind was alleged, as he merely prayed for the injunction, and such further relief as the case required, it appeared to him that there was no foundation on which his lordship could proceed. The plaintiff further declared, that "no permission or authority was given by him, or by Lord Byron, as he verily believed, to perform the tragedy." His clients did not affect to say that

such consent was given, because they never apprehended that it was necessary to ask for it. He did not mean to argue, that his lordship ought to be influenced by any injury or inconvenience that Mr Elliston might suffer, if the injunction were continued, because, if the Court had the right to interfere, he must, like all others, submit to the injury. But he might be allowed to say, that if the right did exist, the injury inflicted on him would be very considerable He had gone to much expence to bring it forward, and it had been received with all that applause which a work of this kind was likely to excite The performance was, in fact, more calculated to be beneficial to Mr Murray than injurious If any apprehension had been entertained, that it would not be well received, that apprehension was now completely removed, by the favourable manner in which it had been treated by the public. Undoubtedly, his lordship had a right to restrain from publishing the tragedy, but if the Court had a right to prevent the defendant from acting it—from pursuing a course which had been followed in a great variety of cases, where persons published plays which were acted, although they gave no consent that they should be performed in any theatre, the practice, he apprehended, would be novel Under all the circumstances, he hoped his lordship would dissolve the injunction

Mr Phillimore followed on the same side.

Mr Shadwell, on the part of the plaintiffs, said it appeared to him that Mr Elliston had, in express violation of his lordship's order, drawn up on Tuesday last, acted this tragedy He did not, however, mean to make a complaint against him for having performed the play If it were true, that for some time he had been in possession of the tragedy, and that he had gone to expence in producing it, perhaps it would be harsh to complain against him on account of the performance. Leaving that aside, he would proceed to argue a question which certainly was of very great importance to authors. How stood the case? Lord Byron having written a work, sold it to Mr Murray. The Attorney-General said, that when a poem was written in the form of a tragedy, it necessarily implied a poem to be acted. But there was no such implication, and it did not apply to this case more particularly; because, in the bill announcing the performance, it was stated that the tragedy was written in a manner not fit for the theatre Now it could not be supposed, that a poem, which came from the author's pen, not fit for the theatre, implied a poem that was to be performed on the stage. The play-bill of the 25th April stated —"Those who have perused 'Marino Faliero,' will have anticipated the necessity of considerable curtailments, aware that conversations or soliloquies, however beautiful and interesting in the closet, will frequently tire in public recital" So, therefore, the defendant, willing to satisfy what appeared to him to be the taste of the public, did not bring the tragedy forward as the author wrote it, but used his own discretion in adapting it for the stage And having curtailed it in many parts, having omitted many passages which he admitted to be beautiful, he performed the tragedy as the work of Lord Byron. Now, those very alterations might cause the tragedy to be censured by the public, while the work, if left as it originally stood, might add to the author's fame, although it was represented contrary to his feelings. It was, however, said, that no injury had been done, but when an individual had property, no matter of what description, it was to be used as he thought fit, and not as a third person deemed proper. His learned friends seemed to think, that no

person ought to apply to a Court of Equity for relief, unless he could shew all the damage that might arise from the act of which he complained. But this was not necessary, and here it was very easy to see, that much injury might be done to an author, by the representation of a play on the stage, which he had never intended to be produced there. The piece, in this case, was not what came from the author himself; and the public exercised judgment only on what they saw. They might discover faults in the performers; they might be displeased with the embellishments of the theatre; they might perceive various errors, for which the author was not accountable, but the consequence of which must be, that the play would suffer in the representation. If so, would not those who published also suffer in a pecuniary point of view? Would not the public judgment be warped against the play, on account of the manner in which it was represented? And could it then be so saleable as it was before? The Attorney-General observed, that if the representation of the play was prohibited, the public reading of it might also be prohibited He went along with him in that proposition. He saw no objection to private reading, since the book was bought for private individuals, any of whom might read it to his family or his friends, but not for hire. It was the reading to the public for hire that constituted the publicity of the case, and took it out of the general observation of the Attorney-General. What he meant by hire was, where every individual, on paying a certain sum, had a right to attend, if he pleased. But it was a very distinct case where the auditory, however numerous, attended by the express invitation and permission of the person who recited the work. The Attorney-General argued, that what was done with respect to the farce of X Y Z, was not an authority; and how did he make it differ from this case? He said, that by the agreement between Mr Coleman and his partners in the Haymarket theatre, they had a right exclusively to represent X Y Z at that theatre. The fact was, that, in equity, they had purchased X Y Z; but the person who had an equitable right, did not stand in a better situation than the assignee of the property in this case.

The Lord Chancellor.—Was that farce published?

Mr Elliston —It never was.

Mr Shadwell contended, that whether it was published or not, made no difference in the right to the property. In the case of Macklin *v.* Thomas, an injunction was granted against the defendant on the application of the plaintiff, who was author of a farce called *Love-a-la-Mode,* which at the time was not printed It appeared that some person of astonishing memory attended the performance of the farce, and contrived to carry off the very words of it. The defendant proceeded to act it, and there an injunction was granted, though the farce had not been published He, however, took it that the recital in that case was considered a publication, since it made the farce known to all who attended the defendant's performance In the case of Mathews, in which Mr Barber was concerned, the words were taken down with a view, as he understood, to recitation; and then the Court granted the injunction, to prevent the recitation of that which had not been printed, although it had been recited Now, when the Court granted that injunction, they must have considered that the public recitation by the defendant was a publication. And if such recitation by the defendant was so considered, they must equally have considered the recitation by the plaintiff as a publication. The two things were

reciprocal The recitation by the plaintiff, and that by the defendant, must each be looked on as a publication; and if so, here was a case where an injunction was granted to prevent the performance of that which had already been published The case of Colman and another, in the 5th Term Reports, was an action under the statute of Anne for the penalty, and there the only question was, whether a theatrical representation came within the meaning of the statute, and the Court held that it did not He, however, did not stand on that statute, but on the right which the Court of Chancery had exercised long before, and independent of the statute of Anne In the case of Macklin and Richards, and in a long series of cases, the Court interfered to protect the property of authors independent of the statute. He said independent of it, because they gave relief where the parties applying had not brought themselves within its meaning In those cases the Court had acted on a general principle, without reference to the statute He thought, in the present instance, his lordship had done nothing but what was consonant to the principles and practice of the Court; but he was aware, if his lordship felt a doubt on the subject, he would send the question to be decided by a court of law. His client was quite ready, if the matter must be so decided to proceed immediately

The Lord Chancellor —The only question is, what is to be done in the meantime?

Mr Shadwell.—While on this point, though nothing was said about it in the affidavit, he might be allowed to observe, that Lord Byron's work was published on Saturday morning Now it was for his lordship to judge, what expense could have been incurred in getting up a play, from Saturday morning to Wednesday evening. It was quite obvious, particularly when they considered the intervening Sunday, that no great expense had been gone to in bringing out the tragedy. They could not suppose that Mr Elliston had any part of the play ready before the day of publication, and the expense incurred in the course of three days could not have been considerable. No expense could have been incurred, during that time, sufficient to afford a plea for allowing Mr Elliston to perform the tragedy pending the decision of the question.

The Attorney-General.—My learned friend began with alluding to Mr Elliston's infraction of your lordship's order.

The Lord Chancellor —It is but justice to Mr Elliston to say, that he called on me, and intimated the way in which he stood with respect to the representation on Wednesday night. I stated that the injunction was granted; and I think Mr Shadwell quite right in not complaining under all the circumstances. Mr Elliston afforded the same facility in the case of the Cobourg theatre.

The Attorney-General —Mr Elliston is, I am sure, the last person who would willingly infringe any order of the Court.

The Lord Chancellor said, in the case of Mathews, the Court interfered, because, though the work was not literally published, yet, as the defendant had performed it for money at different theatres, he had, *pro tanto*, published it, and the injury was, that those who attended that species of entertainment, had just as good a right to imitate it, if they could do so, as the defendant had. The Court there said, that though the author had given the right of listening to his performance, even to those who could take away the words, they would not per-

mit them to be published in the same way The question then was, whether the principle did not apply here? If it could be so contrived that a case could be made out for the decision of the Court of King's Bench, whether any action could lie for performing this piece, admitting what the performance was, and subject to any arrangement between the parties, it would be the best course that could be pursued

The Attorney-General intimated, in answer to what had fallen from Mr Shadwell, that, for months before the tragedy was published, it had been announced as forthcoming, that the scene where it was laid was known, and that, therefore, Mr Elliston had an opportunity of getting the necessary dresses in readiness

Mr Shadwell—As to the question of the intermediate representation, while the matter is pending, my client has no objection to come to an understanding, if Mr Elliston will make an affidavit that none of the persons who acted in the play had any knowledge of its contents, so as to be able to study it before Saturday morning

The Lord Chancellor—I don't look at that at all If you drive me to decide in the first instance, I must do so in the best way I can The difficulty is, how to provide satisfactorily for all parties, until the question is decided. If a man pirates a work, an action on the case is brought, an account of the profits of the sale is kept, and the proceeds are paid over to the proper person But here it is very difficult to ascertain the damage suffered. The better way will be, if the King's Bench decide that an action can be sustained, to appoint some third person to say, what Mr Murray has lost, and what profits Mr Elliston has made

Mr Shadwell—It is not the damages we look to; I will state what is the fact.

The Lord Chancellor—I cannot agree, that every man who writes a tragedy intends that it shall be performed. I should be extremely sorry if we were obliged to see all the tragedies that are written.

Mr Shadwell—Lord Byron is by no means desirous that his play should be represented, and Mr Murray, who publishes for him, feels very anxious to comply with his wishes

The Lord Chancellor—That line of conduct does Mr Murray great credit With respect to the subject itself, all I can say about it is, that a proposition has been thrown out, and if you trust me so far as to look into the subject, I will to-morrow send you my decision If, in the meantime, you can enter into an arrangement, let me know it I shall then have lost nothing, except so much time

The Attorney-General—We are satisfied with what your lordship proposes

Mr Shadwell stated, that his client was anxious to have the question settled once for all

The Lord Chancellor—I will prepare myself to decide, and you shall have the result, if you send to my house at one to-morrow

The Attorney-General said that the play had been well received Therefore, no injury had been done to Lord Byron's feelings It was very true, the tragedy had been curtailed; but that was the fate of all plays—not excepting those of Shakespeare He hoped his lordship would not be troubled to decide

The Lord Chancellor—It is a very important thing to so respectable a publisher as Mr Murray, that this subject should be settled once for all. But my opinion will not settle the law once for all And if I determine to continue the injunction, I would nevertheless send the parties to a court of law, to see whether an action will lie in a case of this nature.

Mr Shadwell—We must go to a

court of law on a case, not by way of action.

The Attorney-General.—There can be no action. There are no facts on which to join issue. Your lordship is aware, that the play has been advertised at one of the minor theatres, for Monday.

It was intimated, that an injunction was preparing for that theatre.

Mr Shadwell.—My client has so much dealing with authors of eminence, that he wishes the question to be set at rest.

After some further conversation, it was agreed, that if the Lord Chancellor determined to continue the injunction, a case should be made out for the decision of the Court of King's Bench, in order to settle the law upon the subject.

The question, we believe, was not again brought forward.

Murray against Rundell, for Copyright of Cookery Book.

Court of Chancery, Nov. 3.

Mr Horn, on the part of the plaintiff, prayed his lordship to dissolve an injunction which the defendant had obtained, to restrain his client from publishing a work on a very interesting subject, Cookery. The circumstances of the case were as follows.—Some time previous to the year 1805, the defendant, Mrs Rundell, who was a lady of great respectability, had composed and collected several receipts and observations on the important art of cooking, of which she was generously anxious that society should have the benefit. Her only object was to make the book find its way into the world with that sort of eclat which was calculated to insure its becoming fashionable; and, therefore, her first object was to find out some person through whose auspices she could introduce it to the west end of the town. She had the good fortune to find a gentleman of all others the most likely to promote the circulation of her literary labours on this ancient and important art and mystery. Upon the shelves of Mr Murray it would become the companion of the works of the most celebrated poets, historians, and philosophers, and with them she fancied it would descend to posterity. This, to an author, and a female author, actuated by the laudable vanity of seeing her work so ushered forth to general attention, was sufficient reward. She therefore assigned her manuscripts to the plaintiff, Mr Murray, the bookseller, with liberty to publish it for his own use and benefit, with this restriction, however, that her name should not appear as the author. Mr Murray found, that the receipts were in many respects imperfect, and required classification; he, therefore, at his own expense, placed the manuscript under the revisal of a person to render it fit for publication. He also suggested to Mrs Rundell the propriety of making several additions to the work, which she accordingly made. When the work was at length ready for publication, it was found that a title-page was wanting, which Mrs Rundell had omitted to furnish. The task of composing one devolved upon Mr Murray, and the book, which was destined to add so largely to the comfort and happiness of the people of this country, was ushered into the world under the title of "A New System of Domestic Cookery, founded upon principles of economy, and adapted to the use of private families, by a Lady." This publication was effected entirely at the expense of Mr Murray, and the profits of the work did not at first make an adequate return for the money he had expended upon it. However, the

sale increased, and in 1807 Mr Murray thought he might venture to publish a second edition of the book, with many alterations and improvements, among which was the addition of a table of contents, which he employed a person to compose He also requested Mrs Rundell to furnish him with some observations on carving, and the fair author accordingly dished him up an essay on that subject Mr Murray, however, was not satisfied with the manner in which this essay was served up, and he was compelled to give it to another disciple of Apicius, to be set in proper order Anxious that every possible light should be thrown on the subject, Mr Murray caused nine plates to be drawn and engraved, illustrative of the sublime mystery of carving The plaintiff, too, added diverse new receipts of his own, together with some most interesting matter, under the title of "Bills of Fare for Family Dinners" In short, he made an entirely new arrangement of the work for the second edition, which was published in 1809, and in doing this he incurred great expense The plaintiff had since that time published several new editions of the book, with many farther improvements, so that he calculated that one-fourth of the matter contained in the last edition of the work was supplied by him There was now a great demand for the book, which demand, it was but reasonable to infer, was occasioned solely by the improvements which Mr Murray had effected upon the work, and to the exertions which he had made to circulate it. The learned Counsel said, that he now came to the point which had induced him to address his lordship on the present occasion It appeared that Mrs Rundell, after having for so many years surrendered up to Mr Murray all right in the work, wished now to resume the power which she had abandoned, and had obtained an injunction from his Honour the Vice-Chancellor, prohibiting Mr Murray from publishing the work It was somewhat difficult to understand what were the grounds of this conduct on the part of Mrs Rundell He (Mr Horn) thought he should be able to satisfy his lordship, by the evidence of a letter of Mrs Rundell, that that lady had resigned all property in the work This letter was written in answer to one addressed to Mrs Rundell by Mr Murray. That gentleman being at Edinburgh in September, 1808, in which city Mrs Rundell was also residing, thought himself bound in gratitude, as the work had turned out more profitable than he had expected, to make the lady some acknowledgment Under the influence of this feeling, he sent her the following letter —

"My Dearest Madam,

"The unexpected occurrence of some business induces me to solicit your pardon for being obliged to delay the pleasure of attending you until Monday morning In the meantime, I am happy to avail myself of this first opportunity of sending the inclosure, which I trust you will feel it as highly honourable in you to receive, as it is gratifying in me to have such means for offering Although your gift to me has proved far more valuable than I expected, yet it has added little to the gratefulness which I have so long entertained for a friendship which it is my highest pride to maintain, and which must ever render me your obliged servant,

"John Murray"

The Lord Chancellor.—That's good cooking.

Mr Horn —The enclosure spoken of in the letter was a draft on Mr Murray's banker for 150*l* Mrs Rundell returned an answer to Mr Murray in the following terms.—

"My dear Sir,

"Your very handsome and most unexpected present I have just received, and can truly say I never had the smallest idea of any return for what I considered, and which really was, a free gift to one whom I had long regarded as my friend If in truth you have found my little work productive so far above your expectations as to render your very obliging enclosure any satisfaction to your own feelings, I will not affront your noble sentiment by returning it; although your persuasion of its being honourable to my poor abilities is really necessary to make me believe I do not err in accepting it I beg to return you my best acknowledgments, my dear sir, and to assure you of what, however, I hope you do not doubt, I am your obliged friend and obedient servant,

"Mary Eliza Rundell"

It might be seen from this letter, that Mrs Rundell did not accept this money from any mercenary motive; she did not receive it in the shape of payment, but as a testimony of merit which could not fail to be agreeable to the feelings of an author He could not conceive how it was possible for Mrs Rundell, after writing that letter, to come into a court of equity. The defendant might contend, either that she never did give the work to Mr Murray, or that if she did, a legal assignment was wanting, and this question might be decided at law, but she does not choose to meet the case at law, but has brought it into equity He considered it a breach of good faith towards Mr Murray for the defendant to come into equity to ask relief.

Mr Heald then addressed the Court for the defendant, and contended that Mrs Rundell had not dispossessed herself of her right to the work by any act of her own, and that by suffering Mr Murray to publish it for fourteen years, she had done so with the view, that at the end of that period it would again revert to her, nor was it to be contended that Mr Murray's "cravings of appetite" ought not to have been satisfied in the fourteen years, when the very extensive sale of the work had fully repaid him every expense he had been at, and given him in addition very considerable profits. The work, of which so much had already been said, was generally admitted to possess considerable merit Even the reading of it did not fail to give one an appetite.

The Lord Chancellor.—Then hand the book up to me

Mr Heald then proceeded to argue, that there had been no legal assignment of the work to Mr Murray, because, as his lordship knew, the Act of Parliament required the assignment to be drawn out in writing, and attested by two witnesses, and in that case the assignment would hold good for only fourteen years, unless renewed at the expiration of that term Therefore, if there had been a regular assignment of the work to Mr Murray, instead of a gift, as in the present case, the right of publication would have devolved to Mrs Rundell at the end of fourteen years. How, then, could it be contended, that Mrs Rundell was placed in a different situation from the effect of a gift than if there had been a legal assignment?

The Lord Chancellor observed, that all Mr Murray's injunction implied was, that Mrs Rundell had no right to publish the work with Mr Murray's embellishments. The question was, whether Mrs Rundell should publish the work without the embellishments, or whether Mr Murray should publish the embellishments without the work embellished. It might be necessary to consider in this case whether Mr Murray had a right to exclude Mrs Rundell from publishing the work, and in

the view of the case which he at that time took, it appeared to him that though Mrs Rundell might not succeed in restraining Mr Murray from publishing the original work, yet that gentleman could not succeed in restraining her, or any other person, from publishing it

Mr Heald said, he would be satisfied, for his part, to take what had fallen from his lordship as judgment in the cause He called upon his lordship to maintain the injunction on the same argument which he had before urged, namely, that if Mr Murray had obtained a legal assignment of the copyright, the right of publishing would have returned to Mrs Rundell at the end of fourteen years The learned Counsel then observed, that Mr Murray had been fully remunerated for every expense he had incurred in publishing the work, though it would appear that he had not yet satisfied his craving appetite.

The Lord Chancellor said, that the question was not, whether or not Mr Murray possessed the copyright, but whether Mrs Rundell ought not to obtain a remedy for her alleged grievances, at law, instead of equity. With regard to what had been said respecting the profits which Mr Murray had obtained, it ought to be considered not only what he had gained by the expense and trouble he had employed on that work, but also what he might have gained if he had employed the same trouble and expense in another work exclusively his property.

Mr Pepys also addressed the Court for Mrs Rundell. He observed, that when Mr Murray's case came originally before his lordship, it stood on quite different grounds to those on which it was now supported Mr Murray, in his bill, had stated, that one-fourth of the book was his original composition; but being called upon by Mrs Rundell's answer, to point out such parts as were written by him, he was compelled to acknowledge, that his whole work was the production of the title-page, the index, and the table of contents. The title-page was Mr Murray's greatest achievement. He said, that he believed the sale of the work depended in a great measure on having an attractive title, and then he described the manner in which he, with infinite labour, composed the title page He (Mr Pepys) could fancy he saw Mr Murray rising from the completion of his arduous task, his eye glistening with rapture, and his whole frame labouring under the effects of the inspiration which had enabled him to perfect his masterpiece of composition The learned gentleman next stated, that Mrs Rundell had given Mr Murray the copyright for the first fourteen years only, as a remuneration for the expense which he incurred in publishing the book; it never was her intention to abandon all future claim upon the work. It was admitted that Mrs Rundell had the legal title. Mr Murray had never attempted to try the question at law, and the question now to be decided was, whether the Court would grant Mrs Rundell the relief she was entitled to, or would compel her to seek a remedy at law for every invasion of her copyright.

The Lord Chancellor finally stated, that he did not consider a court of equity the proper place to decide the question, and that it ought to be tried in a court of law.

No. II.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY

Loss of the Abeona Transport. —Extract from a letter of one of the persons saved —"I have the melancholy task of informing you of the destruction of the Abeona transport, of 328 tons, in which I had embarked with other settlers to the Cape of Good Hope; and of the dreadful fate of the great majority of the persons on board her.

"On the 25th ultimo, in latitude 4° 30′ north, longitude 25° 39′ west, about fifteen minutes past noon, the alarm was given that the ship was on fire It proved to be in the lazaretto abaft, the receptacle of all the ship's stores and provisions Every nerve was exerted in handing water to the first mate and seamen who were down in that place; but all proved useless, for the people in a few minutes were driven up from below by the dense smoke, and the rapidity with which the fire communicated to every surrounding object. In ten or fifteen minutes from the first alarm the case was hopeless, the ship being in a perfect blaze from the main-mast aft on the lower deck; and from the excessive heat of the upper one we momentarily expected the fire to penetrate it. The skiff and two gigs were down, and the long boat almost high enough for clearing the side, when the flames rushing up from the after-hold communicated with the main rigging, flew up to the mast head like lightning, and blasted every hope of getting her clear

"The panic and confusion were such, that the long-boat proved too heavy to be launched by the few who were sufficiently collected to attend to the orders given, and on the falling of the main arm-yard she was stove Seeing now all was over, and the people were throwing themselves overboard and into the boats, I also jumped over, and happily was picked up by the gig Our anxiety was now to save as many lives as our three small boats could possibly swim with; and I rejoice to say, that forty-nine were miraculously preserved.

"A few minutes after I quitted the wreck, the main and mizen masts fell; the flame, rapidly advancing forward, drove numbers of the poor wretches on the bow-sprit, where it was our hard lot to behold them frantic, without being able to render them the least assistance. You will judge how the boats were crammed, when husbands, who had wives and children still clinging to the wreck, exclaimed against more being received!

"We kept close to the wreck till day-light next morning, in the hope

that any vessel which might be passing would see the immense body of fire, which continued raging till about three o'clock in the morning, when every thing disappeared. A little before day-break the carpenter discovered a vessel close to us. We seized our oars, and were on board of her in a few minutes She proved to be the *Coadeca da Ponte*, a Portugese merchant ship, from Bahia, bound to Lisbon

"This dreadful accident was occasioned by Mr Duff, the first mate, forgetting his wonted prudence in taking the candle out of his lantern, to see something more clearly with, when a spark from it, or the candle itself, fell on some of the combustible matter around. His grief at having been the cause of such destruction, made him, when solicited to save his life, decline it. 'No,' he said, 'I pity those in the boats the most; for with us it will soon be over; but they will be eating each other in a few days.'

"Parental affection never shone with greater lustre than on this occasion; mothers and fathers, apparently regardless of themselves, caught up their young children, and threw them into the boats; and in one family (Barre's) the eight juniors are preserved—one a child of fifteen months old—while the noble parents, with their eldest son and daughter, are numbered with the dead Another circumstance of a great soul deserves to be recorded. A Mrs M'Laren, with her husband and four children, upon the flames advancing, retreated into the fore channels, when recollecting that her husband was a good swimmer, she implored him to save his own life, and leave her and their children to the fate that awaited them, as she could not avert it; and her wishes were attended to"

—The Princess of Hesse Hombourg, formerly Princess Elizabeth of England, passed by Frankfort on the 23d ultimo, proceeding from her residence at Hombourg, accompanied by her husband. She was on her way to Louisbourg, near Stutgard, on a visit to the Queen Dowager of Wurtemberg, likewise a Princess of England. She will remain there during the absence of the Prince her husband, who sets out for Vienna, whither he is going to solicit the post of Commander-in-Chief of the expedition against Naples, which is still vacant, General Sommariva, who was destined to fill it, having been appointed to replace the Duke of Wurtemberg in his command in the interior of Austria The etiquette of courts would not permit the Margravine, as an English Princess, to appear at Vienna, where her husband could only be received in quality of a General in the Austrian service. It is remarked, that the Landgrave of Hesse Hombourg is the only German Sovereign who has offered to serve in the Austrian army against the King of the Two Sicilies This is considered as the homage of gratitude which the Princes of that House pay to the Emperor Francis, to whom they are indebted for the sovereignty of their house and the acquisition of a small territory on the left bank of the Rhine

ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE COLONEL BROWNE AT MILAN.—It is with feelings of the most painful kind that we lay the following information before our readers; and it is with no less pain that we trace, in this diabolical attempt upon the life of an honourable and gallant man, the natural consequence of that infuriated and malignant system of calumny and falsehood which was employed against him by the Radical Press in this country, only because he was a too efficient agent in unveiling the conduct of the present idol of Radicalism

This gentleman, some time ago, came over to England, where, having learnt the particular charges brought against him, he returned to Italy to collect de-

cisive evidence for the refutation of those calumnies Whilst he was here, he did not conceal his belief that his life would be attempted in Italy; and he mentioned, that he commonly carried pistols for self-defence.

He had nearly arranged his affairs at Milan, and had already forwarded all his papers to England, meaning to follow them himself in less than ten days, when, on the 9th ultimo, returning late at night and alone from the Opera, he was attacked by two assassins, evidently with no intention of robbery; for, though they disabled him, they did not attempt to plunder him of his watch, money, or other valuables The Colonel defended himself resolutely, and a violent struggle ensued, in which he received four wounds in the head, apparently with a knife, and one in the chest, evidently with a *stiletto* The last would certainly have been fatal, but for the thickness of his great coat, coat, and waistcoat. As it was, the weapon penetrated on the left side of the chest, and considerably injured the seventh rib.

The Colonel's friend and physician, Dr Ciceri, was called in, who, on perceiving the nature of the wounds, thought it necessary to require the assistance of an eminent surgeon, Professor Paletta, of the Milan Hospital, and both of them continued assiduously to attend their patient.

Three of the wounds in the head were pretty deep, the other slighter; but the most dangerous was the wound in the chest, from which, however, his medical attendants are inclined to think that fatal consequences are not to be apprehended It is attended with acute pain, restlessness, and difficulty of breathing; but these symptoms have been alleviated by bleeding

Upon the whole, the Colonel is going on as well as could be expected, he is in the hands of very skilful men, and will receive every benefit that care and attention can give

The assassins have for the present escaped, but the government has taken every step for their apprehension.

The above account is contained in a letter from the Duke of Leeds to the Earl of Liverpool; and a bulletin by Dr Ciceri and Professor Paletta, up to six P M on the 10th instant, has also been forwarded, for the satisfaction of the Colonel's friends It is hoped, that he will himself be able to write by the next courier.

The following is an extract of a private letter, from a person confidentially attached to the household of Colonel Browne —

"*Milan, Dec* 12

"It is needless for me to attempt to describe the horror of a deed, which makes every heart shudder Still, the interest I am aware you take in every transaction, has induced me to address you.

"On Saturday evening, Col B. attended the Duke of Leeds to the Opera-house After the entertainment, the Colonel, unattended and unarmed, was proceeding home, when, on a sudden, two ruffians assaulted him, one of whom pierced him on the left side with a stiletto, and exclaimed, '*O fatta!*' —(It is done.) A scuffle ensued between them, in the course of which the Colonel received four wounds on the head, and was thus left He was able, however, to find his way home, and immediate recourse was had to several physicians, who, to the exceeding joy of every one, ascertained that none of the wounds were mortal I am now happy to state, not only that this intelligence has been repeatedly confirmed, but that he is recovering"

The narrow escape which this gallant and meritorious officer had, may be further judged of from the follow-

ing circumstance —At the battle of Vittoria, where he served as one of the Duke of Wellington's Aid-de-Camps, he received a severe wound in the head, which never closed, but over which he has since worn a silver plate, that had been let into the fracture. Had any one of the four wounds inflicted upon him by the assassins, been given in that part of his head, the consequences, in all probability, would have been immediately fatal

— The *Gazette* of Saturday contains loyal and affectionate Addresses to the King from the bishop and clergy of the county palatine of Durham; the dean of St Peter's, Westminster, with the lord high steward, high bailiff, deputies and burgesses of the city; the mayor and commonalty of Tenterden, Kent; the ministers of the presbytery of Chanonry, the provost, magistrates, and common council of Kirkcudbright, the mayor, aldermen, and inhabitants of Liskeard, the mayor and corporation of Huntingdon; the inhabitants of Trowbridge; the provost and town-council of Nairn; the provost and town council of the royal burgh of Forres, in North Britain, the chancellor, principal, and professors of the college of Aberdeen; the noblemen and freeholders of the county of Selkirk; the provost, magistrates, and other inhabitants of the royal burgh of Dingwall, the portreeve and other inhabitants of Teignmouth; the vicar, churchwardens, and others, of Wellingborough; the magistrates, clergy, ship-owners, and others, of South Shields and Westoe; the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Warwick; the magistrates and burgesses of Inverary, the noblemen and freeholders of the county of Ayr; the noblemen and freeholders of the county of Moray; the magistrates and town-council of Pittenweem; the magistrates and town-council of New Galloway; the magistrates and other inhabitants of the royal burgh of Tain, and the inhabitant householders of Edmonton

23d.—This morning, at about ten minutes before seven, Admiral Sir George Campbell, G C B., commander-in-chief at Portsmouth, was found dead in his dressing-room by his valet, who had left him only a few minutes previous. He was lying on the floor, with a pistol by his side This melancholy event has astonished the whole town, and caused the deepest concern, Sir George being of a humane and charitable disposition, and of exemplary domestic habits. He had the honour of being highly esteemed by the King. On his going on board the yacht to pay his respects to his Majesty on his arrival here, the King observed, that he did not intend to go out of the yacht during his stay, and, turning to Sir George, added, in a familiar tone, which he always used with this gallant admiral, "I shall not even go on shore to see you, George"—We are entirely at a loss to account for this fatal catastrophe. Sir George was fifty years of age, he entered the navy very early in life, was made a post-captain in 1791; rear-admiral in 1804; vice admiral in 1806; and admiral of the white in 1814 He was appointed post-admiral at this station in 1817, his term would have expired in April next. A coroner's inquest has been held, and it has returned a verdict of *Lunacy*

We understand that Lord Melville immediately promoted his nephew, Captain the Hon. G.P. Campbell of the Racehorse, to the rank of post-captain, as an expression of the high sense entertained by the Lords of the Admiralty, of the character and conduct of the deceased. Sir B. Bloomfield, we hear, has expressed the King's sorrowful feelings, and his kind and gracious wishes, to Lady Campbell, on the deeply afflicting event

—A number of the merchants, bank-

ers, &c of London, having, at a private meeting, voted and subscribed a loyal Address to the King, the political principles of which did not accord with the feelings of many other members of that respectable body, a requisition, numerously signed, was presented to the Lord Mayor, to call a meeting at the Mansion House on the 24th, for the purpose of voting an Address more suited to the views of the requisitionists On that day, accordingly, most of the merchants who signed the requisition attended, in order to propose or support resolutions founded thereon, but the opposite party, who signed the former loyal declaration, also attended in great numbers, and a more noisy and riotous scene has never been witnessed in the city The principal speakers were Mr A. Baring, Mr Bosanquet, Sir William Curtis, Mr John Smith, (banker,) and some other eminent merchants; but from the noise kept up by the opposing party, nothing of their speeches could be heard Resolutions were passed, containing professions of loyalty to his Majesty, attachment to the constitution, and condemnation of the conduct of Ministers. A shew of hands was taken on the previous question, which had been moved by Sir W. Curtis, but it was decided that a majority of three to one were in favour of the resolutions

27th —At twelve o'clock, the King, according to appointment, received the deputation, consisting of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Recorder, &c of Dublin, charged to present the Address of the corporation of that city to his Majesty The members, dressed in their robes, arrived at Carlton Palace in grand style, and were introduced to his Majesty, seated upon the throne. The Address was read by J Greene, Esq., the newly elected Recorder of Dublin, and most graciously received This is the first Address from the corporation of the city of Dublin ever received by the Sovereign on the throne.

30th.—The Caxton printing-office, Liverpool, situate on Copperas-hill, has been completely destroyed by fire, with nearly the whole of the stock which it contained .

Between one and two o'clock in the morning, as the captain of the watch was going his round, he discovered fire to issue from a window in the north-end of the building. He immediately gave an alarm, and a crowd soon collected on the spot. From the first, the destruction of the premises appeared inevitable The fire raged with extraordinary violence, and spread with amazing rapidity through the whole range of the building The paper in the different rooms fed the flames, and, in little more than half an hour after the discovery of the accident, the three upper stories were in a perfect blaze The devouring element soon worked its way downwards to the third story, and about three o'clock the whole of this immense pile of buildings presented one sheet of flame The roof fell in soon afterwards. Very little of the immense stock on these extensive premises has been saved. The conflagration was too rapid to allow time or opportunity for saving any considerable part of it. Copper-plates to a considerable amount have, however, been saved, as well as most of the account-books, bills of parcels, &c. Some paper was also saved, but in so damaged a state as to be unfit for use All the types and presses are destroyed. We have not heard how this awful calamity originated. The son of Mr Fisher went, as usual, through the different rooms, between eight and nine o'clock, and at that time all was safe. The building was heated by steam, and the man who attended the engine also went round the rooms without a candle, and he too found all safe. It is supposed the calamity was caused by the snuff from a

candle, which, being thrown carelessly on the floor, or left burning in the snuffers, after smouldering for several hours, set fire to some paper near to it, and eventually involved the premises in flames The establishment thus unfortunately destroyed, was the most extensive periodical publication warehouse in the United Kingdom. The stock and premises were insured for 36,000*l*, but we know not whether this sum will cover the actual loss By the calamity, nearly one hundred individuals are deprived of the means of gaining a livelihood by their industry

FEBRUARY.

2d —The tumults among the colliers in Shropshire have led to fatal consequences. On account of the reduction of iron and stagnation of trade, the wages of the men were reduced 6d. per day Discontent immediately manifested itself, and a large body of men marched to Madley-wood, Dawley, &c, stopped all the works, injured and destroyed the machinery, and compelled the workmen to join the ranks of the turbulent. On Friday se'nnight it became absolutely necessary to call out the two troops of the Wellington yeomanry, under the command of Colonel Cludde, in aid of the civil power; and they proceeded to disperse a body of about 3000 rioters, assembled near the Old Park Iron Works, three miles from Wellington The riot act having been read, and an hour elapsed, the mob still remaining, some of the ringleaders were taken into custody; but when the constables and military were conducting their prisoners towards the town, a general attack with stones and cinders was made by the colliers upon them, from the summits of two cinder-hills, on each side of the road The abrupt ascent of the hills rendered a charge impracticable, so that the cavalry were obliged to use their fire-arms; one man was killed on the spot, many were wounded, some dangerously, two of whom are since dead. The cavalry, however, succeeded in securing six of the eight prisoners, who were lodged in Shrewsbury gaol. In dispersing the mob, several of the cavalry were severely hurt by stones and cinders. On the following day the military force was increased This circumstance, and the fate of some of their companions, intimidated the rioters from doing further mischief in the iron-works; but parties have spread themselves over the adjacent country, and are begging, while others, more desperate, are committing depredations upon property. Several persons have been stopped and plundered in the neighbourhood of the works Verdicts of Justifiable Homicide have been returned on those killed or dead of their wounds. Some of the colliers on Thursday last returned to their work

6th.—COUNTY MEETINGS.—The following is a list of the county meetings in Scotland, at which loyal addresses to his Majesty have been voted —

Aberdeenshire—For the address	91	
Against it	14	
Majority		77
Ayrshire—For the address	66	
Against it .	15	
Majority		51
Edinburghshire—For the address	111	
Against it	27	
Majority		84
Fifeshire—For the address	85	
Against it	35	
Majority		50
Kirkcudbright—For the address	52	
for the amendment	15	
Majority		37
Lanarkshire—For the address	90	
for the amendment	94	
Majority		4

Perthshire—For the address	87
Against it	3
Majority	84
Renfrewshire—For the address	63
Against it	44
Majority	19

Argyllshire, Banffshire, Berwickshire, Caithness-shire, Dumfries-shire, Dumbartonshire, Haddingtonshire, Inverness shire, Kincardineshire, Linlithgowshire, Peebles-shire, Roxburghshire, Ross-shire, Selkirkshire, Stirlingshire, and Wigtonshire, *unanimous*.

6th.—KING'S VISIT TO DRURY-LANE.—The King having graciously signified his intention to visit this theatre on Tuesday night, the royal box above the stage, in a line with the first circle, was fitted up in a style of the utmost splendour and magnificence for the reception of his Majesty and party. From the front of the box, covering the centre pannel, hung a representation of the royal arms, emblazoned on a ground of silk, and above was erected a silken canopy surmounted by the crown. The interior of the box was fitted up in a similar style, and a splendid chair of state was placed in front for the accommodation of his Majesty. Two yeomen of the guard, in full state uniform, bearing halberts in their hands, attended his Majesty on this occasion, and were stationed on the stage on each side of the royal box. Nothing could exceed the demand for places, from the moment it became known that his Majesty was to honour this theatre with his presence; and the concourse of persons who assembled in the streets around the theatre, in the hopes of gaining admittance, for a long time before the doors were opened, was great beyond all precedent. The crush in Brydge's-street, Russell-street, and Vinegar-yard, was so great, that it was with much difficulty the shop windows were saved from being broken. It would be vain to attempt to describe the scene which ensued upon the opening of the doors of the theatre. Until seven o'clock the exterior vestibule was thronged with company,—parties of ladies and gentlemen, indiscriminately mixed, struggling to make a passage to the pay-box. Many companies of ladies and gentlemen, who had previously secured places, were obliged to return, after several fruitless attempts to make their way through the crowd. The interior of the house presented a spectacle of an equally novel description. The pit was in a state of overflow on every side. The galleries presented the same appearance; and the lobbies of every tier of boxes were filled with individuals disappointed of obtaining places, endeavouring to persuade, and in some cases to force, the box-keepers to open the box-doors. Sums of money greatly exceeding the price of admission, were offered to procure seats of any kind; and such was the unexampled anxiety to obtain a view of his Majesty, that most of the boxes, from the dress circle up to the third tier, had a *cortege* of the most respectable and genteel persons, contented to occupy standing accommodation, the door of the box being opened for the purpose of affording them a view.

When the doors were thrown open, the rush was terrible, the shrieks of ladies who had imprudently ventured into the thickest of the crowd were heard, and caused the most painful anxiety. Some gentlemen at great hazard mounted the railings, and with much difficulty succeeded in opening the windows which overlook the pit passage, thereby causing a free ventilation, which did much service; by this means also many females, who saw the impossibility of obtaining entrance to the theatre, were enabled to escape from the intolerable pressure within, although not without the loss of their

were rent in pieces, in the confusion which prevailed amongst the parties contending for admission.

His Majesty, attended by the Dukes of York and Clarence, with their respective suites, entered the royal boxes at seven o'clock. Immediately upon his appearance the whole of the immense audience who crowded the pit, boxes, and galleries, simultaneously stood up uncovered, giving vent to their feelings of loyalty and attachment to the person of their most gracious Sovereign, in such an overwhelming torrent of rapturous and tumultuary applause, as must entirely baffle the power of the pen to convey adequately to the reader. This scene of enthusiastic rejoicing, accompanied by the universal waving of hats and handkerchiefs from every part of the house, continued for nearly ten minutes During this period his Majesty continued standing and bowing to the audience. The curtain rose on his Majesty's entrance, and exhibited the whole company of the performers of this theatre, filling nearly the whole body of the stage. As soon as his Majesty took his seat, the company and the orchestra struck up the national anthem of "God save the King," at the conclusion of each verse of which, a rapturous shout of approbation was set up.

His Majesty looked extremely well, and, we are happy to say, appeared to enjoy the most perfect health and spirits He was dressed in a plain military suit of dark blue, with golden aiguillettes. The Duke of York sat on his right, in a field marshal's uniform, and the Duke of Clarence was on the left of his Majesty, in his uniform as admiral of the fleet At the back of the box were the lord in waiting, and the master of the horse, his Grace the Duke of Montrose, as well as the other usual attendants forming the respective suites of his Majesty and royal brothers. The box above that occupied by the royal party, was occupied by a part of the royal suite, consisting of general officers in uniform, and Admiral Sir Edmund Nagle.

At the conclusion of the opera the company again came forward, and sung "God save the King," amidst the most ecstatic bursts of applause, and long and loud continued cheering. The farce was then about to commence, but the performers who appeared were compelled to retire for a time, the audience insisting upon "Rule Britannia" being given; which demand was complied with, amidst the loudest cheers At the conclusion of the farce, "God save the King" was repeated with unanimous and ecstatic applause, the audience standing up and joining in the chorus His Majesty remained till the end of the entertainment, with the whole of which he seemed to be much delighted On leaving the box, he bowed several times in reply to the universal cheers and plaudits of the house

On the whole, a more gratifying spectacle has never on any occasion been witnessed It was an ardent testimony of loyal affection and attachment, which does the highest honour to British feeling.

7th.—KING'S VISIT TO COVENT-GARDEN.—His Majesty reached the theatre at within five minutes of seven o'clock, and, on passing the iron gates, was cheered with acclamations of "Long live King George the IV.!"

The concourse was excessive, but, in consequence of adopting the wise precaution of opening the doors half an hour earlier than usual, the pressure was comparatively trivial. The theatre was filled immediately on its opening, and the spectacle which it presented was grand Every seat in every box commanding but a glimpse of that which the King was to occupy,

had previously been taken, and every box in the house was crowded to an overflow long before the commencement of the play. Nor was this all; the glass of each door that looked towards the stage box, was struggled for by two, three, or more sturdy combatants, and in some places where some favoured individual had been accommodated with a chair at the outside of a box, he had the mortification to find that his situation, which, from its ineligibility, at first appeared secure, was soon taken possession of by new-comers The galleries and pit were crowded to their extremest limits, and the most eager expectation was observable in all parts of the house, which frequently manifested itself in loud huzzas

The arrivals of the different public characters who attended in honour of the King, occupied the attention and plaudits of the immense audience till the rise of the curtain The Duke of Wellington came about half past six He was with some ladies in the Duke of York's box, on the right of the house He was immediately recognized, and received with the most universal enthusiasm An attempt at hissing began with two or three individuals when the applause had subsided, but upon this offence, the general acclamation was still more loudly renewed. His grace bowed repeatedly Lord Exmouth, who sat on the same side in the dress circle, was applauded on coming in, and the same respect was paid to the Duke de Frias, and some other of the foreign ambassadors In fact, the house was a great levee, with the people admitted to take a share in offering respect to their Sovereign.

The play was *Twelfth Night*. At its commencement, the clamour, in consequence of the crushing in the pit, was so loud that the players were obliged to pause; but the noise eventually subsided. His Majesty paid great attention to the performance, and especially to the musical part of it. On this subject he frequently conversed with his right and left hand supporters He applauded the performers, and cheered them in several instances with the exclamation, "Bravo!" Sometimes he used his glass to look round the house He recognized the occupant of one of the private boxes on the opposite side of the house, and saluted the party with much affability and condescension, at the same time directing the attention of the Duke of York to the individual thus honoured. Between the acts he occasionally stood, always bowing to the plaudits which were reiterated at every interval, and frequently placing his hand on his heart while doing so At the end of the play "Rule Britannia" was sung His Majesty joined in the chorus, and listened to the whole with evident gratification The singers were retiring, when "God save the King" was again called for. The demand was vehemently enforced, and the singers returned When they got through the lines—

> "Scatter his enemies,
> And make them fall,"

the thunders of applause which burst forth made every thing else inaudible The first lines of the last stanza—

> "Thy choicest gifts in store
> On GEORGE be pleased to pour—
> Long may he reign!"

were taken up in the same manner, and the vocalists on the stage were again obliged to pause We say on the stage, for at intervals the whole house lent their voices to swell the loyal and patriotic strain. During the progress of the pantomime, the risibility of his Majesty was strongly excited by the drolleries of Grimaldi, and

the grotesque combinations of the piece. When it terminated, "God save the King" was again loudly called for, and sung amidst a renewal of the acclamations. But in all the intervals of the play, the house had been in an uproar of applause The few attempts made to offend, and they were extremely few and partial, were instantly overwhelmed with something of a generous shame that such feelings should disturb a British audience

From the Times.

We cannot close our account of the proceedings of this important evening, for so its probable influence on the national politics and even character may entitle it to be called, without mentioning some facts that have come to our knowledge, and circumstances that have passed under our observation, tending to illustrate the nature and composition of the audiences from which the testimonies of loyal feeling have emanated The difficulty and danger of gaining admission to the pit are well known, and nothing can be more reasonable, therefore, than that it should be left to free and fair competition Yet we are assured that persons, the known or avowed supporters of the present administration, have been allowed, on both evenings, to take their choice of stations, previously to the opening of the doors We are also informed, that *two of the City magistrates* have been particularly on the alert in *beating up for recruits*, for the express purpose of cheering his Majesty during his visits to the theatres, and we have reasons for believing that a scrutiny, something resembling that exercised in the circulation of tickets for a late loyal dinner in the city, has taken place with the applicants for boxes, and that nearly the whole in the dress circle have been reserved for *persons dependent on, or connected with, the government offices.*

We are driven, then, to the painful conclusion, that the measures pursued by his Majesty's ministers have placed their royal Master in such a situation, that he *cannot be received even with these imperfect demonstrations of joy, comprised in the limited circuit of a play-house, by any other than a packed audience*

Observations by the Courier.

We know that it is scarcely worth while to refute this piece of gratuitous malignity; but a few facts deserve to be stated. With respect to Drury-lane, it is a truth which may be easily ascertained, that nearly the whole of the boxes were filled by persons who had taken places *two* or *three weeks before*, for Miss Wilson's performance of *Mandane* Nay, in our hearing, one of the proprietors of the theatre lamented this circumstance, observing, that if his Majesty had selected the following night, it would have been of more benefit to the treasury of the theatre; but that on Tuesday night they were sure of a full house. Here, therefore, was an audience promiscuously assembled, and the manner, consequently, in which they received the King, is a decisive test of public opinion. It may almost be said, indeed, that the public were taken by surprise, for it was not till late on Sunday evening, (a day when news from a theatre circulate the least,) that his Majesty sent his commands to Drury-lane, and only *one* Morning Paper of Monday announced the circumstance There was, therefore, neither time nor opportunity for 'packing an audience,' even if there had existed the disposition, which it is ridiculous to suppose. Then, as to the statement, that the pit was suffered to be pre-oc-

copied by persons who, it was known, would greet his Majesty in a loyal manner. With respect to Drury-lane, we can produce several persons who looked into the pit when the doors were opened, and *not a person* was there, except about half-a-dozen orange women The whole of those who filled the pit, came in by the pay doors, as on other nights. With respect to Covent-garden, though we do not yet know the fact so decisively, we have no doubt we shall be enabled to make the same undeniable assertion in its favour. One fact, however, we do know; that persons applied for places in the boxes, who, it was certainly known, would not be among the least vehement, in the expressions of their loyalty and attachment, and they applied in vain. To what a desperate state the haters of loyalty must be reduced, when they can venture upon statements such as these,—statements, which almost every one who reads them, is able to deny, from his own knowledge of their fabricated character. It is worth while, too, to observe the sort of testimony upon which the *Times* founds its assertions. It begins by stating, that it will mention 'some facts which have come to *their knowledge*, and circumstances that have *passed under their observation*,' &c., yet, each of its 'facts,' as they are called, and each of its 'circumstances,' are introduced thus—'*we are assured* that persons,' &c, 'we *are also informed* that two of the city magistrates,' &c., and 'we have reasons for believing,' &c. These are what the *Times* calls 'facts' and 'circumstances' that have passed under its '*own observation*.' Miserable task! To be hunting through all the tortuous paths of malignant surmise, and wretched conjectures—and for what? To traduce, to degrade, and vilify a loyal, noble-minded people, who love their King, and who have seized the first opportunity that was afforded them, of manifesting that love, in a way which is annihilation to the hopes of a base and desperate faction, who have been toiling these six months to produce a very different state of popular feeling"

7th.—Tuesday's Gazette contains loyal addresses to his Majesty, from the freeholders and other inhabitants of Clapham, Surrey; from the mayor, aldermen, freemen, &c of the borough of Helleston, Cornwall; from the mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, &c. of Northampton; from the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Alcester, Warwickshire; from the gentlemen, clergy, farmers, &c. of the parishes of Boxford, Assington, Milden, and Groton, in the hundred of Babergh, Suffolk; from the inhabitants of the royal burgh of Stirling; from the provost, magistrates, and town council of the royal burgh of Elgin; from the loyal and independent Grand Lodge of Ancient Druids of the town of Nottingham; from the rector, curate, churchwardens, overseers, and inhabitants of the parish of Wold, Northamptonshire; from the magistrates, clergy, and inhabitants of Wellington, Somersetshire; from the provost, magistrates, and council of Paisley; from the minister, churchwardens, and inhabitants of the parish of Much Wenlock, Salop; from the mayor, aldermen, freemen, and inhabitants of the borough of East Looe, and the clergy and inhabitants of the parish of St Martins, near Looe, Duloe, and Talland, Cornwall; from the magistrates, clergy, gentry, and inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Bradford, Wiltshire; from the patrons, the president, vice-president, chaplain, and members of the Derbyshire loyal True Blue Club; from the inhabitants of the division of Wrington, comprising the hundreds of Wintersoke, Bemp-

stone, and Brent-cum-Wrington, Somersetshire; from the high sheriff and freeholders of the county of Denbigh; from the bishop, dean, archdeacon, rural deans, prebendaries, and parochial clergy of the diocese of Chichester; from the sub-dean and prebendaries of the cathedral church of Durham; from the ministers and elders of the presbytery of Biggar; from the citizens and inhabitants of Rochester; from the vicar, churchwardens, and inhabitants of the parish of Bampton, Oxfordshire, from the mayor, bailiffs, burgesses, &c. of the borough of Clifton Dartmouth Hardness, from the bishop, dean, and prebendaries, archdeacons, chancellor, and clergy of the diocese of Winchester; and the warden, fellows, and masters of St Mary, Winton College, from the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Derby; from the mayor, recorder, bailiff, burgesses, &c of the town and borough of Plympton-Earle, Devonshire, from the landholders, tenants, and others, of Eccles, in the county of Berwick; from the freeholders, justices of the peace, heritors, clergy, &c. of the stewartry of Orkney, from the freeholders and inhabitants of the parish of Marlborough, with the town of Salcombe, Devonshire; from the mayor, aldermen, capital burgesses, &c. of the borough of Sudbury, Suffolk; from the sovereign, burgesses, freemen, &c. of the town of Kinsale, and its liberties; from the gentlemen, clergy, &c. of the town and vicinity of Ballymoney, in the county of Antrim; from the county of Tyrone; from the nobility, clergy, gentry, and freeholders, of the county of Kilkenny; from the gentry, clergy, &c. of the town of Burren, in the county of Clare; from the inhabitants of the town of Dunmanway and its neighbourhood; from the nobility, clergy, gentlemen, and freeholders of the Queen's County; from the noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Cork, from the corporation and inhabitants of the town and borough of Clonakilty, and its neighbourhood; from the portreeve, burgesses, and freemen of the corporation of Irishtown, Kilkenny, from the noblemen, clergy, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county of Leitrim; from the nobility, clergy, gentry, and freeholders of the county of Longford; from the noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Wicklow; from the corporation of shoemakers of the city of Dublin, or guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary; from the master, wardens, and brethren of the corporation of tanners, Dublin; from the master, wardens, and commonalty of the corporation of apothecaries of the city of Dublin; from the governors, gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders resident within the parishes of Baltinglass, Ballynure, Donoughmore, Donard, Killranalagh, Kiltegan, and Stratford on Slaney, and parts of the parishes of Dunlavin, Hacketstown, and Timolin, in the county of Wicklow; from the bishop, archdeacon, and chapter, and clergy of the diocese of Llandaff; from the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Salop; from the high sheriff, nobility, magistrates, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Flint; from the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the county of Armagh

— An alarming fire broke out in the still-house at Sunbury distillery, near Edinburgh. The whole was so instantly in flame, that the roof fell in almost immediately This part of the manufactory being fortunately separate from the rest, the fire was got under without spreading farther. An unfortunate accident occurred upon this occasion. Some people had stationed themselves on a very slight scaffolding, which, after some time, gave way, and six individuals were

precipitated to the ground, from a considerable height—falling in a cluster upon each other on a very rough piece of ground, four of them were severely hurt The premises belong to Messrs J. Haig and Son, and are fully insured in the Sun Fire Office.

— An extraordinary case of suicide has occurred in Italy: A Frenchman, Louis Cantre, of Nantes, has projected himself into the crater of Vesuvius. A memorandum has been found of his deliberate intention so to do.

16th—A fine steam vessel was launched from the building-yard of Messrs R and A Carswell, Greenock, intended to ply between Leith and London, and to call at some of the intermediate ports. She is called the Mountaineer, and is a very strong as well as an elegantly built vessel—is 104 feet keel, and will be propelled by two engines, each of 40-horse power, constructed by Mr Napier of Glasgow. The Mountaineer is intended to commence running by the beginning of April, and promises to be a great accommodation to travellers between the capitals of the two kingdoms, as it is expected, from the fine form of the vessel, and immense power of the engines, that the passage will be accomplished, on an average, in the short space of 60 hours.

19th —A duel attended with fatal consequences, and which has made a great sensation in the literary world, was fought on Friday evening, the 16th February, in a field between Chalk Farm Tavern and Primrose Hill, in the vicinity of London. The parties in this unhappy conflict were Mr John Scott, the avowed editor of the London Magazine, and Mr Christie, a friend of the supposed conductor of Blackwood's Magazine—Mr John Gibson Lockhart, of Edinburgh.

The original cause of quarrel between these gentlemen, had its rise in a series of three articles which appeared in the London Magazine, discussing the conduct and management of Blackwood's Magazine, and regarded by Mr Lockhart as offensive to his feelings, and injurious to his honour. Mr Christie, as the friend of Mr Lockhart, waited upon Mr Scott, to demand an explanation of the articles in question, and in fact to require a public apology for matter, which he considered personally offensive to himself, or such other satisfaction as a gentleman was entitled to This interview led to others, as well as to a correspondence, in which much warmth was expressed.

To prevent misapprehension of what had occurred, Mr Scott published his statement of the transactions to which he had been a party This was followed by a statement on the part of Mr Lockhart, which was followed by a second statement from the pen of Mr Scott, in which he treated the conduct of Mr Lockhart with great asperity, and defended the course which he had pursued with considerable warmth. Then followed a counter-statement from Mr Christie, which, we lament to say, led to the event we are about to describe In this counter-statement, Mr Christie applied, as from himself, epithets to Mr Scott, that he could not, consistently with his own feelings as a gentleman, suffer to pass with impunity. He, in consequence, as soon as the statement in question met his eye, proceeded with his friend Mr Patmore to Mr C.'s lodgings, and demanded an apology, or instant satisfaction. Mr C. refused the former, and expressed his readiness, without loss of time, to grant the latter.

The matter having come to this issue, it was agreed that they should meet, with as little delay as possible, at Chalk Farm; and thither they proceeded, as already stated, at nine o'clock the same night. Mr Scott was

attended by his friend Mr Patmore, and by Mr Pettigrew, a medical gentleman of Spring Gardens. The moon shone with brightness, so that the party had a full opportunity of seeing each other, and, having taken their ground, they fired two shots together The result of the second fire was fatal to Mr Scott, who received his antagonist's ball in his groin, and fell. Every assistance which the circumstances would permit was afforded him, and he was conveyed on a shutter to Chalk Farm Tavern, where he was laid on a bed in an almost hopeless state. Mr Christie and his second, Mr Trail, then retired.

Mr Scott was never in a condition to be removed from the tavern to which he was carried, and lingered until Tuesday the 27th, when he died.

MARCH.

1st —A Coroner's Inquest was held upon Mr Scott's body; and the evidence of the physician who attended him during his illness was laid before them Dr G Darling, the person in question, referred in his testimony to a memorandum which he made of what Mr Scott said to him. Mr Scott, referring to his wound on Saturday morning, between nine and ten o'clock, said, "This ought not to have taken place; I suspect some great mismanagement—there was no occasion for a second fire" After a short pause, he proceeded—"All I required from Mr Christie was a declaration that he meant no reflection on my character. This he refused, and the meeting became inevitable On the field Mr C behaved well; and, when all was ready for the first fire, he called out—'Scott, you must not stand there; I see your head above the horizon; you give me an advantage' I believe he could have hit me then if he liked. After the pistols were reloaded, and every thing ready for a second fire, Mr Trail called out—'Now, Mr Christie, take your aim, and do not throw away your advantage, as you did last time.' I called out immediately, 'What! did not Mr Christie fire at me?' I was answered by Mr Patmore, 'You must not speak; 'tis now of no use to talk; you have nothing now for it but firing' The signal was immediately given, we fired, and I fell." Deceased expressed himself satisfied with Mr Christie's conduct, whom he described as very kind to him after he was wounded.

Mr T. J Pettigrew, the surgeon, who had attended Mr Scott to the field, after describing the nature of the wound, stated that Mr Christie asked him what he thought of the wound He replied, he feared it was mortal, in the hearing of Mr Scott; when he addressed Mr Scott, and expressed a wish "that he had been in Mr Scott's situation, rather than Mr Scott should have been wounded by him" Mr Scott then said, "Whatever may be the issue of this case, I beg you all to bear in remembrance, that every thing has been fair and honourable." Witness being asked if he did not hear it said on the ground by Mr Christie, that he had fired down the field? replied,—"Mr Christie said, 'Why was I permitted to fire a second time? I discharged my pistol down the field before; I could do no more'" These expressions were made, in consequence of some altercation which took place between the seconds Mr Christie took Mr Scott by the hand after he was wounded, and witness desired him to stand away, Mr Scott being at that time about to faint Mr Patmore stated to witness some days after the occurrence, that if Mr Christie and his friend had agreed that he should not return Mr Scott's fire, Mr Christie's

friend was bound, after the fire, to have communicated to him the conduct pursued by Mr Christie, of which he (Mr Patmore) was entirely ignorant.

The Jury, after deliberating about half an hour, returned a verdict of *Wilful Murder* against Mr Christie, Mr Trail, and Mr Patmore. The coroner accordingly issued his warrant for their apprehension. It is said the parties will deliver themselves up in due time to take their trials

5th —WHITEHALL.— Yesterday morning, soon after one o'clock, died, at the age of twelve weeks, her Highness Elizabeth, only daughter of his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, to the great grief of his Majesty, and of all the royal family.—*London Gazette.*

10th —FUNERAL OF THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH.—This morning, at a quarter past seven, the coffin was put into a coach and six belonging to his Majesty, in which were two gentlemen of the Duke's household, and set off for Windsor. Only one mourning coach and six followed The procession was escorted by a detachment of the 10th hussars. The procession reached Windsor Chapel shortly after two o'clock, and the body was buried with the usual solemnities in the royal vault.

11th —This morning, Robert Dalrymple, Esq a gentleman of distinguished family and most extensive property, residing, when in town, at No 5, Manchester-square, having taken breakfast, and dressed himself for the purpose of going to church, in a fit of delirium, with a large pistol, blew out his brains in his dressing-room. Information of the circumstance was sent to Mr Stirling, the Coroner, and on Monday night a Jury was impanelled at the deceased's house, and the affair was kept as private as possible. We are, however, able to lay before our readers the evidence which was taken before the Coroner. There were about eighteen Jurymen present, and most of them were private friends of the deceased

Richard Hollet, butler to the deceased, had lived with him sixteen years; he was pretty well in health, during the last month, excepting the last two or three days, during which time he was low and desponding. About six weeks ago the deceased was unwell, and his spirits were greatly depressed. He rose on Sunday morning about his usual hour, and breakfasted; he was a very short time at his breakfast; indeed, lately he had secluded himself very much—had remained in his dressing-room longer than he formerly did, and as soon as he had taken his meals, left the table in haste, not seeming to enjoy his food On Sunday morning, about half past eleven o'clock, he (witness) was waiting for the deceased to go to church, and expecting his bell to ring; he stopped in the hall to open the door and let him out, and was alarmed at the report of a pistol, and at the noise caused by something falling. He ran to the deceased's room, and in a small cabinet adjoining his dressing-room, he found him lying on his back, grasping with his right hand a large pistol; the place was filled with smoke, and the contents of the pistol had entered his head on the right side, which was bleeding, and terribly shattered. He alarmed the family, and raised the deceased's head till a surgeon came, who arrived almost immediately; the deceased was unable to speak, though he raised his arms up and down several times, and seemed in the most excruciating agony. He expired at half past two on Sunday afternoon.

The Rev. Thomas Wright, rector of a place in Bucks, deposed, that he had known the deceased for 19 years.

In September last, he went into the country with him, and spent six weeks. The deceased took his gun on purpose to shoot, but he was so depressed in his spirits, that he could take no recreation, nor join in the sports of the field. The great change in his disposition was the subject of conversation and surprise among his friends, for he was before that time the life and spirit of the company. He afterwards seldom joined in the company, but secluded himself, and frequently was observed to ejaculate "Oh God!" and to mutter in an extraordinary manner in self-communication He had no doubt of the deceased being deranged, for he was a most pious and amiable man when in his proper senses, and would have been the last man to have committed such an act, if he had not been bereft of his reason.

General Pointz deposed, that he was the intimate friend of the deceased, who was a most amiable character, and truly religious He had regularly attended church, and partaken of the sacrament with him. He had known him since 1796 He had been in a nervous state, and his mind was at times so absent, that, when questions were put to him, he gave no direct answers, but sighed deeply, and appeared dejected.

The Jury took a view of the corpse; it was lying in the same position as when first seen by the butler; the pistol lay on the ground by the deceased's side, who, before he shot himself, had attired himself in an elegant suit of clothes. Some of the Jury expressed doubts of the deceased being in a state of lunacy After some discussion the following verdict was recorded —"The deceased caused his own death by shooting himself with a pistol, being at the time in a state of temporary derangement."

Lord Robert Seymour, and several noblemen and gentlemen, were present, to give evidence if required, but it was thought unnecessary to examine them. The deceased has left an income of 10,000l per annum.

At the age of twenty, Mr Dalrymple married his first cousin, Miss Browning, the grand-daughter of a gentleman of property, residing near Epsom, in Surrey. To this lady he was most affectionately attached; but before they had been married twelve months, she died of a decline His grief for the loss of this young lady is not to be described, and there is little doubt but that his excessive melancholy for her loss (although after the lapse of more than twenty years,) was the cause of his lamentable death He has been often observed to gaze on her picture for hours together, and at last has been heard to exclaim—"O God! what a loss I've had!" He always wore her miniature in his bosom, and in his will he ordered, that whenever he died, his body should be opened, and that the miniature of his wife should be tied round his heart, which has been done.

—CHARITABLE BENEFACTIONS.—The late Mr James Hayes, of Great Surrey-street, Blackfriars Road, London, has, by his will, left the following extensive charitable donations, viz

L.300 bank stock to Bethlem Hospital

L 10,000 three per cents to Christ's Hospital, to be distributed in annuities of L.10 each, to blind persons, according to the late Mr Hetherington's deed.

L.10,000 ditto to Christ's Hospital, for the general uses of the charity

L 5000 ditto to the London Hospital

L 5000 ditto to St Luke's Hospital for Lunatics

L 5000 ditto to the Deaf and Dumb Charity

L 5000 ditto to the School for Indigent Blind

L.5000 ditto to the National Society.

L.4000 ditto to the parish of Barking, in Essex.

L 1000 ditto to the parish of Little Ilford, Essex

L 1000 ditto to the parish of St Gabriel, Fenchurch Street

L 2000 ditto to the parish of Christchurch, Surrey

L 5000 ditto to the Corporation of Sick and Maimed Seamen, in the merchants' service.

L.200 to the poor of the Company of Glass-sellers And

L 100 to the poor of Allhallows Staining, Mark Lane.

APRIL

1st.—An inquisition was taken at Eton, before the coroner for the district, at the Christopher Arms, opposite the college, on the body of Mr Angerstein, a promising youth of seventeen years, the son of J. J Angerstein, Esq M P It appeared in evidence, that the deceased was pursuing his studies at Eton College On Tuesday last he went in a small skiff on the Thames, and rowed about two miles below Windsor bridge, when he dropped one of his oars into the water; in leaning over to recover it, he fell into the river. No assistance being at hand, before any one could reach the spot, he had sunk to rise no more The body was not found for some days, but a reward of 100l being offered for it, the fishermen found it and conveyed it to Eton.

2d.—This evening, about six o'clock, a high pressure steam-boiler at Lochrin distillery, Edinburgh, burst with a tremendous explosion, by which two of the workmen were killed instantaneously A gentleman from the country, who was viewing the premises, also received some little injury Part of the boiler was thrown a distance of 50 or 60 yards, which, falling on the top of the mash-house, destroyed the roof. No serious mischief happened in the neighbourhood, although the bricks and fragments were thrown a considerable distance. Many miraculous escapes were made, in particular one, where a safety-valve fell through the roof of a small tenement, at a distance of from 200 to 300 yards, in which a woman had momentarily quitted the spot on which it lodged. The names of the unfortunate men who were killed, are William Falconer and Hugh M'Kay; both of whom have left widows, the former seven, and the latter six children.

10th.—The great number of steam vessels which are about to be employed from the port of Leith, present a gratifying proof of the enterprizing spirit of the age Two steam packets, upwards of 400 tons each, with 100 horse power, are now almost ready for sea, to be employed between London and Leith They are intended entirely for passengers, and are to have upwards of 100 beds. It is calculated they will make the passage in sixty hours, independent of wind and tide One of them, the City of Edinburgh, was launched on Saturday the 31st ultimo, from Wigram and Green's yard, Blackwall, and went off in grand style, being the largest steam vessel ever built in Great Britain; and the other, of equal size, will be ready in a few days. These vessels, we learn, will cost upwards of L 20,000 each

— On Thursday the 5th instant, a beautiful steam packet was launched at Perth, intended to establish a more rapid communication between Leith and the north of Scotland. This is the longest vessel ever known to have been built in the Tay, and the largest steam boat ever built in Scotland. She is 128 feet in length, 40 feet in breadth, coppered in the bends, with head, quarter galleries, and is to be propelled by two engines, 40-horse power

each This vessel arrived at Leith on Monday last, where her engines are to be put on board. We understand that the enterprizing owners have another of similar dimensions building, with the view of establishing a regular communication, by both ships, alongst the whole coast betwixt Leith and Inverness. There are steam vessels plying on the Caledonian Canal, and, when it is finished, the tourist, embarking at London on board any of the magnificent and powerful steam vessels lately launched there for the northern trade, may visit Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Glasgow, and reach Liverpool, in these conveyances alone, within ten days. This circuit is about 1200 miles, and, in good weather, could easily be made in 150 hours; thus allowing the traveller 90 hours ashore out of the ten days The passage money, including provisions, in best cabin, would be below L.3, 8s.

11th.—Extract of a letter, dated in the Convent of Augustin, Manilla, October 18, 1820.—

"I address you from this convent, in the deepest state of affliction and distress. The horrible and afflicting events which have passed in Manilla, since the 9th of the current month, have thrown me into a state of delirium and stupor, which almost deprives me of the faculty of communicating what I would wish to relate.

"On the 1st of this month a tremendous gale of westerly wind, accompanied by a heavy fall of rain, occasioned a rise in the waters of the lake, far above its usual level, and inundated all the lowlands of Manilla On the 2d, the water began to subside; and in consequence of the dreadful commotion in the lake, proceeding from the torrents which poured into it from the surrounding mountains, as well as from the mass of filth and nastiness which had been left on its banks, sent forth a mixture of water and infection in the air, which has produced an epidemical disease, to which thousands have fallen victims.

"The native population, either from blind ignorance, or influenced in their opinions by those who do not wish the foreigners well, (for reasons which I will explain in a narrative I am preparing of the facts,) imagined that the French residents had poisoned the lake and river, which runs from it towards Manilla—making this a pretence to assassinate and plunder not only the French, but all strangers without discrimination.

"The horrible design was carried into effect on the 9th of the current month in Binondo, the suburbs of Manilla, commencing first with the French, and ultimately with all strangers, without distinction of nation.

"Twenty-five gentlemen, captains, and supercargoes, of the foreign ships now in Cavite, including, I deeply regret to say, my partners, Messrs Shaffahtzsky and Duntzfelt, fell a sacrifice to the cruel knife of these barbarians; and, on the following day, sixteen Chinese, who, as they suppose, were concerned in the poison plot.

"Every thing which they could find in the houses of the unfortunate people, who had fallen victims to the fury of these barbarous wretches, was either burnt or carried off.

"The loss is estimated at 400,000 dollars; and the different residences of the poor innocents, who have been so cruelly massacred, present the most dreary aspect of rapine, murder, and devastation, not to be described, and never never to be forgotten.

"The government, though perhaps not so early as might be expected, afforded all the protection in its power, by conducting those who had the good fortune to escape, into the citadel of Manilla, where they now remain; and I have been humanely and kindly received into this convent."

23d.—This day being St George's day, and that appointed for the celebration of his Majesty's birth-day, the same was very generally celebrated throughout the country, with every demonstration of loyalty and attachment to his Majesty's person The proceedings at Edinburgh and Glasgow, on the occasion, were of a very boisterous nature, and have been attended with lamentable consequences. In the former city, one boy was killed, and another dangerously wounded, by the bursting of fire-arms, besides many minor casualties. A number of vagabonds insulted and pelted the soldiers who had fired a *feu-de-joie* in honour of the occasion, and porters' baskets were thrown into the midst of the band. Some volunteers were so annoyed, that they were obliged to turn round and attack the mob, which they did with the butt-end of their muskets, and gave and received many bruises They succeeded in carrying eight or nine prisoners to the police-office A few panes of glass were broken by a mob of sailors in the evening, who brought one of the land-waiters' boxes from Leith in procession, and then burnt it. In Glasgow, squibs and rockets rendered the streets dangerous About nine in the evening, the populace set two tar-barrels on fire opposite the gaol, and supplied the bonfire with all the paling and other combustibles they could seize. The police-officers in vain tried to stop these depredations. A small party of the 5th dragoon guards were equally unsuccessful. The magistrates next came with a party of the 41st foot, but with no better effect. They were attacked with sticks and stones, and some of them severely wounded. The Lord Provost and the gaoler were cut on the head, and several gentlemen near them received hurts. Not one of the dragoons escaped without injury, which they bore with exemplary patience After some delay the dragoons were reinforced, and then proceeded to disperse the mob, endeavouring to avoid injuring any one. In the course of their evolutions, a large party of the mob, men, women, and children, tumbled over each other, and the cries of distress were dreadful. Many attempted to escape over the wooden bridge, which they blocked up by the pressure, and broke down by their weight, and a mingled mass fell into the water; and, though it was too shallow to drown them, many limbs were broken, and other injuries sustained by the fall. The police-officers, under the direction of the magistrates, rescued the sufferers, and took them to the infirmary, and other places of refuge Twenty-six are enumerated with broken limbs, and smaller hurts to a larger amount One man died almost as soon as he was got out of the water A boy was shot in the brain and a girl in the eye, by pistols wantonly fired in the streets by the populace

30th.—Saturday the 28th being the anniversary of the birth-day of the late Lord Viscount Melville, the foundation of the Monument erecting to his memory in the centre of St Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, by the royal navy and marines of the United Empire, was laid by Admiral Sir David Milne, K.C.B. and Admiral Otway, commander-in-chief, assisted by other naval officers An appropriate prayer was offered up on the occasion by the very Reverend Principal Baird. The current coins of the realm, an Almanack, and several newspapers, were deposited in a crystal bottle, hermetically sealed; as also an appropriate inscription in Latin, on the one side of a plate of gold, and an English translation of it on the other side. There was deposited at the same time, and in the same manner, a plate of silver, with the names of the committee of management inscribed upon it. This

structure is to be an exact representation of the celebrated column of Trajan at Rome, and must consequently prove highly ornamental to the splendid metropolis of Scotland

—Recently, the town of Whitehaven was thrown into a state of extreme agitation, when it was generally known that the inflammable air in the colliery behind the North Wall, called William Pitt, had suddenly caught fire, carrying death and destruction to almost every living creature within the range of its explosion Six men, two boys, three girls, and five horses, fell victims to the fury of the blast; and three more pitmen were so severely scorched and wounded, that, we sincerely regret to state, but faint hopes are entertained of their recovery This shocking catastrophe, we know, from undoubted authority, is not attributable to neglect or want of judgment on the part of the stewards or over-men, but was occasioned solely by the imprudence of one of the workmen, who, in order the more readily to find a pick which he had mislaid, unfortunately opened his safety-lamp. The poor man lived long enough to acknowledge his error, and to repent his temerity.—*Carlisle Journal*

HOUSELESS POOR.—The doors of this institution are now closed for the season. During the seventy-seven days it has been open, 440 women and children, and 769 men, have been sheltered, and about 50,600 meals distributed A considerable number of persons have received permanent relief, and many have been placed in situations of obtaining a livelihood; some have been removed to their respective parishes and counties, and others restored to their friends under circumstances of great interest. Thus those who have benevolently contributed to this society, have the gratification of reflecting, that in sheltering houseless misery, they have saved many of its victims from impending ruin.

AFRICA.—It had been long since resolved, in the council of the Bey, that a strong squadron should be ready at the beginning of the spring to sail from the port of the Goletta, to cruise in the Mediterranean, and to plunder the Christian vessels which might fall in its way. Nothing had been neglected that could insure the success of this formidable enterprize The squadron consisted of nine vessels, well equipped, and provided with every necessary, and with numerous well-disciplined crews. The brass cannon (not to mention those of iron) amounted to 300. The 5th of this month all the vessels were assembled in the harbour of the Goletta; the 6th was fixed for putting to sea. The Bey, already devouring in imagination the riches of Christendom, set out from the Baido, (the name of the Bey's palace) and beheld with barbarous pleasure the various manœuvres which the squadron performed in his presence. This review being ended, the vessels received orders to sail the following day. But in the night between the 5th and 6th, a violent tramontane wind suddenly closed the mouth of the harbour, and increasing in violence and fury during the 6th, 7th, and 8th, raised the waves of the sea, and sunk and totally destroyed that formidable flotilla The tremendous tempest did not leave any time to guard against it; all the mariners, crews, and soldiers, perished; and on the 9th, the sea still agitated, shewed to the astonished spectators the broken masts and sails, and the floating corpses, as monuments of its fury. The Bey saw the flower of his navy and his army vanish before his eyes Three thousand men were submerged in this dreadful hurricane It seems that the storm discharged its greatest rage on the ships of the bar-

barians; but the European vessels, however, suffered from it Fortunately, all the crews and passengers of the latter are saved, except four persons, whose fate is not yet ascertained.

MAY.

1st.—This day had been long fixed for the baptism of the Duke of Bourdeaux, the future heir of the French monarchy. On this occasion there was a numerous promotion in the army, and a distribution of crosses of the Legion of Honour, more ample than had taken place at any time since its first institution The evening before was distinguished by a review of the Royal Guard, and the garrison of Paris, held by the King in the Champde-Mars, and by spectacles given gratis to the people in all the theatres of the capital It was celebrated at the same time in all parts of the kingdom

On the 1st May, at one in the forenoon, the King having heard mass in his apartments, proceeded to the metropolitan church of Notre Dame, preceded by a train, the splendour of which effaced all that had been seen since the restoration The quays, the squares, the streets which he was to traverse, were filled with a prodigious crowd; the windows, the balconies, and even the roofs, were covered with people, and decorated with white ensigns and robes adorned with fleurs-de-lis, and other emblems suitable to the circumstance. His Majesty and the royal family were every where saluted by the liveliest acclamations of the crowd assembled, on their passage. The church, decorated within and without, with as much taste as magnificence, was already filled by deputations from the cities and the principal authorities, by the diplomatic body, by all persons of distinction in the city, and by a multitude of beautiful and finely-dressed women. The ceremony was performed with all the pomp peculiar to the Catholic religion. General illuminations, artificial fires, a private festival presented to the royal family at the Hotel de Ville, feasts given to different incorporations, as they were called, of the lower ranks, occupied, during several days, an immense population

— The Earl of Buckinghamshire, Captain Johnson, sailed from Greenock for Quebec, with 600 settlers, from Renfrew and Lanark shires. On the 11th, the Commerce, Captain Coverdale, left the same port with 422 passengers for Quebec, chiefly from Glasgow and its neighbourhood; and on the 19th, the ship David left Greenock for Quebec, with 364 emigrants, chiefly country people from the counties of Lanark, Dumbarton, Stirling, Clackmannan, and Linlithgow Thus, in the course of nineteen days, 1386 persons have emigrated from the West of Scotland in search of subsistence on the other side of the Atlantic.

10th —The anniversary of the Literary Fund was celebrated by a dinner at the Freemasons' Tavern The Earl of Chichester was in the chair, and a numerous party of noblemen, gentlemen, and literary characters, honoured it by their presence The privileges conveyed to the institution by the charter granted by his late Majesty, which enables its members to acquire real property, are approximating rapidly to the extent permitted, which is 2000l per annum. In annual subscriptions and donations, the distinguished patronage before enjoyed by the society, is maintained in its full extent, and with them its means of affording relief to the distressed individuals who may claim its protection.

23d.—A numerous and highly re-

spectable meeting of noblemen and gentlemen was held yesterday at the Thatched House Tavern, St James's Street, for the purpose of establishing an "Asylum for the Recovery of Health."

At twelve o'clock, J. Holland, Esq. the treasurer, in the absence of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, (who was prevented attending by urgent public business,) took the chair, and addressed the meeting in an able speech on the objects of the society, which appear to be the erecting an asylum for those persons who, from a sense of delicacy, acquired from a good education, and the habit of better days, or from honest feelings of independence, would be averse to going into hospitals, and would rather submit to the effects of severe disease and protracted illness. Under these circumstances, it is the intention of the society, that an asylum should be provided, which, without wounding any feelings of delicacy or independence, might afford relief to the sick families of respectable artisans, to females living on narrow incomes, and well-educated persons reduced by the casualties of life. For, besides lodging and diet, they would have the benefit of experienced nurses, and medicinal aid of the first quality, and from the most eminent doctors. Another important object of the establishment will be the receiving persons afflicted with protracted disease, and requiring for their cure perhaps a year's confinement, or more, to their beds, and consequently improper cases for public hospitals, where they would occupy the room of numbers who might be relieved in the same time. Divine service will also be regularly performed by the domestic chaplain. It was stated, that establishments like the proposed one have been successfully carried on in France, under the name of *Maisons de Sante*; and they have been adopted in Russia, Sweden, and other countries, with much success.

Several gentlemen addressed the meeting, as to the organization of the society, and it appeared, that, during the last year, 817*l.* 17*s.* had been subscribed; and the donations of yearly subscribers amounted to 107*l.* 10*s.* Among the subscribers we noticed the names of the Duke of York, Princess Augustus, the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of Rutland, and a long list of distinguished personages.

A number of eminent medical gentlemen have offered their gratuitous services, and been accepted.

After several resolutions had been entered into, the meeting adjourned.

29th.—A fatal accident happened from an explosion of fire damp in a coal mine, at Seraing, near Leige, in the kingdom of the Netherlands. M. Micha, a master miner, having descended to a part of the works 251 ells deep, proceeded with twenty-six workmen to follow the course of a new vein. They had not gone far, when a slight detonation was heard, and a minute afterwards, a second very violent one, and at the same time almost the whole of the gallery fell in, with a dreadful crash. The retreat of the workmen being thus cut off, an attempt was made to remove the earth that had fallen in, but this was found impracticable, as fresh stones and earth continued to descend as fast as the ruins were cleared away. It was requisite, therefore, to open a new way through the solid stratum, which could not be accomplished till after forty-five hours' incessant labour. This new passage was conducted with great judgment, for it led to the precise spot where the accident had happened; twenty-three of the workmen were found, but unhappily all quite dead. The four others had not been found.

JUNE.

1st.—DERBY.—It is with feelings of the most painful kind, that we are called upon to lay before our readers some circumstances connected with the melancholy event which took place on the 22d instant at Winster, in this county. Various and contradictory, false and injurious reports are in circulation respecting the transaction to which we are alluding; nor is it easy, in the present agitated state of the public mind upon this subject, to gain accurate information on all the particular circumstances connected with it. For this reason, as well as with the desire not to prejudge a question which must soon receive a judicial decision, we shall, as briefly as possible, narrate a few facts which we have been able to collect from the different statements circulating throughout the county.

Mr Cuddie, a Scotchman by birth, was formerly a surgeon in the navy, and came about four years ago to reside at Winster, where he began to practise his profession. An attachment had subsisted for sometime before his death, between himself and Miss Brittlebank, the daughter of an eminet solicitor in the same town, and as she was in a delicate state of health, he had frequent opportunities of seeing her in his medical capacity. Mr Cuddie's attentions to this lady met with the decided disapprobation of her family, and it was expressed to him in the strongest terms

On Monday, the 21st inst., Mr Cuddie and Miss Brittlebank were met, whilst walking together, by Mr W. Brittlebank, her brother, who took his sister away, after some harsh words had been exchanged between himself and Mr Cuddie So improper indeed did the language of Mr Cuddie appear to Mr W. Brittlebank, that the latter sent a challenge to the former on the evening of the same day. To this Mr Cuddie returned no answer, and another messenger was dispatched to him on the same errand the following morning, who was informed by Mr Cuddie, that he should not meet Mr W. Brittlebank, and therefore should not reply to his note In consequence of this, Mr Spencer, a surgeon, residing at Bakewell, a friend, as we are informed, of both the parties, was sent for by Mr W. Brittlebank. He came, and about three o'clock in the afternoon, Mr William and Mr Francis Brittlebank, accompanied by Mr Spencer, proceeded to Mr Cuddie's house. They were here joined by Mr Andrew Brittlebank; when Mr Spencer, going into the house, informed Mr Cuddie, that he must either make some apology to Mr W. Brittlebank, or fight. It is stated, but we will not vouch for the accuracy of this report, that, in reply, he again declined to do either the one or the other. Subsequently, however, he appears to have consented to give Mr W. Brittlebank the satisfaction he required; pistols were furnished by Mr Spencer to the parties; they separated to a distance of fifteen yards on the gravel walk in Mr Cuddie's garden, and, on a signal being given, they fired Mr Cuddie unhappily received the shot of his antagonist in his bowels, and died the following day, about one o'clock in the afternoon.

Mr Gosling, of Chesterfield, acting as Coroner, in Mr Mander's absence, summoned a highly respectable Jury to hold their inquest, and a verdict of "Wilful Murder" was on Wednesday returned against Mr Brittlebank's three sons, Andrew, William, and Francis, and also against Mr Spencer. Mr W. Brittlebank is not yet in custody, but the others are now confined in the county gaol

Such is the outline of this distressing occurrence, which has created an unusual sensation throughout the neigh-

bourhood, and in stating these few particulars we have studiously avoided all comment on them. Both palliating and aggravating reports are in extensive circulation, but, in justice to the accused parties, we earnestly recommend it to our readers to suspend their decision on this melancholy affair, till the evidence be laid before that tribunal which must so soon determine the guilt or innocence of the prisoners, whose youth and early promise of respectability have excited the sympathy even of those who condemn their conduct

11th —LIMERICK —Yesterday evening, at the early hour of eight o'clock, a horrid and barbarous occurrence took place within a mile of this city, which, for atrocity, exceeds any thing that has lately been recorded. In the early part of the spring, a daring attack was made by an armed mob, on a house on the lands of Dunnigar, near this city, where Mr Torrence resided He had previously received a threatening notice to quit the lands, which he disregarded After a long and valiant resistance, aided only by his wife, who displayed a courage beyond her sex, he succeeded in completely repulsing the assailants, with the loss of one of their gang, who was carried off mortally wounded On the evening above mentioned, this brave but unfortunate couple were met on the road between Limerick and Dunnigar, by a body of men dressed in women's clothes; they were immediately surrounded, and in an instant Mrs Torrence was barbarously murdered Her husband was covered with wounds, but afterwards recovered.

— The following correspondence (Nos 1, 2, 3,) having passed between Mr Canning and Sir Francis Burdett, we declare it to be authentic.

W. BENTINCK,
DOUGLAS KINNAIRD.

June 11, 1821.

(No. 1)

TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

"*Gloucester Lodge, June* 7, 1821.

"SIR,—In a letter, bearing your signature, and purporting to have been addressed by you to the Chairman of a dinner of Parliamentary Reformers on the 4th of April, which was published in several of the newspapers of the following day, a liberty is taken with my name, as little justifiable (in my judgment) by differences of political opinion, as it is reconcileable with the ordinary courtesies of private life.

"The obvious meaning of that passage in your letter of which I complain, is, to impute to me, that, in upholding the present system of Representation in the House of Commons, I am actuated by the corrupt and dishonourable motive of a personal pecuniary interest.

"It cannot be matter of surprise to you, that I should feel myself under the necessity of requiring at your hands a disavowal of the imputation which that passage appears to convey Should you be unable, or unwilling, to afford me a satisfactory explanation upon this point, I have then to demand of you the only other reparation which an injury of such a nature admits.

"It can hardly be necessary to state to you, sir, the reason why this demand has not been sooner made: but I owe it to myself to preclude the possibility of any doubt or misrepresentation, as to the causes of that delay. The first and natural impulse of my own feelings, was to address myself to you, the instant that I had read your letter in the newspapers

"But it was represented to me by the friend whom I requested to take charge of my letter, that your then situation rendered it impossible for you to accept the second of the alternatives proposed to you (a circumstance which, I must be permitted to observe, considerably aggravated the offence offered

to me;) that the utmost which I could obtain from you was an engagement to afford me satisfaction, so soon as the term of your confinement should have expired; that the interval must be full of hazard as to secrecy; that without in any degree impeaching either your honour, or that of any gentleman whom you might select, the mere fact (which could hardly be concealed) of a communication between me, or any friend of mine, and the King's Bench, could not fail to excite suspicion;—and that such suspicion would necessarily be strengthened by my prolonging my stay in England, till the middle of May, after having repeatedly and publicly announced my intention of waiting only for Mr Lambton's motion of the 17th of April.

"Yielding, for the time (and I know not how I could have done otherwise,) to the force of these representations, it remained for me only to keep my own counsel, and to quicken, as much as possible, my return from the Continent.

"I arrived here yesterday evening My first business on my arrival has been to communicate with Lord William Bentinck, who has the goodness to undertake to deliver this letter to you, and to settle on my behalf all necessary arrangements on the matter to which it relates I assure, upon my honour, that Lord William Bentinck is the only person who has any knowledge of this letter, or of my purpose to write it.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) "GEO. CANNING"

(No. 2)

TO THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING.

"*St James's-Place, June* 8, 1821.

"SIR,—I am not aware of having made any unjustifiable allusion to you, or of having said of you in my letter to the Chairman of the Reform Meeting, more than all political men, who benefit from the system which they advocate, are fairly and necessarily subject to.

"The letter in question is now before me; and I am at a loss for a form of words in which I could have more guardedly marked the disqualification under which I conceive yourself and others to be from giving authority to your opinions on Parliamentary Reform, and at the same time have avoided making any allusion whatever to *personal* character.

"Not having intended, and not having made (as I read the letter) any such allusion at the time, I cannot now hesitate, in a more particular manner, to disclaim having ever had such an intention.

"I have the honour to be, sir,
"Your most obedient humble servant,
(Signed) "FRANCIS BURDETT"

(No. 3)

TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

"*Gloucester Lodge, June* 9, 1821.

"SIR,—Lord William Bentinck has just delivered to me the answer, which you have transmitted to his lordship, through Mr Kinnaird, to the letter which I addressed to you on Thursday.

"Lord William Bentinck's opinion (with which my own feelings entirely coincide) satisfies me that I can have no other reply to make to your letter, than to express my acknowlegment for the frankness and promptitude, with which you have disclaimed any intention of personal offence.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient servant,
(Signed) "GEORGE CANNING."

To the above correspondence we think it desirable to add the particular passage in the Hon. Baronet's letter, respecting which Mr Canning thought

it necessary to call for some explanation

"Gentlemen, that Mr Canning—I mention him as the champion of the party—a part for the whole—should defend, to the uttermost, a system, by the *hocus pocus* tricks of which *he and his family get so much public money*, can cause neither me, nor any man, surprise or anger:—

"For *'tis their duty*, all the learned think,
To espouse that cause by which they eat and drink"

14th.—This morning the most intense interest was excited at the west end of the town, (London,) in consequence of a horrid and blood-thirsty attempt upon the life of Major-General Eadon, at his residence in Berkeley Square, by a man named William Padmore, of respectable appearance, who, under pretence of communicating some private business to the General, sought an interview, and with a butcher's knife stabbed him in several parts of the body, by which his life is placed in the most imminent danger. The prisoner was taken into custody immediately after the act, and conveyed to Marlborough-street Office. On being called upon for his defence, he said, "I have had cause for what I have done. I know the dreadful situation in which I stand in consequence of it; but my determination was fixed, and my mind made up to abide the result. I must decline, for the present, saying more."—Mr Conant said, the evidence was conclusive of a premeditated intention on the part of the prisoner, (who had been a servant to the general in India,) to commit the crime of murder, and he was accordingly committed to Newgate. It appeared, upon a subsequent examination, that Padmore had been a servant to General Eadon; and had harboured a rooted malice towards him, on account of some imaginary injury he had received from him. The General is recovering

— During this month the report was spread in Bavaria, that the Prince Abbe Hohenlohe Schulingsfurt had wrought miraculous cures in the neighbourhood of Bamberg and Wurtzburg; that he had, by the efficacy of his prayers, cured the Prince Royal of Bavaria of deafness, and restored the faculty of walking to the Princess Matilda of Schwartzenberg, who had suffered so severely under *sciatica* that she had been unable to stand. In a few days the renown of these miracles was spread through the country, and from all quarters there arrrived at Bamberg the halt, the lame, the deaf, and the blind, imploring the aid of the Prince Abbe's prayers. And though medical men and writers disputed the reality of these cures, an immense crowd continued to besige his highness, both in his house, in the churches and in the square of the cathedral, where he publicly tried his miraculous remedies.

Such scenes, amid a population much divided in worship and opinion, could not pass without tumult and disorder. The municipal authority of the city of Bamberg, alarmed, made his report to the government of Bayreuth, which did not permit the prince to continue his attempts at cure, unless in presence of a physician, a clergyman, and a police officer, who should draw up a report of the result. At the same time, his friends strongly advising him not to degrade his religious views by such exhibitions, the miracle-working prince withdrew for some time from public notice; but having produced himself anew in public, and fresh disorders having arisen, from the concourse of the multitude, the magistrates of Bamberg published a proclamation against it, ending with these words: "We add, that all the attempts of Prince Hohen-

lute, already made before the commission, and the physicians have been without any success, and that all the pretended miracles have taken place either privately, or in the midst of a crowded populace, without any examination or knowledge, either of the patient or of the malady" After this the prince retired from the city, on pretext of bad health, but it is alleged that he still continues his cures in private, and his example has produced other miracle-workers in Thuringia, Belgium, and even the French frontier, where the authorities have been obliged to refuse passports to a prodigious number of peasants, who flocked in crowds to these scenes .

JULY

Death of Buonaparte.

(*From the London Gazette of Saturday.*)

Colonial Office, Downing-street, July 4.—Captain Crokat, of the 20th regiment, arrived this day from St Helena, with a dispatch, addressed to the Earl Bathurst, by Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe, K C B, of which the following is a copy:—

St Helena, May 6, 1821

My Lord,—It falls to my duty to inform your lordship, that Napoleon Buonaparte expired at about ten minutes before six o'clock in the evening of the 5th instant, after an illness which had confined him to his apartments since the 17th of March last.

He was attended during the early part of his indisposition, from the 17th to the 31st of March, by his own medical assistant, Professor Antommarchi, alone During the latter period, from the 1st of April to the 5th of May, he received the daily visits of Dr Arnott, of his Majesty's 20th regiment, generally in conjunction with Professor Antommarchi

Dr Shortt, physician to the forces, and Dr Mitchell, principal medical officer of the royal navy on the station, whose services, as well as those of any other medical persons on the island, had been offered, were called upon in consultation by Professor Antommarchi, on the 3d of May; but they had not any opportunity afforded to them of seeing the patient

Dr Arnott was with him at the moment of his decease, and saw him expire Captain Crokat, orderly officer in attendance, and Drs Shortt and Mitchell, saw the body immediately afterwards.

Dr Arnott remained with the body during the night

Early this morning, at about seven o'clock, I proceeded to the apartment where the body lay, accompanied by Rear-Admiral Lambert, naval commander-in-chief on this station; the Marquis de Montchenu, commissioner of his Majesty the King of France, charged with the same duty also on the part of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, Brigadier-General Coffin, second in command of the troops; Thomas H. Brooke and Thomas Greentree, Esqrs. members of council in the government of this island; and Captains Brown, Hendry, and Marryat, of the royal navy

After viewing the person of Napoleon Buonaparte, which lay with the face uncovered, we retired.

An opportunity was afterwards afforded, with the concurrence of the persons who had composed the family of Napoleon Buonaparte, to as many officers as were desirous, naval and military, to the honourable the East India Company's officers and civil servants, and to various other individuals resident here, to enter the room in which the body lay, and to view it.

At two o'clock this day the body was opened in the presence of the following medical gentlemen. Dr Shortt, M D, Dr Mitchell, M D., Dr Arnott, M D, Dr Burton, M.D., of his Ma-

jesty's 66th regiment, and Matthew Livingstone, Esq. surgeon in the East India Company's service.

Professor Antommarchi assisted at the dissection General Bertrand and Count Montholon were present

After a careful examination of the several internal parts of the body, the whole of the medical gentlemen present concurred in a report on their appearance This report is inclosed

I shall cause the body to be interred with the honours due to a general officer of the highest rank

I have intrusted this dispatch to Captain Crokat, of his Majesty's 20th regiment, who was the orderly officer in attendance upon the person of Napoleon Buonaparte at the time of his decease He embarks on board his Majesty's sloop Heron which Rear-Admiral Lambert has detached from the squadron under his command, with the intelligence

I have, &c &c

H Lowe, Lieut.-Gen

To the Right Hon the Earl Bathurst, K G , &c. &c

Longwood, St Helena, May 6

Report of Appearances on Dissection of the Body of Napoleon Buonaparte

On a superficial view the body appeared very fat, which state was confirmed by the first incision down its centre, where the fat was upwards of one inch and a half over the abdomen On cutting through the cartilages of the ribs, and exposing the cavity of the thorax, a trifling adhesion of the left pleura was found to the pleura costalis. About three ounces of reddish fluid were contained in the left cavity, and nearly eight ounces in the right The lungs were quite sound. The pericardium was natural, and contained about an ounce of fluid.

The heart was of the natural size, but thickly covered with fat —The auricles and ventricles exhibited nothing extraordinary, except that the muscular parts appeared rather paler than natural

Upon opening the abdomen the omentum was found remarkably fat, and on exposing the stomach, that viscus was found the seat of extensive disease Strong adhesions connected the whole superior surface, particularly about the pylorie extremity, to the concave surface of the left lobe of the liver; and on separating these, an ulcer, which penetrated the coats of the stomach, was discovered one inch from the pylorus, sufficient to allow the passage of the little finger The internal surface of the stomach, to nearly its whole extent, was a mass of cancerous disease or schirrous portions advancing to cancer this was particularly noticed near the pylorus The cardiac extremity, for a small space near the termination of the œsophagus, was the only part appearing in a healthy state The stomach was found nearly filled with a large quantity of fluid, resembling coffee grounds

The convex surface of the left lobe of the liver adhered to the diaphragm With the exception of the adhesions occasioned by the disease in the stomach, no unhealthy* appearance presented itself in the liver.

The remainder of the abdominal viscera were in a healthy state

A slight peculiarity in the formation of the left kidney was observed

(Signed)

Thomas Shortt, M.D. and Principal Medical Officer.

Arch Arnott, M.D. Surgeon, 20th Regiment.

Charles Mitchell, M.D. Surgeon of H M.S Vigo

Francis Burton, M. D Surgeon, 66th Regiment

Matthew Livingstone, Surgeon, H. C. Service

* In the *Gazette* the words are "*no one* healthy appearance," which is obviously a mistake

The following are various particulars connected with the last moments of this extraordinary man —

Extract of a private Letter, dated St Helena, May 15 —" Buonaparte was buried on the 9th in Sane Valley, a spot selected by himself, with the full military honours paid to a general of the first rank His coffin was carried by grenadiers Count Montholon and General Bertrand were the pall bearers, Madame Bertrand with her family following Next came Lady Lowe and her daughters in deep mourning, then the junior officers of the navy; the staff of the army, last, Sir Hudson Lowe and the admiral brought up the rear The 66th and 20th regiments, the artillery, volunteers, and marines, in all 3000 men, were stationed on the surrounding hills, about half-way up, and when the body was lowered into the grave, three rounds of eleven guns were fired by the artillery His grave was about fourteen feet deep, very wide at the top, but the lower part chambered to receive the coffin One large stone covered the whole of the chamber, the remaining space was filled up with solid masonry clamped with iron. Thus every precaution is taken to prevent the removal of the body, and I believe it has been full as much by the desire of the French commissioners, as from the wish of the government of the island. The spot had previously been consecrated by his priest The body of Buonaparte is inclosed in three coffins, of mahogany, lead, and oak His heart, which Bertrand and Montholon earnestly desired to take with them to Europe, was restored to the coffin, but it remains in a silver cup filled with spirits His stomach his surgeon was anxious to preserve, but that is also preserved, and is in another silver cup

" As every thing relating to so great a man must be of extreme interest, I should tell you, that after having attended his funeral I paid a visit to his residence I was shewn his wardrobe by Marchand; his valet, and a more shabby set-out I never beheld Old coats, hats, and pantaloons, that a midshipman on shore would hardly condescend to wear But Marchand said, it was quite an undertaking to make him put on anything new, and then after wearing it an hour, he would throw it off, and put on the old again.

" The last words Buonaparte uttered were '*tete* —'*armee*'—What their connexion was in his mind cannot be ascertained, but they were distinctly heard about five o'clock in the morning of the day he died

" An officer's guard is appointed to watch over his grave

" Bertrand, Montholon, and the rest of his household, will return to England in the Camel store-ship, which sails in about a fortnight

" Drawings have been taken by Captain Marryatt, of the spot where Buonaparte lies buried, and also of the procession to his funeral "

" Friday afternoon arrived at Portsmouth the Rosario sloop, Captain Frederick Marryatt, from St Helena, with duplicate dispatches, and an official account to government of the interment of Buonaparte, on Wednesday the 9th of May, in a bower of willows, in Rupert's Valley. Captain Marryatt landed immediately, and set off for the Admiralty He also brings, we understand, with Buonaparte's papers, his will and other testamentary documents We are informed he has left considerable property, and has most liberally rewarded his domestics, particularly a faithful coachman, who had been the means of preserving his life in a moment of imminent danger

" Counts Bertrand and Montholon, and Buonaparte's other followers, and domestics, are to leave the island shortly for England, in the Camel store-

ship It is Count Bertrand's wish, we understand, to reside in England for the remainder of his life The Rosario left St Helena eleven days after the Heron, viz on the 18th of May The ships were thus employed —Vigo and Beaver, at St Helena, Brazen, Blossom, and Cygnet, at the Cape; Menai, at the Mauritius, Shearwater on the passage thither

"The Heron, which conveyed the official dispatches to government, is ordered to be got ready to return immediately to St Helena, with dispatches for Sir Hudson Lowe and Admiral Lambert—it is supposed relative to the withdrawing of the troops and ships from the island She is expected to sail to-morrow"

The following is an extract from a letter, dated his Majesty's ship Vigo, in St Helena Roads, May 7.—"Yesterday afternoon several of us went to Longwood House, where we saw him lying in state, in his full uniform, with the crucifix on his breast; his priest stood at the foot of his couch, weeping, in deep mourning; at the head stood General Bertrand and Count Montholon, similarly employed; but what particularly claimed our sympathy, was the appearance of Madame Bertrand, who was in an adjoining room, weeping bitterly, and whose converse discovered the strength of her attachment, and her deep regret for the deceased The uniform which he had on was the same which he wore, with all his stars and orders, after the battle of Marengo."

ANOTHER ACCOUNT—*St Helena, May* 11—"Napoleon had been unwell a considerable time, and was confined to his bed about forty days. On Tuesday, the 2d of May, was the first time we thought his case to be dangerous Wednesday, the 3d, he got worse. Thursday, his life was despaired of Friday, he was somewhat better, having taken a little refreshment Saturday, at five in the morning, no hopes were entertained of his recovery —During the day signals from Longwood were made every two hours as follows —'Continues the same'—'No alteration,' &c until five o clock, when the signal was, 'His extremities are cold, and scarcely any pulse' In consequence of which the admiral, the Marquis de Montchenu, (French commissioner,) and his aid-de-camp, repaired immediately to Longwood House to witness, it is presumed, his approaching fate, which terminated precisely at ten minutes past six o'clock the same evening

"Napoleon lay in state on the 6th and 7th instant, attired in his plain uniform, with a star on his side, and a silver cross on his breast, on a small brass tent bedstead, which he had with him in most of his campaigns Under him was his cloak of blue cloth, embroidered with silver, that he wore at the battle of Marengo, which served after for the pall at his funeral The room where the corpse lay was small, and covered with black cloth At the head of the corpse was the altar The priest, Mareschal Bertrand, Count Montholon, and all the servants, were in attendance, one and all exclaimed, he was the handsomest corpse they had ever seen. His body is not embalmed, but his heart is preserved in spirits

"Napoleon is buried in a very romantic spot, situated in a valley, near a place called Hut's Gate I here relate the cause of his choice When he first arrived, Marshal Bertrand resided at Hut's Gate, until a house was built for him near the ex-emperor's, who frequently visited the general's family, and he (Buonaparte) would very often stroll down to a spring of excellent water, (considered the best water on the island,) and order a glass to be brought that he might drink. Madame and Marshal Bertrand were always with him, and he several times said to

them, 'If it pleases God that I should die on this rock, have me buried on this spot,' which he pointed out, near the spring, beneath some willow trees."

THE CORONATION.

For some time previous to the 19th instant, the day appointed for his Majesty's coronation, extensive preparations had been made in Westminster Hall and Abbey, for the celebration of this great national ceremony

Westminster Hall, so well calculated to display the magnificence of the chivalrous festivals of the age in which it was erected, was fitted up in a style suitable to the occasion Two tiers of spacious galleries were erected against the eastern and western walls of the Hall, over the principal entrance from Palace-yard, an orchestra was constructed in a style of architecture corresponding in design with the noble Gothic roof of the building. The throne was placed at the southern extremity of the building, and erected upon a spacious platform, which extended over the site lately occupied by the Courts of King's Bench and Chancery. The platform was ascended by three flights of steps, each extending across the Hall The first and second from the area were covered with crimson cloth, and the upper flight immediately leading to the table, at the foot of the throne, was, as well as the floor itself, covered with a rich carpet. On the right of the throne, at the east end of the Hall, the box was constructed for the female branches of the Royal Family admitted to the ceremony, at the opposite side, and also at the royal platform, was the box appropriated to foreign ambassadors and their ladies; over the former were the boxes subdivided between the Earl Marshal, the Lord High Steward, and the Lord High Constable, and above the first-mentioned, boxes were fitted up for the suites of the foreign embassies The lower gallery on the east side was devoted to persons having the Lord Great Chamberlain's and peers' tickets, the upper was divided into sections, for the public departments The lower tier at the west side was appropriated to peeresses alone, for about one third of its length, and the remainder to peers' tickets The upper tier was allotted to different official personages, principally for the tickets of the Lord Great Chamberlain and Lord Chamberlain At each side of the Hall a long dinner table was placed, with marked seats for the peers From the cantalivers, ornamented with angels bearing shields, which support the antique roof, gilt chandeliers were suspended, to shed a light upon the dining tables

Westminster Abbey —All the galleries raised in this ancient pile, as well as the benches situated just before them on the pavement of the aisle, were covered with scarlet cloth, forming a magnificent prospect to the eye of the spectator. Within the choir were the benches on which the Knights Commanders of the Bath, the Privy Councillors, and Knights of the Garter, not being peers, the Judges, and different Law Officers of the Crown, took their seats during the coronation In the centre of the cross was a raised floor, called the theatre, and upon it a throne—a magnificent work. The theatre was under the tower of the Abbey; and on a platform of four steps, raised in the centre of it, covered with cloth of gold, and surrounded by the richest Turkey carpets, stood the coronation chair of the Kings of England, which has been so often described On the north and south sides of the theatre were the north and south transcepts of the Abbey Church in

which seats covered with scarlet cloth were assigned for the peers, and plain matted seats for the spectators who sat behind them. At each of the four pillars, which support the main tower of the Abbey, seats were reserved for the heralds and officers of arms, and near to the south pillar stood the pulpit, out of which the coronation sermon was preached, decorated with crimson velvet and gold Rising another flight of steps was the platform, on which was the altar and the communion table, and on which were placed the chairs and foot-stool used by the King during the sermon and litany, and also the old chair of St Edward the Confessor. The floor of this platform was covered with the most superb Persian tapestry, whilst the walls which surrounded and rose from it were hung with the most beautiful damask In the front of the throne was the *Sacrarium*, which, as the place of the most select ceremony, was very superbly prepared The centre of the transcepts on the left was the pulpit, fixed to a pillar, and of a simple and elegant construction, though its materials were of gold and crimson velvet. The area of this chapel was a square, formed for the ambassadors and the princesses Two silk benches for the bishops were on the left side In the centre of the side formed by the organ gallery was the altar, a splendid table, covered with large pieces of gold plate, under a slightly projecting canopy, sustained by golden palm trees On the right of the altar was an ottoman, covered with the canopy of gold tissue, to be held over the King at his unction, and the robe which he was then to wear. On the right side was a blue velvet chair and desk, where the King was to offer his private devotions, and in the centre of the area stood King Edward's throne, a stately antique chair covered with gold All those objects were admirable for their beauty, and from their historic recollections In gradual order, the seats of the choristers and the gentlemen of his Majesty's band rose, fringed with scarlet; and as a *finale* to the view from the grand western entrance, stood the majestic organ of the Abbey — Boxes for spectators were fitted up in the cornice galleries, which ran round the whole extent of the Abbey, and were decorated in a superb manner

But the external preparations were perhaps as much worthy of notice as the interior ones From the north door of Westminster Hall there was a winding platform, which presented a lively appearance. The railing on each side of it was covered with purple cloth, and the flooring was covered to the extent of sixteen feet, leaving about a yard on each side uncovered, with the same sort of blue cloth The course over which the procession proceeded from the Hall to the Abbey, was about 1500 yards in extent, exclusive of the extent of the Hall and the Abbey, the former of which is about 240 feet long Awnings were drawn, but at short distances red lines were placed, to close or spread them To each line and pulley was allotted one man, with a particular dress, so that the most rapid change could be effected, as the weather required, while a staff enabled each man to act as a constable There were also men placed with pincers, hammers, &c to repair any damage These men had a livery, with staves, and were sworn as constables On each side of the platform was a narrow standing-place, somewhat under it, from the Hall to the Abbey, and on this sub-platform were stationed parties of foot soldiers, flanked and supported by horse soldiers — Thus the view was not intercepted

To gain the best possible sight, every

house in view of the procession had either been let out upon speculation, or fitted up in front by the occupant with scaffoldings of stages of seats, let at different prices, according to their nearness to, or distance from, the procession. The whole range of those houses opposite the Hall, presented nearly a uniform erection of series of seats, in the form of theatrical boxes, with a kind of Chinese roofing over the uppermost of them. Some of them were neatly painted, with festooned ornaments in distemper The stages erected on each side of the platform, from the Hall to the Abbey, were calculated to accommodate at least 100,000 persons, fitted up with awnings, and the posts that supported them were covered with crimson cloth, so that they made no unimportant part of the show. They were let at various prices, and designated by various names, such as the Royal Pavilion, the Bishops Gallery, the Knights' Gallery, the Grand Crescent, the Western and Eastern Galleries, &c. Those persons, however, who had been at such expense in fitting places for the accommodation of the public, were not sufficiently remunerated for their trouble, as seats, which were expected to bring three guineas, were offered in the morning of the coronation at 10s Very good seats were obtained at so low as 7s The working classes of the public did not appear to take that interest in the coronation which was expected The streets and neighbourhood of Westminster were not greatly crowded.

The firing of guns and ringing of bells, at one o'clock on Thursday morning, announced the opening of this interesting day, and so early as two o'clock, the streets resounded with the rattling of carriages of every description, passing to the scene of this gorgeous ceremony or its vicinity

At three o'clock, the platform leading from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, was thrown open to public view. The removal of the boards, which formed its sides, commenced on Wednesday night, and disclosed the interior, like the celebrated Trojan horse, filled with soldiers. They were lying down with arms at their sides, except a few who were on the alert to prevent the intrusion of the people Thursday morning the canvas covering was furled up close to the top ridge, thus affording a view of the procession to the spectators in the most elevated places. The ledge along the outside of the platform was occupied by a detachment of the grenadier guards There were also in attendance several troops of the 1st, 2d, and blue regiment of horse guards, which were stationed in several places near Westminster, but not in line with the platform At this early hour carriages made their approach from several parts of the town, with persons entitled to seats to see the solemn ceremony, and with others who had paid for seats outside to see the procession

At five o clock, a considerable number of the company had arrived. Large parties kept pouring in, and, as they entered, were conducted by the persons in attendance to the places assigned them in the galleries. Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Gloucester was the first of the royal family who arrived in the Hall, taking her seat in the royal box at a quarter before six. Her Royal Highness was splendidly attired in a rich dress of silver lama, over French lilac, head dress, a white satin hat, with an elegant plume of white feathers, turned up with a diamond button and loop in front, and appeared to be in excellent health and spirits

About half past five o'clock, her Majesty, in her state carriage, drawn by six horses, and accompanied by Lord and Lady Hood and Lady Ann

Hamilton, followed by another carriage, entered St James's Park, by Constitution Hill Gate Her Majesty was not observed by the public till she entered the park; but it immediately displayed a busy scene, by persons running to greet her Majesty; and by the time she arrived at Storey's Gate, a great concourse of persons had collected, who loudly cheered her, and the general exclamation was, "God bless your Majesty! stick up for your rights; we will protect you" The soldiers at their different posts, as her Majesty passed, presented arms to her

Her Majesty having driven round by the west front of the Abbey, proceeded in her carriage by the side of the platform towards the Hall When the carriage drew up, Lord Hood alighted, and proceeded to search for some means of ingress to the Hall, from which the carriage was separated by the platform Having found a gate in the rear of the Champion's stable, he returned to the carriage; and her Majesty having alighted, was conducted by his lordship towards that gate, attended by Lady Hood and Lady Ann Hamilton

On reaching the gate, the royal party was informed that it was no thoroughfare. They then proceeded by the side of the platform, till they arrived at the passage across it from the end of Parliament Street, which was open for persons with peers' tickets Here an officer of the Guards presented himself, and, half-drawing his sword, asked for their authority to pass; when Lord Hood presented a ticket, and they were allowed to pass over the platform They then proceeded towards the House of Lords, to try to enter the Hall by some of the passages, but were debarred from all ingress to the Hall. They then proceeded to the passage leading into the Abbey from Poet's Corner The guard was at first drawn up to oppose her entrance, but, by the command of their officer, they withdrew respectfully, and let her Majesty pass. One of the attendants of the Abbey now came forward, and, with marked respect, conducted her Majesty to the Abbey door.

Here Lord Hood desired admission for her Majesty.

The door keepers drew across the entrance, and requested to see the tickets

Lord Hood—I present you your Queen. Surely it is not necessary for her to have a ticket?

Door-keeper.—Our orders are to admit no person without a peers' ticket.

Lord Hood.—This is your Queen. She is entitled to admission without such a form.

The Queen, smiling, but still in some agitation—Yes, I am your Queen Will you admit me?

Door-keeper.—My orders are specific, and I feel myself bound to obey them

The Queen laughed

Lord Hood—I have a ticket

Door-keeper—Then, my lord, we will let you pass upon producing it

Lord Hood now drew from his pocket a peer's ticket for one person. The original name in whose favour it was drawn was erased, and the name of Wellington substituted

Door-keeper.—This will let one person pass, but no more

Lord Hood.—Will your Majesty go in alone?

Her Majesty at first assented, but did not persevere

Lord Hood.—Am I to understand that you refuse her Majesty admission?

Door-keeper—We only act in conformity with our orders

Her Majesty again laughed.

Lord Hood—Then you refuse the Queen admission?

A door-keeper of a superior order then came forward, and was asked by Lord Hood, whether any preparations had been made for her Majesty? He answered respectfully in the negative.

Lord Hood—Will your Majesty enter the Abbey without your ladies?

Her Majesty declined

Lord Hood then said, that her Majesty had better retire to her carriage It was clear no provision had been made for her accommodation

Her Majesty assented

Some persons within the porch of the Abbey laughed, and uttered some expressions of disrespect.

Lord Hood—We expected to have met at least with the conduct of gentlemen Such conduct is neither manly nor mannerly.

Her Majesty then retired, leaning on Lord Hood's arm, and followed by Lady Hood and Lady Hamilton. She was preceded by constables back to the platform, over which she returned—entered her carriage, and was driven off, amidst reiterated shouts of applause and disapprobation.

Her Majesty was dressed in white, and had on her head a cap or bandeau, with a large plume of white ostrich feathers, she appeared in full health, and returned the congratulations of the public by bowing to them in the most gracious manner.

The following account of the procession, the ceremonial of the coronation, and the banquet, was published in a supplement to the London Gazette:—

Heralds' College, Thursday, July 19, 1821.—His Majesty, having on Wednesday evening repaired to the residence of the Speaker of the House of Commons, where he remained during the night, was this day crowned in the Abbey church of Saint Peter, Westminster, with the rites and ceremonies accustomed to be observed upon occasions of such great and glorious solemnity

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and his Royal Highness the Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg, were assembled at eight o'clock in the morning in the House of Lords. Deputy Garter, the Gentlemen Usher of the Black Rod, the trainbearers of the Princes of the Blood Royal, the attendants on the Lord High Steward, and on the Lord Chancellor, Lord High Constable, Earl Marshal, and Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and the Gentlemen Ushers of the White and Green Rods, in the space below the bar; the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Serjeants at Law, Masters in Chancery, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and Sheriffs of London, the King's Chaplains having dignities, and the six Clerks in Chancery, in the Painted Chamber, the Vice-Chamberlain, Treasurer, and Comptroller of the Household, the Marquis of Londonderry, K G; the Register of the Order of the Garter, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Master of the Rolls, the Vice-Chancellor, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Lord Chief Baron, the rest of the Judges, and the Privy Councillors, not being Peers, and the Clerks of the Council in Ordinary, in the chamber formerly called the Prince's Chamber, or Robing-Room, near the former House of Lords, the Knights Grand Crosses and the Knights Commanders of the Order of the Bath, and the Officers of the said Order, in the chamber formerly the House of Lords; the trainbearers of his Majesty, the Master and Groom of the Robes, in his Majesty's Robing Chamber, near the south entrance into Westminster-Hall, the Lords and

Grooms of the Bed-chamber, the Keeper of the Privy Purse, the Equerries and Pages of Honour, and the Gentlemen Ushers and Aides-de-camp, in the room of the Chairmen of Committees, adjoining the House of Lords, the Physicians, Surgeons, and Apothecaries, in the Witness-Room adjoining the House of Lords, the Officers and Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, the Serjeants at Arms, the Officers and Yeomen of the Guard, in the House of Commons, and the lobbies thereof; the King's Heralds, and Pursuivants at Arms, in the lobby between the House of Lords and the Painted Chamber, the sixteen Barons of the Cinque Ports, with the canopy, the Knight Marshal and his officers, his Majesty's band, in Westminster Hall, at the lower end; and all who were to precede the Knight Marshal in the procession, without the north door of the Hall

Soon after eight o'clock the peers were called over in the House of Lords by Deputy Garter, and proceeded to the Hall, where the other persons appointed to walk in the procession had been previously marshalled on the right and left by the officers of arms

At about ten o'clock his Majesty, preceded by the great Officers of State, entered the Hall, and took his seat in the chair of state; which was announced by the firing of a gun.

The Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, and the Deputy Earl Marshal, ascending the steps, placed themselves at the outer side of the table; the Lord High Steward, the rest of the great Officers, Deputy Garter, and Black Rod, arranged themselves near the chair of state, the royal train-bearers on each side of the throne

The Vice-Chamberlain of his Majesty's household, in the absence of the Lord Chamberlain, assisted by officers of the jewel-office, then brought the sword of state to the Lord High Constable, who delivered it to the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, by whom it was laid upon the table; then Curtana, or the sword of mercy, with the two swords of justice, being in like manner presented, were drawn from their scabbards by the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, and laid on the table before his Majesty, after which the gold spurs were delivered, and also placed on the table Immediately after, a procession advanced up the Hall from the lower end thereof, with the usual reverences, in the following order.—

Serjeant of the vestry, in a scarlet mantle.
Children of the King's Chapel, in scarlet mantles, four abreast
Children of the choir of Westminster, in surplices, four abreast
Gentlemen of the King's Chapel, in scarlet mantles, four abreast
Choir of Westminster, in surplices, four abreast.
Sub-dean of the Chapel Royal
Rouge Dragoon Pursuivant — Blue Mantle Pursuivant
York Herald — Somerset Herald
The two Provincial Kings of Arms.
The Dean of Westminster, carrying St Edward's Crown on a cushion of cloth of gold.
First Prebendary of Westminster, carrying the Orb
Second Prebendary, carrying the Sceptre with the Dove
Third Prebendary, carrying the Sceptre with the Cross
Fourth Prebendary, carrying St Edward's Staff
Fifth Prebendary, carrying the Chalice and Patina
Sixth Prebendary, carrying the Bible

The Dean and Prebendaries, having arrived at the foot of the steps, and Deputy Garter preceding them, ascended the steps, and approaching near the table before the King, the Dean presented the crown to the Lord High Constable, who delivered it to the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, and by him it was placed on the table before the King. The rest of the regalia were severally delivered by each prebendary, on his knee, to the Dean, by him to the Lord High Constable, by him to the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, by whom they were laid on the table. The regalia being thus delivered, the Prebendaries and Dean returned to the middle of the Hall. His Majesty then commanded Deputy Garter to summon the noblemen and bishops who were to bear the regalia, and the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain delivered the same to the lords by whom they were to be severally carried.

The Bishops of Oxford and Lincoln, who were to support his Majesty for the Bishops of Durham and Bath and Wells, were then summoned by Deputy Garter, and, ascending the steps, placed themselves on each side of the King

The second gun was then fired; and the procession, flanked by the Earl Marshal's gold staff officers, moved forward upon blue cloth spread from the throne in Westminster Hall, to the great steps in the Abbey Church; the anthem, "O Lord, grant the King a long life," &c. being sung in parts, in succession with his Majesty's band playing, the sounding of trumpets, and the beating of drums, until the arrival in the Abbey

ORDER OF THE PROCESSION

The King's Herb-Woman, with her six Maids, two and two, strewing the way with Herbs

Messenger of the College of Arms, in a scarlet cloak, with the arms of the College embroidered on the left shoulder

The Dean's Beadle of Westminster, with his staff

The High Constable of Westminster, in a scarlet cloak, with his staff

Two Household Trumpeters, with banners of velvet fringed with gold, and five Household Drummers in royal liveries, drum-covers of crimson velvet, laced and fringed with gold

The Drum-Major, in a rich livery, and a crimson scarf fringed with gold

Eight Trumpeters in rich liveries—their silver trumpets with banners of crimson damask embroidered and fringed with gold

Kettle-Drums, drum-covers of crimson damask, embroidered and fringed with gold

Eight Trumpeters in liveries, as before

Serjeant-Trumpeter with his Mace.

The Knight Marshal, attended by his four Officers

The six Clerks in Chancery

King's Chaplains having dignities

The Sheriffs of London

Aldermen of London who have not passed the Chair

Recorder of London

Aldermen of London who have passed the Chair

Masters in Chancery

The King's Serjeants at Law

The King's Ancient Serjeant

The King's Solicitor-General The King's Attorney-General

Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber
Serjeant of the Vestry of the Chapel Royal, Serjeant-Porter.
Children of the Choir of Westminster, in surplices
Children of the Chapel Royal, in surplices, with scarlet mantles over them
Choir of Westminster, in surplices
Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, in scarlet mantles.
Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, in a scarlet gown
Prebendaries of Westminster, in surplices and rich copes, three abreast
The Dean of Westminster, in a surplice and rich cope
Pursuivants of Scotland and Ireland, in their tabards, viz
Athlone
Bute Unicorn.
His Majesty's Band, in full state habits
Officers attendant on the Knights Commanders of the Order of the Bath, in their mantles, chains, and badges viz
Secretary Officer of Arms
Knights Commanders of the Order of the Bath, four abreast, in the habit of their Order—their hats and feathers in their hands
Officers of the Order of the Bath, in their mantles, chains, and badges, viz
The Messenger of the Order
The Gentleman Usher of the Scarlet Rod The Secretary
The Register The Genealogist Deputy Bath King of Arms
Knights Grand Crosses of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, four abreast, in the full habit of their Order—their hats and feathers in their hands—those being Members of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, wearing a blue scarf, fringed with gold, around the right arm
Rouge Dragon Pursuivant of Arms, in his tabard
Barons of the Exchequer
Justices of the Court of Common Pleas
Justices of the Court of King's Bench
Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer
Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas
The Vice-Chancellor of England
The Master of the Rolls
The Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench
The Clerks of the Council in Ordinary
Privy Councillors, not Peers, four abreast
The Register of the Order of the Garter, in his mantle, chain, and badge, and carrying the Register of the Order
The Marquis of Londonderry
Knight Companion of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, in the full habit, and wearing the Collar of the Order, his cap and feathers in his hand
His Majesty's Vice-Chamberlain
James Marquis Graham, (eldest son of the Duke of Montrose,) attended by an officer of the Jewel House, in a scarlet mantle, with a crown embroidered on his left shoulder, bearing a cushion, on which were placed the Ruby Ring and the Sword to be girt about the King
Comptroller of His Majesty's Household, Lord George Thomas Beresford
Treasurer of His Majesty's Household, Lord Charles C Bentinck, bearing the crimson bag with the Medals
Bluemantle Pursuivant of Arms, in his tabard
THE STANDARD OF HANOVER,
Borne by John Earl of Mayo, G. C. H. in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, attended by a page bearing his coronet
Cork Herald, in his tabard and collar of SS
Islay Herald, in his tabard and collar of SS

Barons, in their robes of estate of crimson velvet, their coronets in their hands, four abreast

Falcon Herald Extraordinary, in his tabard and collar of SS

THE STANDARD OF IRELAND,
Borne by William Carr, Lord Beresford, G C B in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, attended by a page bearing his coronet

THE STANDARD OF SCOTLAND,
Borne by James Earl of Lauderdale, K. T in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, attended by a page bearing his coronet

The Bishops of Ireland and England, in their rochets, with their caps in their hands, four abreast

Brunswick Herald, in his tabard and collar of SS

Blanc Coursier Herald, in his tabard and collar of SS

Viscounts, in their robes of estate of crimson velvet, their coronets in their hands, four abreast

York Herald, in his tabard and collar of SS

Windsor Herald, in his tabard and collar of SS

THE STANDARD OF ENGLAND,
Borne by Rowland Lord Hill, G. C B in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, attended by a page bearing his coronet

Earls, in their robes of estate of crimson velvet, their coronets in their hands, four abreast

Somerset Herald, in his tabard and collar of SS
Richmond Herald, in his tabard and collar of SS

THE UNION STANDARD,
Borne by William Earl Harcourt, G C B in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, attended by a page bearing his coronet

Marquises, in their robes of estate of crimson velvet, their coronets in their hands, four abreast

The Lord Steward of His Majesty s Household
George James Marquis of Cholmondeley,
In his robes of estate of crimson velvet, his coronet in his hand
Lancaster Herald, in his tabard and collar of SS

THE ROYAL STANDARD,
Borne by Charles Earl of Harrington, G C H in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, attended by a page, bearing his coronet

King of Arms of the Ionian Order of St Michael and St George, in his tabard and collar, crown in his hand

Gloucester King of Arms, in his tabard and collar, crown in his hand.

Hanover King of Arms, in his tabard and collar, crown in his hand

Dukes, in their robes of estate of crimson velvet, their coronets in their hands, four abreast

Ulster King of Arms, in his tabard and collar, and crown in his hand

Clarencieux King of Arms, by Norroy, in his tabard and collar, and crown in his hand

Norroy King of Arms, by Chester Herald, in his tabard and collar, and crown in his hand

The Lord Privy Seal, John Earl of Westmoreland, K G in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, and coronet in his hand

The Lord President of the Council, Dudley Earl of Harrowby, in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, and coronet in his hand

The Lord Archbishop of York, in his rochet, and cap in his hand

The Lord High Chancellor, John Earl of Eldon, in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, with his coronet in his hand, bearing the seals, and attended by his Purse-bearer,

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, in his rochet, and cap in his hand

Two Serjeants at Arms, with their maces

THE REGALIA

St Edward's Staff, borne by James Marquis of Salisbury, K G in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, and coronet in his hand

The Gold Spurs, borne by George Gough Lord Calthorpe, in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, and coronet in his hand

The Sceptre with the Cross, borne by Richard Marquis Wellesley, K G in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, and coronet in his hand

The third Sword, borne by George Earl of Galloway, K T in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, and coronet in his hand

Curtana, borne by Henry Pelham Duke of Newcastle, K G in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, and coronet in his hand

The second Sword, borne by Hugh Duke of Northumberland, K G in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, and coronet in his hand

Two Sergeants at Arms, with their maces

Usher of the Green Rod

Usher of the White Rod

The Lord Mayor of London, the Right Hon John Thomas Thorp, in his robe, collar and jewel, bearing the city sceptre or mace

Lyon King of Arms of Scotland, Marchmont Herald, in his tabard, carrying his crown and sceptre, acting for Thomas Robert Earl of Kinnoull

Deputy to Garter Principal King of Arms, Sir G Nayler Kt C [illegible]ueux King of Arms in his tabard and collar, carrying his crown and sceptre

Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, Kt bearing his rod

The Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain of England, Peter Robert Lord Gwydyr, in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, carrying his coronet and his white staff

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE LEOPOLD,

In the full habit of the Order of the Garter, carrying in his right hand his baton as Field Marshal, and in his left hand his cap and feathers, his train borne by Lieut-Col Sir Robert Gardiner, K C B

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER,

In his robes of estate of crimson velvet, carrying his coronet, his train borne by Sir Archibald Murray, Bart

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE,

In his robes of estate of crimson velvet, carrying his coronet, and his train borne by Vice-Admiral Fraser

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUSSEX,

In his robes of estate of crimson velvet, carrying his coronet in his hand, his train borne by Major General Ogg

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF CLARENCE,

In his robes of estate of crimson velvet, carrying in his right hand his baton, and in his left his coronet, his train borne by Captain Pechell, R N

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF YORK,

In his robes of estate of crimson velvet, carrying in his right hand his baton as Field Marshal, and his coronet in his left hand, and his train borne by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Frederick Cooke

The High Constable of Ireland, Henry Marquis of Lansdown, in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, his coronet in his hand, with his staff

The High Constable of Scotland, George Lord Gordon, G C B commonly called Marquis of Huntly, (acting as Deputy to William George Earl of Errol, a minor,) in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, his coronet in his hand, with his staff

Two Sergeants at Arms, with their maces.

The Earl Marshal of England represented by Kenneth Alexander Lord Howard of Effingham, G C B in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, his coronet in his hand, carrying his staff, attended by a Page

The Sword of State borne by Charles Duke of Dorset, in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, attended by a Page carrying his coronet

The Lord High Constable of England, Arthur Duke of Wellington, K G in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, carrying his coronet and staff, attended by a Page carrying his baton of Field Marshal

A Gentleman carrying the staff of the Lord High Steward.

A Gentleman carrying the coronet of the Lord High Steward.

Two Serjeants at Arms, with their maces.

The Sceptre with the Dove, carried by John Henry Duke of Rutland, K G in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, with his coronet in his left hand	St Edward's Crown, carried by the Lord High Steward, Henry William, Marquis of Anglesey, K G in his robes of estate of crimson velvet	The Orb, carried by Wm. Spencer, Duke of Devonshire, in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, with his coronet in his left hand
The Patina, borne by the Lord Bishop of Gloucester	The Bible, borne by the Lord Bishop of Ely	The Chalice, borne by the Lord Bishop of Chester

Supporter, THE KING, Supporter,

Twenty of his Majesty's Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, carrying their axes.

Twenty of his Majesty's Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, carrying their axes.

The Lord Bishop of Lincoln, for the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells	In his Royal Robes, wearing a Cap of Estate adorned with jewels under a canopy of cloth of gold, supported by sixteen Barons of the Cinque Ports, his Majesty's train borne by eight eldest sons of Peers, viz	The Lord Bishop of Oxford, for the Lord Bishop of Durham

The Marquis of Douro	The Earl of Surrey
The Earl of Brecknock	The Viscount Cranbourne
The Earl of Rocksavage	The Earl of Uxbridge
Viscount Ingestrie, son of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	The Earl of Rawdon

Assisted by Lord Francis Conyngham, Master of the Robes, and followed by the Groom of the Robes to his Majesty

Standard Bearer of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners — Lieutenant of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners

Captain of the Yeomen of the Guards, George Earl of Macclesfield, in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, his coronet in his hand	Silver Stick, acting for Charles Earl of Harrington, the Gold Stick of the Life Guards in waiting, who bore the Royal Standard	Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, James George Earl of Courtown, in his robes of estate of crimson velvet, his coronet in his hand

Lords of his Majesty's Bed-chamber
Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse
The Right Honourable Sir Benjamin Bloomfield G C H bearing the Privy Purse.
The Assistant Falconer
Grooms of his Majesty's Bed Chamber
Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber
Equerries of his Majesty
Physicians to his Majesty
Serjeant-Surgeons to his Majesty
Gentlemen Ushers Daily Waiters
Grooms of the Privy Chamber
Pages of Honour to his Majesty
Extra Pages of Honour to his Majesty.
Aides-de-Camp of his Majesty
Extra Aides-de-Camp of his Majesty.
Gentlemen Ushers Quarterly Waiters.

Apothecary to his Majesty — Surgeon to his Majesty
Private Solicitors to his Majesty
Ensign of the Yeomen of the Guard — Lieutenant of the Yeomen of the Guard.
His Majesty's Pages, in full state liveries
His Majesty's Footmen, in full state liveries.
Exons of the Yeomen of the Guard. — Yeomen of the Guard — Exons of the Yeomen of the Guard
Harbinger of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners
Clerk of the Cheque of the Yeomen of the Guard — Clerk of the Cheque of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners
Yeomen of the Guard, who closed the Procession.
N B The Knights of the several Orders wore their respective Collars

On the arrival of the procession at the Abbey, the Herb-woman with her maids, and the serjeant-porter, remained at the entrance within the great west door, the drums and trumpets filed off to their gallery over the entrance to the choir The choristers of the Chapel Royal and of Westminster proceeded with his Majesty's band to the organ gallery; and, on his Majesty entering the Abbey, the choirs commenced singing the Hallelujah chorus in Handel's oratorio of the Messiah, after which a scene from the oratorio of Saul, followed by the anthem. "I was glad when they said unto me, we will go into the House of the Lord," &c &c Immediately after the conclusion of the Hallelujah chorus, and before the remainder of the music, the King's scholars of Westminster school, from the platform gallery over the entrance into the choir, with their masters, greeted his Majesty with repeated shouts of "VIVAT GEORGIUS REX!"

The Prebendaries and Dean of Westminster filed off to the left, about the middle of the nave, and there awaited the King's coming into the church; when they fell into the procession next before the Kings of Arms who preceded the great officers.

As the procession entered the choir, the several persons composing it were conducted to their seats by the officers of arms, the Prebendaries of Westminster proceeding to their places near the altar.

The Princes of the Blood Royal were conducted to their seats as peers, and the Prince Leopold to his seat in the royal box.

The Barons of the Cinque Ports who bore the canopy, and the Gentlemen Pensioners, remained at the entrance of the choir, where the standards were received from the noblemen who bore them by the officers of arms, and by them delivered to pages

The King, ascending the theatre, passed on the south side of the throne to his chair of state on the east side thereof, opposite to the altar; and after his private devotion, (kneeling down upon the fald-stool,) took his seat, the two Bishops, his supporters, standing on each side; the noblemen bearing the four swords on his right hand, the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain and the Lord High Constable on his left, the great officers of state, the Lord Howard of Effingham, acting as Earl Marshal, the Dean of Westminster, the noblemen bearing the regalia, train-bearers, Deputy Garter, Lyon King of Arms, the Lord Mayor of London and Black Rod, standing about the King's Chair.

Upon the conclusion of the anthem, the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the Lord Chancellor, the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, and Lord Howard of Effingham, acting as Earl Marshal, preceded by Deputy Garter, went to the east side of the theatre, where

the Archbishop made the recognition, and repeated the same at the south, west, and north sides of the theatre; during which his Majesty was standing, and turned towards the people on the side on which the recognition was made, the people replying with loud and repeated acclamations of "God save King George the Fourth!" and at the last recognition the trumpets sounded and the drums beat

His Majesty then took his seat, and the Bible, the chalice, and patina, were carried to and placed upon the altar by the Bishops who had borne them in the procession.

The King then passed to the altar, where his Majesty, kneeling, made his first offering of a pall or altar-cloth of gold, and afterwards his second offering of an ingot of gold. The King was then conducted to the chair of state on the south side of the area, and the regalia, except the swords, were laid on the altar.

The litany was then read by the Bishops of London and Bangor, vested in copes. Next was read the beginning of the communion-service by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and after it a sermon was delivered by the Archbishop of York; which being concluded, the Archbishop of Canterbury, advancing to the King, administered the Coronation Oath, his Majesty having, on Thursday, the 27th day of April, 1820, in the presence of the two Houses of Parliament, made and subscribed the declaration. The King then arose from his chair of state, and proceeded uncovered to the altar, where, kneeling upon the cushion laid on the steps, and placing his hand on the Holy Gospels, his Majesty took the oath, and added thereto his royal sign manual The King returned to his chair, and the hymn, "Come, Holy Ghost, our Souls inspire," &c. was sung, after which the Archbishop read the prayer preparatory to the anointing. At the conclusion of this prayer the choirs sung the anthem, "Zadok the Priest," &c. during which the King was disrobed of his crimson robes; and his Majesty taking off his cap of state, the robes and cap were carried into St Edward's Chapel. King Edward's chair, covered with cloth of gold, having been placed in front of the altar, his Majesty took his seat therein to be anointed; when the following four Knights of the Garter, viz. the Duke of Beaufort, the Marquis Camden, the Earl of Winchelsea, and the Marquis of Londonderry, being summoned by Deputy Garter, held over the King's head a rich pall of cloth of gold; and the Dean of Westminster, holding the ampulla containing the consecrated oil, and pouring some into the anointing spoon, the Archbishop anointed his Majesty therewith

The King then kneeling, the Archbishop pronounced the benediction.

His Majesty was next arrayed with the supertunica of cloth of gold, and a girdle of the same for the sword, when the spurs were taken from the altar, and his Majesty's heels having been touched therewith, they were again laid upon the altar.

His Majesty, standing up, was girt with the sword, which his Majesty afterwards offered at the altar, in the scabbard, and retiring to his chair, the sword was redeemed.

His Majesty rising, was invested with the imperial mantle, or dalmatic robe, of cloth of gold, and with the armil.

The King then sat down, and received from the Archbishop the orb, which his Majesty afterwards returned to the Dean, who laid it upon the altar.

The ruby ring was placed by the Archbishop on the fourth finger of

the King's right hand, and the Dean brought from the altar the two sceptres with the cross and dove, and delivered them to the Archbishop.

Bernard Edward Duke of Norfolk, as Lord of the Manor of Worksop, then presented his Majesty with a pair of gloves, richly embroidered with the arms of Howard, which his Majesty put on; and the Archbishop delivered the sceptre with the cross into his Majesty's right hand, and the sceptre with the dove into his left hand, the Lord of the Manor of Worksop supporting his Majesty's right arm, and holding the sceptre, as occasion required.

The Archbishop standing before the altar, and having taken St Edward's crown into his hands, consecrated and blessed it, and, assisted by the other Bishops, his Grace came from the altar, the Dean of Westminster carrying the crown, which the Archbishop received and placed on his Majesty's head, while the people, with loud and repeated shouts, cried, "GOD SAVE THE KING!" the trumpets sounding, the drums beating, and the Tower and Park guns firing by signal. The Peers then put on their coronets, the Bishops their caps, and the Kings of Arms their crowns. The acclamations ceasing, the Archbishop pronounced the exhortation, and the choirs sang the anthem, "The King shall rejoice in thy strength," &c.

The Archbishop then presented the Bible to the King, and his Majesty having returned the same to the Archbishop, it was replaced on the altar.

The Archbishop having pronounced the benediction, the King kissed the Archbishops and Bishops who knelt before him. The "Te Deum" was then sung, during which the King removed to his chair, on the east side of the throne, and, at the conclusion, his Majesty was then enthroned by the Bishops and Peers, and the Archbishop pronounced the exhortation; whereupon the Archbishop advanced to the steps of the throne, and, ascending, knelt before the King, and, for himself and the other Lords Spiritual, pronounced the words of homage, the Archbishop of York and the Bishops kneeling around him, and, for themselves, repeating after him. The Archbishop then kissed his Majesty's left cheek, as did the Archbishop of York, and the rest of the Bishops, and retired.

Then his Royal Highness the Duke of York advanced to the steps of the throne, and, ascending, took off his coronet, and kneeling before the King, for himself and the other Dukes of the Blood Royal, who severally took off their coronets and knelt with him and about him, pronounced the words of homage, the rest of the Royal Dukes, for themselves, repeating after him. Then his Royal Highness touched the crown upon his Majesty's head, and having kissed his Majesty's left cheek, as did the rest of the Dukes of the Blood Royal, retired.

Then the Duke of Norfolk advanced in like manner to the throne, and being followed by the rest of the Dukes, took off his coronet, knelt before the King, and, for himself and the other Dukes, who also took off their coronets and knelt with him and about him, pronounced the words of homage, the rest of the same degree, for themselves, repeating after him; after which his Grace touched the crown upon his Majesty's head, and kissed his Majesty's left cheek, as did the rest of the Dukes after him, and retired.

The Marquis of Winchester advanced with the rest of the Marquises. The Earl of Denbigh with the rest of the Earls, the Lord Viscount Hereford with the rest of the Viscounts; and the Lord Audley with the rest of the Barons, and each degree seve-

rally and respectively did their homage in like manner, and retired

During this part of the solemnity, the sceptre with the cross was held on the King's right hand by the Duke of Norfolk, as lord of the manor of Worksop, and the sceptre with the dove by the Duke of Rutland; the treasurer of his Majesty's household throwing about the medals of the coronation, as his Majesty's princely largesse or donative

The Peers who bore the regalia, on advancing to do their homage, severally delivered the same to the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, by whom they were returned after the homage had been performed

After the homage, the Bishop of Salisbury, who read the Epistle, and the Bishop of St David's, who read the Gospel, received from the altar, by the hands of the Archbishop, the patina and chalice, which they carried into St Edward's Chapel, and brought from thence the bread upon the patina, and the wine in the chalice His Majesty then descended from the throne, and went to the altar, where, having taken off his crown, his Majesty received the sacrament, the Archbishop administering the bread, and the Dean of Westminster the cup

The choir then sang the last anthem, "Blessed be thou, Lord God of Israel," &c; and, at the conclusion, the trumpets sounded, the drums beat, and, amidst the acclamations of the assembly, the King put on his crown, and, taking the two sceptres in his hands, again ascended the throne, and sat there supported and attended as before, until the conclusion of the post-communion service and blessing The choirs then sang the national air of "God save the King."

His Majesty, attended as before, having descended into the area, passed through the door on the south side of the altar into St Edward's Chapel, and the noblemen who had carried the regalia received them from the Dean of Westminster as they passed by the altar

The King, being come into the Chapel, and standing before the altar, delivered the sceptres to the Archbishop, who laid them upon the altar. The rest of the regalia were then delivered to the Dean, and by him laid on the altar

Then the King was disrobed of his dalmatic robe of state, and arrayed in his royal robe of purple velvet, the Archbishop delivering the sceptre with the cross into his right hand, and the orb into his left. The Dean then delivered the sceptre with the dove to the Duke of Rutland, who had before carried it, and who was to bear it in the returning procession.

As soon as the King entered St Edward's Chapel, the officers of arms called over and arranged the procession for the return to Westminster Hall, and at the moment when his Majesty came out of the chapel, the procession moved forward to Westminster Hall, in the same order as it came from thence, except that the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster did not return; and the noblemen who, in the former procession, had borne the gold spurs, and St Edward's staff, left in St Edward's Chapel, and the orb, and the sceptre with the cross, now borne by his Majesty, walked in their due places, according to their degrees in the Peerage.

As the procession entered the Hall, the fifes, drums, and trumpets, proceeded to their gallery, and the several other persons composing it were directed to their respective places by the officers of arms, the Barons of the Cinque Ports with the canopy remaining at the bottom of the steps.

His Majesty, having ascended the elevated platform, retired into his chamber near the state.

The company at the tables then sat down, and the Barons of the Cinque Ports carried away the canopy as their fee.

THE BANQUET.

Dinner being ready, his Majesty, wearing his crown, and carrying the sceptre with the cross, and the orb, and attended and supported, and his train borne as before, came out of his chamber, preceded by the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, and the four swords being carried before him, took his seat in the chair of state.

The first course was then brought up with the usual ceremony, attended by the three following Great Officers of State, mounted on horses richly caparisoned, viz. the Marquis of Anglesey, as Lord High Steward, between the Duke of Wellington, as Lord High Constable, and Lord Howard of Effingham, as Earl Marshal. The dinner was placed on the table by his Majesty's two clerks of the kitchen.

The Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain, with his Majesty's cup-bearer, Montagu Earl of Abingdon, and his assistant, James Walter Earl of Verulam, being preceded by Black Rod, then received from the officer of the jewel house the gilt bason and ewer for his Majesty to wash, attended by Peter Soame John Everard Buckworth Herne Soame, Esq. the lord of the manor of Heydon, with a towel. The King rising, and delivering his sceptre to the Duke of Norfolk, and the orb to the Bishop standing on his left hand, the cup-bearer poured out the water on his Majesty's hands, the Lord of the Manor of Heydon holding the towel.

The Dean of the Chapel Royal then said grace; and his Majesty having taken his seat, the Bishops, his supporters, retired to their dinner

On the King's right hand stood the Duke of Norfolk, as Lord of the Manor of Worksop, holding the sceptre; next to him, on the same side, the Lords bearing the four swords. On his Majesty's left hand the Duke of Devonshire, with the orb; and next to him the Deputy Lord Great Chamberlain; and next to him the Duke of Rutland, bearing the sceptre with the dove.

At the end of the table, on the King's right hand, were seated their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Sussex, and Gloucester; and on his Majesty's left hand, the Dukes of Clarence and Cambridge, and Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg, each attended by a Peer

The duties of his Majesty's carver were performed by Basil Percy, Earl of Denbigh, those of the assistant-carver by Thomas Earl of Chichester, those of sewer by Richard Earl of Mount Edgcumbe; and those of assistant-sewer by Charles Earl Whitworth.

Then the Deputy, appointed by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Lord of the manor of Bardolf, otherwise Addington, presented the mess of dillegrout, prepared by the King's master cook

William Wilshere, Esq. Lord of the Manor of Great Wymondley, in Hertfordshire, assisted by the King's cup-bearer and his assistant, having received from the officer of the Jewel House a silver gilt cup, containing wine, presented the same to the King; and his Majesty having drunk thereof, returned the cup to him for his fee

George William Duke of Argyll, as Heritable Master of the Household of Scotland, then presented a gold cup of wine; and his Majesty having drunk thereof, returned the cup to his Grace for his fee.

Before the second course, Henry Dymoke, Esq. appointed to officiate as

King's champion, for his father, the Rev. Henry Dymoke, as Lord of the Manor of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire, entered the Hall on horseback, in a complete suit of bright armour, his helmet adorned with a plume of feathers, with his gauntlet in his hand, between the Lord High Constable and the Lord Howard of Effingham, acting as Earl Marshal, also on horseback, preceded by two trumpeters with the Champion's arms on their banners; the Serjeant Trumpeter and two Serjeants at Arms with their maces; the Champion's two Esquires, in half armour, one on the right hand, bearing the Champion's lance, the other on the left hand, with the Champion's target, the arms of Dymoke depicted thereon; and Lancaster Herald, with a paper in his hand containing the challenge; four pages richly apparelled following.

At the Champion's entrance into the Hall, the trumpets sounded thrice, and the passage to the King's table being cleared by the Knight Marshal, Lancaster Herald, with a loud voice, proclaimed the challenge. Whereupon the Champion threw down his gauntlet; which, having lain a short time upon the ground, Lancaster Herald took up, and delivered again to the Champion.

They then advanced to the middle of the Hall, where the ceremony was again performed in the same manner; and lastly, to the steps of the throne, where Lancaster Herald, (and those who preceded him,) ascending to the middle of the steps, proclaimed the challenge in like manner; the Champion, having thrown down his gauntlet, and received it again from Lancaster Herald, made a low obeisance to the King; whereupon the cup-bearer presented to the King a gold cup and cover, filled with wine, and his Majesty, having drunk to the Champion, sent to him by the cup-bearer the said cup, which the Champion (having put on his gauntlet) received, and having made a low obeisance to the King, drank of the wine; after which, making another low obeisance to his Majesty, and being accompanied as before, he departed out of the Hall, taking with him the said cup and cover as his fee.

Immediately after, Deputy Garter, attended by the rest of the Officers of Arms, proclaimed his Majesty's styles in Latin, French, and English, three several times, first upon the uppermost step of the elevated platform, next in the middle of the Hall, and lastly at the bottom of the Hall, the Officers of Arms crying "Largesse" in the usual manner.

The second course was then served up with the same ceremony as the first.

The Peers then rose and drank "Good health and a long and happy reign to his Majesty!" which was received with the most enthusiastic acclamations; after which, by his Majesty's command, the Duke of Norfolk, standing on the King's right hand, said, "The King thanks his Peers for drinking his health; he does them the honour to drink their health, and that of his good people."

Then the choirs of the Chapel Royal and Westminster proceeded up the Hall, and at the foot of the steps of the elevated platform, sang the national air of "GOD SAVE THE KING." At the conclusion of the dinner the choirs sung, "*Non nobis, domine.*"

Then the deputy to Thomas Rider, Esq. Lord of the Manor of Nether Bisington, presented his Majesty with three maple cups.

The office of Chief Butler of England was executed by the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl of Arundel, and Lord of the Manor of Kenninghall; and the office of Chief Butler of Ireland, by James Earl of Ormonde and Ossory.

Dinner being concluded, the Lord Mayor and twelve principal citizens of

London, as assistants to the Chief Butler of England, accompanied by the King's cup-bearer and assistant, presented to his Majesty wine in a gold cup, and the King having drunk thereof, returned the gold cup to the Lord Mayor as his fee

Herbert Parsons, Esq. Mayor of Oxford, with eight burgesses of that city, as assistants to the Lord Mayor, and citizens of London, (assistant to the Duke of Norfolk in the office of Chief Butler of England,) was conducted to his Majesty, preceded by the King's cup-bearer, and having presented to the King a bowl of wine, received the three maple cups for his fee

John Campbell, Esq. Lord of the Manor of Lyston, then brought up a charger of wafers to his Majesty's table

John Duke of Atholl, as Lord of the Isle of Man, presented his Majesty with two falcons, which were delivered to John Arthur Douglas Bloomfield, Esq appointed by his Majesty assistant falconer to receive the same

James Duke of Montrose, as Master of the Horse to the King, performed the office of Serjeant of the Silver Scullery.

Brownlow Marquis of Exeter, as Lord of the Barony of Bedford, performed the office of Almoner; and the office of Chief Larderer was performed by the deputy of Henry Earl of Abergavenny, as Lord of the Manor of Scoulton.

His Majesty was graciously pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon George Bartholomew Pocock, Esq. Standard-Bearer; and Fenwick Bulmer, Esq. Senior Gentlemen of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.

His Majesty retired from the Banquet, about eight o'clock, and returned to Carlton House.

HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM,
Acting as Earl Marshal of England.

Other particulars.

It is ascertained, that 220 peers, 232 peeresses, and 40 privy councillors, applied for privileged tickets, to the extent of five persons each, for admission at the coronation, to Westminster Hall. About 200 peers and privy councillors sat formally down to the banquet. The numbers that were accommodated in the hall, upon the whole, must therefore have amounted to upwards of 2460.

The timber work of the Abbey, Westminster Hall, the platform, and the barriers, was 60,000 square feet, or 1500 loads. The timber used in erecting theatres and stages indirectly connected with the coronation, has been estimated at 80,000 square feet. The matting used on account of the coronation, was 14,000 yards

The sermon was preached by His Grace the Archbishop of York The text on which the right reverend Prelate addressed his congregation, was taken from 2d Samuel, chap. xxiii verses 3 and 4

The Banquet.—The following is an accurate abstract of the dishes prepared for the coronation dinner —

Hot Dishes—160 tureens of soup—80 of turtle—40 of rice—and 40 vermicelli—160 dishes of fish—comprising 80 of turbot—40 of trout—40 of salmon—160 hot joints—including 80 of venison—40 of roast beef, with three barons—40 of mutton and veal. —160 dishes of vegetables, including potatoes, peas, and cauliflowers—480 sauce-boats—240 of lobster—120 butter—120 mint.

Cold Dishes.—80 dishes of braized ham—80 savory pies—80 dishes of daubed geese, two in each—80 dishes of savory cakes—80 pieces of beef braized—80 dishes of capons braized, two in each—1190 side dishes of vari-

ous sorts—820 dishes of mounted pastry—320 dishes of small pastry—400 dishes of jellies and cream—160 dishes of shell-fish, 80 dishes of lobster, and 80 of cray fish—161 dishes of cold roast fowls—80 dishes of cold house lamb.

Total quantities—7142lbs. of beef—7033lbs. of veal—2474lbs. of mutton—20 quarters of house lamb—55 quarters of grass lamb—160 lambs' sweet breads—380 cow heels—400 calves' feet—260lbs. of suet—160 geese—720 pullets and capons—1610 chickens—520 fowls for stock (hens)—1750lbs of bacon—550lbs of lard—912lbs. of butter—84 hundred of eggs

All these are independent of the eggs, butter, flour, and necessary articles in the pastry and confectionary departments; such as sugar, isinglass, fruits, &c

The quantities of wines ordered for the banquet, were—Champagne, 100 dozen—Burgundy, 20 dozen—Claret, upwards of 200 dozen—Hock, 50 dozen—Moselle, 50 dozen—Madeira, 50 dozen—Sherry and Port, about 350 dozen—Iced punch, 100 gallons. There were laid in each room 6794 dinner plates, 1406 soup plates, 1499 dessert plates, 388 large beer pitchers.

The Scramble—As soon as his Majesty retired, according to immemorial custom, to the observance of which it was not at all necessary to open the doors of the Hall to the populace, a rush was made by hundreds of ladies and gentlemen, and persons of greater dignity, to plunder the royal table. When this tumult had subsided, the hungry spectators, who had swarmed down from the galleries into the area of the Hall, began to occupy the tables which the guests had left, and the remainder of the dinner and dessert quickly disappeared

We shall conclude our notices of this splendid ceremony, with the following very interesting letter, which was addressed to the editor of the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, and is understood to have been written by Sir Walter Scott, Bart.

"SIR—I refer you to the daily papers for the details of this great national solemnity, which we witnessed yesterday, and will hold my promise absolved, by sending a few general remarks upon what I saw, with surprise, amounting to astonishment, and which I shall never forget. It is, indeed, impossible to conceive a ceremony more august and imposing in all its parts, and more calculated to make the deepest impression, both on the eye and on the feelings The most minute attention must have been bestowed to arrange all the subordinate parts in harmony with the rest; so that, amongst so much antiquated ceremonial, imposing singular dresses, duties, and characters, upon persons accustomed to move in the ordinary routine of society, nothing occurred either awkward or ludicrous, which could mar the general effect of the solemnity. Considering that it is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, I own I consider it as surprising, that the whole ceremonial of the day should have passed away without the slightest circumstance which could derange the general tone of solemn feeling which was suited to the occasion.

"You must have heard a full account of the only disagreeable event of the day. I mean the attempt of the misguided lady, who has lately furnished so many topics of discussion, to intrude herself upon a ceremonial, where, not being in her proper place, to be present in any other must have been voluntary degradation That matter is a fire of straw which has now burned to the very embers; and those who try to blow it into life again, will only blacken their hands and noses, like mischievous children dabbling among the

ashes of a bonfire. It seems singular, that being determined to be present at all hazards, this unfortunate personage should not have procured a peer's ticket, which, I presume, would have insured her admittance. I willingly pass to pleasanter matters.

"The effect of the scene in the Abbey was beyond measure magnificent. Imagine long galleries stretched among the aisles of that venerable and august pile—those which rise above the altar, pealing back their echoes to a full and magnificent choir of music—those which occupied the sides filled even to crowding with all that Britain has of beautiful and distinguished; and the cross-gallery most appropriately occupied by the Westminster school-boys, in their white surplices, many of whom might, on that day, receive impressions never to be lost during the rest of their lives. Imagine this, I say, and then add the spectacle upon the floor—the altars surrounded by the fathers of the church—the King encircled by the nobility of the land, and the counsellors of his throne—and by warriors, wearing the honoured marks of distinction, bought by many a glorious danger—add to this the rich spectacle of the aisles, crowded with waving plumage, and coronets, and caps of honour; and the sun, which brightened and saddened as if on purpose, now beaming in full lustre on the rich and varied assemblage, and now darting a solitary ray, which catched, as it passed, the glittering folds of a banner, or the edge of a group of battle-axes or partizans, and then rested full on some fair form, 'the Cynosure of neighbouring eyes,' whose circlet of diamonds glistened under its influence. Imagine all this, and then tell me if I have made my journey of four hundred miles to little purpose. I do not love your *cui bona* men, and therefore I will not be pleased if you ask me, in the damping tone of cullen philosophy, what good all this has done the spectators? If we restrict life to its real animal wants and necessities, we shall indeed be satisfied with 'food, clothes, and fire;' but Divine Providence, who widened our sources of enjoyment beyond those of the animal creation, never meant that we should bound our wishes within such narrow limits; and I shrewdly suspect, that those *non est tanti* gentlefolks only depreciate the natural and unaffected pleasure which men like me receive from sights of splendour and sounds of harmony, either because they would seem wiser than their simple neighbours at the expense of being less happy, or because the mere pleasure of the sight and sound is connected with associations of a deeper kind, to which they are unwilling to yield themselves.

"Leaving these gentlemen to enjoy their own wisdom, I still more pity those, if there be any, who (being unable to detect a peg on which to hang a laugh) sneer coldly at this solemn festival, and are rather disposed to dwell on the expense which attends it, than on the generous feelings which it ought to awaken. The expense, so far as it is national, has gone directly and instantly to the encouragement of the British manufacturer and mechanic; and so far as it is personal, to the persons of rank attendant upon the Coronation. It operates as a tax upon wealth, and consideration for the benefit of poverty and industry; a tax willingly paid by the one class, and not the less acceptable to the other, because it adds a happy holiday to the monotony of a life of labour.

"But these were better things to reward my pilgrimage, than the mere pleasures of the eye and the ear; for it was impossible, without the deepest veneration, to behold the voluntary and solemn interchange of vows betwixt the King and his assembled people, whilst he, on the one hand, called God

Almighty to witness his resolution to maintain their laws and privileges, while they called, at the same moment, on the Divine Being, to bear witness that they accepted him for their liege sovereign, and pledged to him their love and their duty. I cannot describe to you the effect produced by the solemn, yet strange mixture of the words of Scripture, with the shouts and acclamations of the assembled multitude, as they answered to the voice of the prelate, who demanded of them whether they acknowledged as their Monarch, the Prince who claimed the sovereignty in their presence. It was peculiarly delightful to see the King receive from the royal brethren, but in particular from the Duke of York, the fraternal kiss, in which they acknowledged their sovereign. There was an honest tenderness, an affectionate and sincere reverence, in the embrace interchanged between the Duke of York and his Majesty, that approached almost to a caress, and impressed all present with the electrical conviction, that the nearest to the throne in blood was the nearest also in affection. I never heard plaudits given more from the heart than those that were thundered upon the royal brethren, when they were thus pressed to each other's bosoms—it was the emotion of natural kindness, which, bursting out amidst ceremonial grandeur, found an answer in every British bosom. The King seemed much affected at this, and one or two other parts of the ceremonial, even so much so as to excite some alarm among those who saw him as nearly as I did. He completely recovered himself, however, and bore (generally speaking) the fatigue of the day very well. I learn, from one near his person, that he roused himself with great energy, even when most oppressed with heat and fatigue, when any of the more interesting parts of the ceremony were to be performed, or when any thing occurred which excited his personal and immediate attention. When presiding at the banquet, amid the long line of his nobles, he looked 'every inch a king;' and nothing could exceed the grace with which he accepted and returned the various acts of homage rendered to him in the course of that long day.

"It was also a very gratifying spectacle to those who think like me, to behold the Duke of Devonshire, and most of the distinguished Whig nobility, assembled round the throne on this occasion; giving an open testimony, that the differences of political opinions are only skin-deep wounds, which assume at times an angry appearance, but have no real effect on the wholesome constitution of the country.

"If you ask me to distinguish who bore him best, and appeared most to sustain the character we annex to the assistants in such a solemnity, I have no hesitation to name Lord Londonderry, who, in the magnificent robes of the Garter, with the cap and high plume of the order, walked alone, and, by his fine face and majestic person, formed an adequate representative of the order of Edward III., the costume of which was worn by his lordship only. The Duke of Wellington, with all his laurels, moved and looked deserving the baton, which was never grasped by so worthy a hand. The Marquis of Anglesea shewed the most exquisite grace in managing his horse, notwithstanding the want of his limb, which he left at Waterloo. I never saw so fine a bridle-hand in my life, and I am rather a judge of 'noble horsemanship.' Lord Howard's horse was worse bitted than those of the two former noblemen, but not so much so as to derange the ceremony of retiring back out of the Hall.

"The champion was performed (as

of right) by young Dymotke, a fine-looking youth, but bearing, perhaps, a little too much the appearance of a maiden-knight, to be the challenger of the world in a King's behalf. He threw down his gauntlet, however, with becoming manhood, and shewed as much horsemanship as the crowd of knights and squires around him would permit to be exhibited His armour was in good taste, but his shield was out of all propriety, being a round *rondache*, or Highland target, a defensive weapon, which it would have been impossible to use on horseback, instead of being a three-cornered or *heater-shield*, which, in time of the tilt, was suspended round the neck. Pardon this antiquarian scruple, which, you may believe, occurred to few but myself On the whole, this striking part of the exhibition somewhat disappointed me, for I would have had the champion less embarrassed by his assistants, and at liberty to put his horse on the *grand pas* And yet the young Lord of Scrimgeour looked and behaved extremely well.

"Returning to the subject of costume, I could not but admire what I had previously been disposed much to criticise —I mean the fancy dress of the Privy Councillors, which was of white and blue satin, with trunk-hose and mantles, after the fashion of Queen Elizabeth's time. Separately, so gay a garb had an odd effect on the persons of elderly or ill-made men, but when the whole was thrown into one general body, all these discrepancies disappeared, and you no more observed the particular manner or appearance of an individual, than you do that of a soldier in the battalion which marches past you The whole was so completely harmonized in actual colouring, as well as in association with the general mass of gay and gorgeous, and antique dress, which floated before the eye, that it was next to impossible to attend to the effect of individual figures. Yet a Scotsman will detect a Scotsman amongst the most crowded assemblage, and I must say, that the Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland shewed to as great advantage, in his robes of Privy Councillor, as any by whom that splendid dress was worn on this great occasion. The common Court dress, used by the Privy Councillors at the last coronation, must have had a poor effect in comparison of the present, which formed a gradation in the scale of gorgeous ornament, from the unwieldy splendour of the heralds, who glowed like huge masses of cloth of gold and silver, to the more chastened robes and ermine of the peers I must not forget the effect produced by the Peers placing their coronets on their heads, which was really august

"The box assigned to the foreign ambassadors presented a most brilliant effect, and was perfectly in a blaze with diamonds. When the sunshine lighted on Prince Esterhazy, in particular, he glimmered like a galaxy. I cannot learn positively if he had on that renowned coat, which has visited all the courts of Europe save ours, and is said to be worth L. 100,000, or some such trifle, and which costs the prince L.100 or L 200 every time he puts it on, as he is sure to lose pearls to that amount. This was a hussar dress, but splendid in the last degree, perhaps too fine for good taste, at least it would have appeared so any where else.—Beside the Prince sat a good-humoured lass, who seemed all eyes and ears, (his daughter-in-law, I believe,) who wore as many diamonds as if they had been Bristol stones. An honest Persian was also a remarkable figure, from the dogged and imperturbable gravity with which he looked on the whole scene, without ever moving a limb or a muscle during the space of four hours Like Sir Willful Witwoud, I cannot find that your Persian is orthodox, for if he scorned

every thing else, there was a Mahometan paradise extended over his right hand along the seats, which were occupied by the Peeresses and their daughters, which the Prophet himself might have looked on with emotion. I have seldom seen so many elegant and beautiful girls, as sat mingled among the noble matronage of the land; and the waving plumage of feathers, which made the universal headdress, had the most appropriate effect in setting off their charms

"I must not omit that the foreigners, who are apt to consider us as a nation *en fiac*, and without the usual ceremonies of dress and distinction, were utterly astonished and delighted to see the revival of feudal dresses and feudal grandeur, when the occasion demanded it, and that in a degree of splendour they averred they had never seen paralleled in Europe

"The duties of service at the banquet, and of attendance in general, was performed by pages dressed very elegantly in Henri Quatre coats of scarlet, with gold lace, blue sashes, white silk hose, and white rosettes. There were also marshal's men for keeping order, who wore a similar dress, but of blue, and having white sashes Both departments were filled up almost entirely by young gentlemen, many of them of the very first condition, who took these menial characters to gain admission to the show. When I saw many of my young acquaintance thus attending upon their fathers and kinsmen, the peers, knights, and so forth, I could not help thinking of Crabbe's lines, with a little alteration—

'Twas schooling pride to see the menial wait,
Smile on his father, and receive his plate.

It must be owned, however, that they proved but indifferent valets, and were very apt, like the clown in the pantomime, to eat the cheer they should have handed to their masters, and to play other *tours de page*, which reminded me of the caution of our proverb,—"Not to man yourself with your kin" The Peers, for example, had only a cold collation, while the aldermen of London feasted on venison and turtle; and such similar errors necessarily befell others in the confusion of the evening. But these slight mistakes, which indeed were not known till afterwards, had not the slightest effect on the general grandeur of the scene

"I did not see the procession between the Abbey and Hall In the morning a few voices called Queen, Queen, as Lord Londonderry passed, and even when the Sovereign appeared. But these were only signals for the loud and reiterated acclamations, in which these tones of discontent were completely drowned. In the return, no one dissonant voice intimated the least dissent from the shouts of gratulation which poured from every quarter; and certainly never monarch received a more general welcome from his assembled subjects. Nothing was to be seen or heard but sounds of pleasure and festivity, and whoever saw the scene at any one spot, was convinced that the whole population was assembled there, while others found a similar concourse of revellers in every different point. It is computed, that about five hundred thousand people shared in the festival in one way or another, and you may imagine the excellent disposition by which the people were animated, when I tell you, that, excepting a few windows broken by a small body-guard of ragamuffins, who were in immediate attendance on the great lady in the morning, not the slightest political violence occurred to disturb the general harmony, and that the assembled populace seemed to be universally ac-

tuated by the spirit of the day, loyalty and good humour. Nothing occurred to damp those happy dispositions; the weather was most propitious, and the arrangements so perfect, that no accident of any kind is reported as having taken place.—And so concluded the coronation of George IV, whom God long preserve! Those who witnessed it have seen a scene calculated to raise the country in their opinion, and to throw into the shade all scenes of similar magnificence, from the field of the cloth of gold down to the present day.

"AN EYE WITNESS."

Report relative to the Moving Bog of Kilmaleady, in the King's county, made by order of the Royal Dublin Society. To Buknal M'Carthy, Esq. &c.&c Royal Dublin Society House, July 16, 1821:

"SIR—In compliance with the request of the Royal Dublin Society, conveyed to me by your letter of the 12th instant, I have visited the moving bog of Kilmaleady; and finding, on my return to Dublin to-day, that very erroneous notions respecting its magnitude and destructive effects, have been entertained, I think it my duty immediately to communicate to you, for the information of the society, some account of the nature and extent of this once alarming phenomenon.

"The bog of Kilmaleady, from whence the eruption broke out, situated about two miles to the north of the village of Clara, in the King's county, is of considerable extent. It may probably contain about 500 acres. In many parts it is 40 feet in depth, and it is considered to be the wettest bog in the country. It is bounded on all sides, except the south, by steep ridges of high land, which are composed, at the top, of limestone gravel, and beneath of cavernous limestone rock, containing subterranean streams; but the southern face of the bog is open to a moory valley, about a quarter of a mile in breadth, which, for nearly half a mile in length, takes a southern direction in the lands of Lisanisky, and then turns at right angles to the west, and continues gradually widening for upwards of two miles. Through the centre of this valley flows a stream about twelve feet in breadth, which serves as a discharge for the waters from the bog, and the surrounding country, and finally joins the river Brusna above the bridge of Ballycumber.

"The bog of Kilmaleady, like all other deep and wet bogs, is composed, for the first eight or ten feet from the surface downward, of a reddish-brown spongy mass, formed of the still undecomposed fibres of the bog moss, *sphagnum-palustre*, which, by capillary attraction, absorbs water in great quantity. Beneath this fibrous mass, the bog gradually becomes pulpy, till, at length, towards the bottom, it assumes the appearance, and, when examined, the consistence of a black mud, rather heavier than water.

"The surface of the bog of Kilmaleady was elevated upwards of twenty feet above the level of the valley, from which it rose at a very steep angle; and its external face, owing to the uncommon dryness of the season, being much firmer than usual, the inhabitants of the vicinity were enabled to sink their turf holes, and cut turf at the depth of at least ten feet beneath the surface of the valley, and, in fact, until they reached the blue clay which forms the substratum of the bog. Thus, the faces of many of the turf banks reached the unusual height of thirty feet perpendicular; when, at length, on the 19th day of June, the lower

pulpy and muddy part of the bog, which possessed little cohesion, being unable to resist the great pressure of water from behind, gave way, and being once set in motion, floated the upper part of the bog, and continued to move with astonishing velocity along the valley to the southward, forcing before it not only the clamps of turf on the edge of the bog, but even patches of the moory meadows, to the depth of several feet, the grass surface of which heaved and turned over almost like the waves of the ocean; so that in a very short space of time, the whole valley, for the breadth of about a quarter of a mile between the bog edge and the base of the hill of Lisanisky, was covered with bog to the depth of from eight to ten feet, and appeared everywhere studded with green patches of moory meadow

"The hill of Lisanisky retarded the progress of the bog for some time. At length it began to flow at right angles in its first course along the valley, where it turns to the west, and continued with unabated rapidity till it reached the bog road of Kilbride, (which runs directly across the valley, and is elevated five or six feet above it,) and choked up the bridge through which the waters of the stream pass This barrier retarded the progress of the bog for five days At the end of that time, the accumulation was such, from the still moving bog and the waters of the stream, that it flowed over the road, and covered the valley to the south of it for about half a mile, flowing with varied velocity, till it was again stopped, for a few hours, as I understand, by a second road across the valley, leading from Clara to Woodfield. Having also overcome this obstacle, it proceeded slowly westward; and if its progress had not been checked by the very judicious means that have been employed, the whole extent of the valuable meadows, which compose the valley where it expands to the westward, must long since have been covered. But, when the bog had passed over the road of Kilbride, and the consternation in the country became general, at the desire of the Lords Justices, Mr Gregory employed Mr Killaly, engineer to the Directors-General of Inland Navigation, to carry into execution any works that could be devised to arrest the progress of the bog. Mr Killaly at once perceived, that the only feasible remedy was to draw off the water that had accumulated; and to accomplish this end, he employed a number of labourers to open the course of the stream where it was choked up, and also the drains through the valley, that could be directed into the stream. By this means the head of water was soon lowered, and in consequence the bog ceased to flow—and all the loose masses which floated on the river were broken to pieces, by labourers placed at intervals throughout its course

"Such was the situation of affairs on my arrival at the bog, early on Saturday morning During the course of the day, I exerted myself to carry into execution the well-advised plan which had previously been commenced by Mr Killaly. Towards evening, the floating masses which came down the river, began to lessen considerably, both in size and number; and, finding every thing proceeded with regularity and certainty, I thought it useless to remain longer

"At present, I entertain no apprehension of further devastation from the bog, except in the event of a very great fall of rain during the present week Slight rains would be of service to increase the current of water, and facilitate the removal of a considerable deposit of heavy, black, bog mud, which at present fills the bottom of the stream. The general current has, however, been much increased, by the

breaking down of the weirs on the river Brusna, below the junction of the bog river.

"I shall now describe the present appearance and state of the bog and moory valley.

"In the centre of the bog, for the space of about a mile and a half in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth, a valley has been formed, sloping at the bottom from the original surface of the bog, to the depth of 30 feet, where the eruption first took place. In this valley or gulf, there are numberless concentric cuts, or fissures, filled with water nearly to the top.

"The valley between the edge of the bog and the road of Kilbride, for the length of half a mile, and an extent of between 60 and 80 acres, may be considered as totally destroyed. It is covered by tolerably firm bog, from six to ten feet in depth, consisting, at the surface, of numberless green islands, composed of detached parts of the moory meadows, and of small rounded patches of the original heathy surface of the bog, varying from two to ten feet in diameter, which are separated from each other by brown pulpy bog, and the bed of the original stream is elevated to about eight or ten feet above its former course, so as to flow over the road.

"Beyond the road to Kilbride, the bog has flowed for one mile westward, and covered from 50 to 70 acres. In this part, the heathy patches of bog generally lessen in quantity. The green islands disappear, and nothing is observed but a thin deposit, consisting of a granulated black bog mud, varying from one to three feet in thickness. This, though destructive for the present year, may, when dry, be burnt, and removed for manure to the neighbouring uplands, or left on the spot to fertilize the valley.

"Thus, the whole distance which the bog has flowed, is about three miles in length, namely, one mile and a half in the bog, and the same distance over the moory valley, and the extent covered amounts to about 150 acres.

"I have the honour to be, sir,
"Your most obedient humble servant,
"RICHARD GRIFFITH,
Mining Engineer."

19th.—EXECUTION OF DAVID HAGGART.—This unfortunate young man underwent the heaviest penalty of the law yesterday, for the murder of the Dumfries turnkey, at the usual place of execution, in Edinburgh. His appearance, on quitting the prison, was firm and unshaken, and his countenance exhibited a degree of mildness astonishing to those acquainted with the daring hardihood of his character and exploits. The calm serenity, however, depicted on his countenance, was changed for a moment to an expression of grief, and he even shed a few tears on hearing an exclamation of sorrow involuntarily burst from a few women assembled in Libberton's Wynd to catch a glimpse of his tall slender person, as he passed to the platform.—When on the scaffold, Haggart shook hands with the ministers and magistrates, bidding them farewell in a most affectionate manner, and ascended two or three steps of the platform, but wishing to say a few words, he came down to the scaffold, when, turning to the multitude, he earnestly conjured them to avoid the heinous crimes of disobedience to parents, inattention to the Holy Scriptures, and being idle and disorderly. He then knelt down, and prayed fervently and eloquently for a few minutes, after which he took his station on the drop, and spent a few minutes in prayer, when he gave the signal, and was launched into eternity. He was decently dressed in black, and seemed stouter than when on his trial.—The crowd assembled on the occasion was immense.

28th —POISONING BY MISTAKE — An inquisition was held before Thomas Higgs, Esq coroner, on the body of Mr Thomas Smith, a gentleman residing at No 10, Queen-street, Grosvenor-square, who on Friday night having a pain in his head, was advised to take a dose of salts He stated to one of the family that he had a quantity of salts by him in a box he mixed about an ounce of it in some warm water, and went into his bed-room and drank it He was immediately seized with excruciating pains, and it was discovered upon the arrival of Mr Fordham, surgeon, of North Audley-street, that he had taken oxalic acid (which is used for cleaning boot tops) by mistake. The unfortunate man died in a few minutes after the accident, in the greatest agony The internal coat of his stomach was entirely destroyed. After hearing evidence, proving that the deleterious potion was taken by accident, the Jury returned a verdict, "Died from taking a quantity of oxalic acid, by mistake for Epsom salts." The paper was produced in which the oxalic acid was wrapped, it was a piece of a newspaper The Jury recommended in future, that chemists should have the word "poison" printed on the paper in which such dangerous ingredients were enclosed

CRONSTADT, *July* 15—A great calamity, which has been added to innumerable other misfortunes, at Bucharest, has caused me to make my escape from that unhappy city. There has been an earthquake, accompanied by a more violent storm than the inhabitants ever remember to have taken place, about 1400 houses have been destroyed, a great number of the inhabitants perished in the ruins. A shower of hail, as large as a nut, destroyed the trees which the storm had spared, and also some peasants who were in the open fields, with nearly the whole of the crops The Turkish soldiery, seized with a superstitious terror, exclaimed—"The infidel Ypsilanti, whom we are seeking upon earth, has ascended to the skies to fight with us from thence"

The plains of Walachia, which I traversed from Bucharest to the frontiers, formerly so beautiful and fertile, now present the appearance of desolation and ruin the dead bodies with which they are covered infect the air, nothing is to be heard but the mournful howlings with which the dogs, having lost their masters, fill the forests and fields, no more men, nor towns, nor villages—the barbarians have destroyed every thing, even the fruit-trees, to gratify their savage fury more than 20,000 persons, the greater part of them women and children, have been dragged into slavery beyond the Danube Aged men and women are massacred without mercy, and the lives of young women only are spared, who are destined for the Harem, and those of children to be brought up in the Mahometan religion: the convents and churches are every where razed from their foundations; in a convent of women, those who were advanced in years were put to the sword, and the young females carried into slavery

—VOLCANO AT ISLE OF BOURBON. —On the 27th of February, at ten o'clock in the morning, the weather being cloudy, a frightful noise was heard like that of a loud clap of thunder, produced by the explosion of a column of fire and smoke from the crater of the volcano The clearness of the rest of the day prevented a full enjoyment of this brilliant horror, but on the arrival of night a pillar was perceived, formed of masses of fire and inflamed matter, shooting majestically to a prodigious height, and falling with a crash which inspired terror The brightness which it diffused was such,

that over all the extent of this quarter a letter could be read by the light of this prodigy Towards the middle of the night three rivers of fire were discovered opening a passage near the summit of the mountain, a little below the crater, and taking a direction perpendicular to the high road. On the 9th of March one of them had passed it, leaving a line of lava six feet high by twenty broad, and rolled to the sea over an extent of thirty poles, throwing up the water to such a height, that it fell down in the shape of rain.

At the moment of the eruption; a shower, composed of blackish ashes, of gold-coloured glass, sulphureous particles, fell in the vicinity of the volcano: It rained thus for two hours On the 9th of March we experienced an earthquake, which was of so short a duration, that we could not determine its direction. From the first moment of the eruption to the day on which I write, the volcano has not ceased to burn. On the 1st of this month, it threw out such a quantity of smoke, that the higher parts of the island were covered by it. On the 2d the rain was so abundant, that the arm of the lava reaching to the sea was extinguished, and on the 4th could be passed without much danger

An observer says, that at this moment the second arm of the lava has reached the high road on a base double the breadth of the former, or sixty poles, and that the third is 200

The lava produced by the volcano of Bourbon does not at all resemble that produced by Vesuvius and Ætna, the lava of the two latter volcanos is compact, hard, and not porous; trinkets and snuff boxes are made of it, which take a polish finer than marble. The pavement of Naples is made of square blocks from Mount Vesuvius, and it is so slippery that in time of rain we might skate upon it as on ice The lava of Bourbon is a species of scoria, of a black colour, and presents the aspect of iron dross.

AUGUST.

8th.—At six o'clock in the evening, the Earl Moira smack packet left the pier-head at Liverpool, on her voyage to Dublin, with from 100 to 110 persons on board, including the crew, which consisted of about six persons. The wind blew strong from the W.N.W. and after passing the Gut Buoy, No 1, in attempting to tack, the vessel missed stays, and struck on Burbo Bank.

Alarmed by this accident, and by the state of the weather, a number of the passengers requested the captain to put back for Liverpool, but he was unfortunately in a state of intoxication, and having again got into deep water, he pursued his voyage About ten o'clock the vessel again missed stays, and grounded on the Wharf Bank, off Mook Beggar. The top-mast was then struck, and the captain and crew assured the passengers that there was no danger When the flood tide set in the vessel began to heave, and struck the bank with so much violence, that at half past two o'clock in the morning she was filled with water fore and aft, and the pumps became wholly ineffectual The passengers now wished a signal of distress to be hoisted, but the captain, stupified by liquor, would not consent.

Between four and five o'clock, the water forced away the cabin deck windows, and the luggage, provisions, &c. were floated up, the sea breaking over them. The waves increased along with the rising tide, and at last brought the vessel on her broadside. Soon after the boat and deck lumber were wa

overboard. All who were able now got upon the shrouds, and some held on by ropes fastened to the bulwarks, or to wherever they could find to keep them out of water, it being then breast high on deck, and nothing but the weather gunnel and mast to be seen. In this manner, men, women, and children hung, until, exhausted by the continuance of the waves that burst over them, they began to drop from their hold, and were overwhelmed. One tremendous wave which struck the weather bow, carried off from ten to fifteen poor souls at once, and every succeeding wave appeared to mark its victims; the survivors had scarcely time to breathe between.

The captain was among the first who perished. A woman with two children was washed from her hold, and they all three perished, locked in each other's arms. Out of ten men who clung to the ropes, seven were washed overboard by a tremendous wave.

It is impossible to learn the exact number of those who perished, but it may be safely stated at fifty souls. Many of the passengers were of the most respectable families on their way to meet his Majesty in Ireland, and carried with them considerable property. All the survivors state the accident to have originated in the intoxication of the captain and his mate, and the greater part of the crew, the steward and one or two others only having done their duty.

Between seven and eight o'clock the Hoylake life-boat arrived, and took on board about thirty of the passengers, all much exhausted, and some of them in a dying state. A second boat arrived from Liverpool about eight o'clock, and received about eight more of the passengers. Before the third boat arrived, the deck of the Earl Grosvenor was borne up by the sea, and the mast fell. Many of the women were swept away, but about twelve persons got into this boat. There were five ladies cabin passengers, only one of whom was saved. Out of eighty-three cabin passengers, sixteen only were saved.

King's Visit to Ireland.

On Tuesday, the 31st of July, his Majesty left London for Portsmouth, where he arrived in the afternoon, at half past five, in his travelling carriage, accompanied by Lord Graves, and Mr Watson, his Majesty's private secretary, escorted by a party of the 10th hussars. Every preparation had previously been made to receive his Majesty in this garrison with all the parade possible; the streets were lined with troops, and the naval and military officers in their dress uniforms, and regimentals, waited his arrival. On his reaching the outer barrier, a salute was fired from the bastions, and Lieut.-General Sir George Cooke, K. C. B. attended by all his staff, presented the keys of the garrison, which were graciously accepted and returned. His Majesty rode slowly down the streets to the water side, through the lines of soldiers, who presented arms. On his reaching the point of embarkation, he alighted, and was received by Admiral Sir J. Hawkins Whitshed, K. C. B and the captains of the squadron. The Hon. Sir C. Paget handed his Majesty into the royal barge; and on the standard being hoisted, the squadron fired a royal salute, as well as the platform. In a few minutes he reached the Royal George yacht, which had, for his better convenience, been brought into the harbour. On the yacht's hoisting the standard, a second salute was fired by the squadron, and the captains commanding ships in the port were severally presented, and his Majesty then retired to dress for dinner.

Six private yachts followed the King, determined to accompany his Majesty to Dublin. They were the yachts of Mr Thomas Smith, the Hon. Mr C. Pelham, Mr Vernon, Mr Williams, Mr Maxey, and Lord Angelsea.

After sailing round the Land's-end, the royal squadron anchored at Holyhead. The first beacon was fired at seven o'clock on Monday evening, Aug. 4th, the royal squadron being then ten miles off. The inhabitants were animated by the greatest enthusiasm. At twelve o'clock the royal yacht anchored in the harbour; tidings were conveyed with the speed of lightning through the town; at one, every house in the town was lighted with candles. Until two o'clock, it was understood that his Majesty would sail for Dublin at four in the afternoon. But at two o'clock, P.M. the announcement was made, that his Majesty would land; and immediately the beach and all the avenues leading to it were thronged with spectators.

At five o'clock his Majesty landed on the pier, amid a royal salute from two pieces of ordnance planted before the custom-house, and the ships of the squadron. Immediately upon his landing on the pier, Sir John Stanley, accompanied by a deputation of the inhabitants, presented his Majesty an Address of congratulation on his arrival, to which his Majesty answered:

"That he received with peculiar pleasure this affectionate and loyal Address of a principality, the title of which he had borne during so long a portion of his life."

The spectators cheered his Majesty in the most enthusiastic manner. The carriage of the Marquis of Angelsea was in attendance, and his Majesty set off for the Marquis's seat, followed by several other carriages, and by a procession of the people at least a mile long.

His Majesty was detained by adverse winds till the 12th. On Thursday evening the 6th, the King's messenger brought the intelligence of the Queen's dissolution. Every person on board his Majesty's and the other yachts, as well as the ships of war, appeared to feel it their duty to recollect that the the Queen of England had ceased to be an object of party feelings. His Majesty ordered mourning; and the usual marks of respect with regard to the lowering of flags, &c. were paid by his Majesty's yachts, the various ships of war, and the private yachts.

On the 12th, the King perceiving, notwithstanding the adverse weather, that the steam-boats passed and repassed from Dublin, determined to proceed in one of them, and thus arrived at Howth, in a manner quite unexpected. The people manifested every token of respect and affection; but no military or police were present, owing to the landing having occurred in a different part from that where, in consequence of previous announcement, preparations had been made for the King's reception. An opportunity, however, far more grateful, was thus afforded of witnessing the loyal disposition of the people, all classes of whom escorted the carriage to the vice-regal lodge in the Phœnix-park; where, on his entrance, his Majesty addressed the multitude as follows:

"My lords and gentlemen, and my good yeomanry—

"I cannot express to you the gratification I feel at the warm and kind reception I have met with on this day of my landing among my Irish subjects. I am obliged to you all. I am particularly obliged by your escorting me to my very door. I may not be able to express my feelings as I wish. I have travelled far, I have made a long sea voyage,—besides which, particular circumstances have occurred known to you all,—of which it is better at present not to speak. Upon

these subjects I leave it to delicate and generous hearts to appreciate my feelings. This is one of the happiest days of my life. I have long wished to visit you—my heart has always been Irish. From the day it first beat, I have loved Ireland. This day has shewn me that I am beloved by my Irish subjects. Rank, station, honours, are nothing; but to feel that I live in the hearts of my Irish subjects, is to me the most exalted happiness. I must now once more thank you for your kindness, and bid you farewell. Go and do by me as I shall do by you—drink my health in a bumper: I shall drink all yours—in a bumper of good Irish whisky."

His Majesty, on account of the Queen's decease, remained in private at the vice-regal lodge, until the 17th, when he made his public entry into Dublin, in the midst of a scene of the greatest general exultation ever witnessed in that country.

At five minutes after twelve, the King entered an open carriage, drawn by eight beautiful horses, led by his Majesty's grooms, and attended by a numerous train of grooms and footmen in magnificent liveries. His Majesty was dressed in a full military uniform, decorated with the order and ribband of St Patrick. He also wore the star of the Order of the Garter. The King held in his hand a cocked hat, surmounted by a rich plume of white feathers falling over the leaf; and in the front of his hat, in the place of the usual military cockade, he wore a remarkably large octagon rosette, composed of full-grown shamrocks. His Majesty wore a mourning crape around his left arm; he seemed in excellent health and spirits. Shouts from the assembled multitude in the park greeted his Majesty upon ascending his barouche, and he immediately acknowledged them by repeated inclinations of his head, with dignified yet somewhat familiar motion of his hand. The King was accompanied in his carriage by the Marquises of Headfort and Winchester.

As soon as his Majesty was seated in his carriage, a rocket was discharged from the ground adjoining the lodge, which signal was repeated by an artilleryman stationed for the purpose at some distance, and a royal salute was immediately fired from cannon placed adjoining the Wellington Testimonial. A great concourse of persons were assembled at the private entrance to the lodge, a general impression having gone abroad that it was from thence he would take his departure. At this period, so intense was the anxiety amongst the numerous assemblage of spectators, that the most perfect silence prevailed. Not a sound could be heard, every individual seemed to entertain a fear of distracting his own attention, or that of his neighbour, from the grand object of their expectation, by giving utterance to the softest whisper. His Majesty reached the northern gate at half past twelve, where he was received by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant; and the procession then moved along the route prescribed, in the same order in which his Excellency had arrived from the Castle in the morning, according to the programme of assembling and departing already published. The procession then moved forwards towards the city by the north circular road, Isoles-street, Hardwicke-place, Temple-street, Gardiner's-row, to the bottom of Cavendish-row, where the city bounds are. It passed along in the midst of the most deafening acclamations. The King frequently stood up and bowed to the crowds who pressed around him with all the apparent enthusiasm of the warmest affection. Sir Benjamin Bloomfield, and several of his Majesty's equerries, rode near the royal carriage, and occasionally advanced to inspect the preparations making for his Majesty's reception, and to notify to the proper authorities the ap-

proach of the King.* At length the head of the procession turned into Cavendish-row, about half past one o'clock, and advanced towards the barrier in the following extended order:

A squadron of Cavalry with a band, which, on approaching the barrier, played "God save the King," and "St Patrick's Day"

The Nobility, &c in their carriages, with their servants in their respective liveries, in the following order, viz

Esquires about 400.

Governors of the County of Dublin, George Vesey, Esq. and Hans Hamilton, Esq

The High Sheriff of the county of Dublin, V. Cobb, Esq

Chairman of Kilmainham.

The Masters in Chancery, William Henn, Stewart King, and Thomas Ball, Esquires

The King's Serjeants at Law.

The King's Solicitor-General, W Kendal Bu[illegible] Esq.

The King's Attorney-General, Right Honourable William Saurin

Companions of the Order of the Bath.—Three attended.

Knight Bachelors, Sir Francis Hapard, John Stevenson, Henry Wilkinson, and Anthony Perrier, Knights.

Knights Commanders of the Bath, Lord Aylmer and Sir Ulysses Burgh

Grand Crosses of the Bath.—Only one.

Baronets—

Sirs—R. Borough, W. Burdett, W. Young, J. Galbraith, J. Stewart, H Lees, R Levinge, R St George, R. Langrishe, R. Wolseley, M. Somerville, R. Bateson, E Bellew, C Domville, J. Ribton, J Strong, F. Flood, C Coote, R. King, H Wilkinson, J Stevenson, N. Colthurst, H. Meredith, W Burrowes, T Esmonde, D Hill, J Doyle, J M. Doyle, A Perrier, W Burgh, C. Doyle, H D Massey, P Carroll, W Hert, and W Brabason

Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College—in all about 100 attended

Younger sons of Barons.

Younger sons of Viscounts.

Barons of the Exchequer, and Justices of both Benches, according to their seniority —the juniors first—and all habited in their robes.

Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Right Honourable Sir S. O'Grady

Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Right Honourable Lord Norbury

Master of the Rolls, Right Honourable Sir W M'Mahon.

Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Right Honourable W. Downes

The Vice Treasurer, Sir George Hill.

Privy Councillors not being Peers—

Colonel R. Ward, Sir John Stewart, Bart. W C. Plunkett, D. B. Daly, Colonel Bagwell, the Knights of Kerry, and Judge Radcliffe.

Eldest sons of Barons

Younger sons of Earls.

Eldest sons of Viscounts.

Secretaries of State, the Right Honourable C. Grant, and William Gregory, Esq

Barons—

Kilmaine, Cloncurry, Brandon, Dunally, Louth, Blayney, Lorton, Castlemaine, Oriel, Carbery, Massy, Waterpark, Howden, Mountmorris, Ffrench, Dufferin, Hotham, Clonbrock, Clanmorris, and Walscourt.

Bishops—

Of Meath, Kildare, Kilmore, Derry, Down and Connor, Clonfert, Cork, and Ross, Killala, Ossory, Rapho, Waterford, Elphin, Dromore, Clogher, Leighlin, Killaloe, Cloyne, and Limerick,

Younger sons of Marquises

Eldest sons of Earls.

Viscounts—
Gormanstown, Frankfort, Hawarden, Allen, Ennismore, Powerscourt, Doneraile, Ardee, Gory, Monck, and Sidmouth.
Younger sons of Dukes.
Eldest sons of Marquises.
Earls—
Farnham, Wicklow, Longford, Enniskillen, Ross, Llandaff, Gosford, Bective, Meath, Donoughmore, Westmeath, Mayo, Belmore, O'Neil, Carrick, and Roden.
Eldest sons of Dukes.
Marquises—
Downshire, Thomond, Londonderry, Donegal, Conyngham
Archbishop of Tuam, the Honourable William Le Poer French, D D
Archbishop of Cashel, the Honourable Charles Broderick, D D.
Archbishop of Dublin, Lord George de la Poer Beresford, D.D.
The Lord Chancellor, Right Honourable Lord Manners.
The Lord — the Archbishop of Armagh, the Honourable W. Scott.
Then his Excellenc Lord Lieutenant's state in carriages and on horseback, as follows —
The State Trumpeters, two and two.
The Serjeant Trumpeter
The Pursuivant Messengers
Grooms of the Chamber.
Pursuivant, O'Flaherty, Esq.
The Lord Lieutenant's Pages
Gentlemen at large.
Pursuivant, P J. Mahony, Esq.
Gentlemen of the Bedchamber.
Athlone Pursuivant of Arms, Joseph Rock, Esq
Master of the Horse, Duke of Montrose
Serjeants of Arms with their Maces.
Steward and Comptroller of the Household, Lieutenant-Colonel W C. Masters, and E C Sheldon, Esq
Gentlemen Ushers and Chamberlain, Sir C. Vernon, and Sir Stewart Bruce.

Cork Herald, T. M. Winstanley, Esq.
Dublin Herald, T. R. O'Flaherty, Esq

Two Aides-de-Camp
Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, Sir C. Vernon, Knight.
Two Aides-de-Camp
The Sword of State borne by His Grace the Duke of Leinster.
His Excellency The Lord Lieutenant,
Colonel of the Battle-axe Guards, Colonel Edward Hill.
Two Aides-de-Camp.
Ulster King of Arms, Sir William Betham
Two Aides-de-Camp.

The Battle-axe Guards
The Town-Major, Sirr.
Squadron of cavalry.

At ten minutes before two o'clock this splendid cavalcade reached the front of the barrier in Sackville-street. When the procession had arrived within twenty paces of it, it halted, and Athlone pursuivant of arms, attended by two dragoons, advanced and knocked at the gate, and being answered by the city marshal, he informed that officer, that, by command of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he demanded entrance to the city of Dublin for his Majesty King George the Fourth. The city marshal having communicated with the lord mayor, his lordship ordered Athlone with his

escort to be admitted. As soon as his lordship's assent was announced, the procession, amidst the loudest acclamations, the sound of trumpets, and martial music, passed through the barrier at as quick a pace as possible. At five minutes past two o'clock the King's barouche advanced through the gate, and drew up immediately within the barrier. It is quite impossible to describe the immense reiteration of acclamations which hailed the King upon his entrance into the city; they were of the most enthusiastic and heartfelt description. His Majesty stood up in the barouche and bowed repeatedly to the immense multitude around him; thousands of voices by an instantaneous impulse vociferated "God save the King!" "God bless your Majesty!" The King surveyed the assembled multitude with an air of condescension and affability; he bowed incessantly, waved his hat in his hand, looked towards the windows and tops of the houses, which were filled by elegantly dressed females (Prince and Princess Esterhazy and the Marchioness of Conyngham were in one of the near windows,) and smilingly repeated his obeisances in a familiar manner. The King repeatedly held up his hat, and pointed with his right hand to the large shamrock which decorated the front, and then with his finger touched his heart, as it were to indicate that the national emblem had its root in his bosom

The recorder welcomed his Majesty upon his entrance into the city, in a speech for which we regret we have not room.

During its delivery, his Majesty stood uncovered, and repeatedly bowed to the corporation When the lord mayor presented his Majesty with the keys of the city, upon a silver salver, the King immediately replied to the lord mayor, "Take back your keys, my lord, they cannot be in better hands" When the city sword was held up for presentation to his Majesty, the King barely lifted it from the lord mayor, and immediately restored it again. When the civic forms were concluded, the corporation resumed their seats in their carriages. The procession did not move on, however, through the city, for upwards of twenty minutes. The King during that time was engaged in receiving the congratulations of his people within the barrier; they pressed upon him on all sides, and it was in vain for the cavalry to attempt to extricate the Sovereign's coach from the encompassing grasp of the populace. The horses of the dragoons were almost unmanageable, they were kept by the fluctuating pressure of the crowd in a state of constant motion, just as if swimming; the barouche was at times so shaken, that the noblemen who sat opposite his Majesty on three or four occasions were under the necessity of supporting the arms of the King to enable his Majesty to stand in an erect posture. During this period the loudest reiteration of sentiments of affection issued from the clamorous thousands, the King, who seemed much affected, repeatedly said, "I thank you, my friends—God bless you all—I shall ever remember these proofs of your attachment." After the pause we have described, the procession moved on.

During its progress, Sir Benjamin Bloomfield repeatedly rode up to take the royal commands, and from the circumstance of his wearing a shamrock in his hat also, he was the object of much applause, even where he was not known to be his Majesty's confidential attendant. Sir Benjamin exultingly said to the King, in that part of the procession when the most enthusiastic demonstrations of attachment were shewn by the multitude, "May it please your Majesty, have I any reason to be ashamed of my countrymen?"—

"No, no, my dear Bloomfield," replied his Majesty, "they are a fine, a noble people." Just as the King passed the Exchange, a living dove, whose wings were fastened to a laurel wreath drawn across from the Exchange to a neighbouring house, was let down by those who sustained the wreath into the royal carriage The King took the bird of peace between his hands, and appeared highly gratified at this singular mark of respect and attention. At half past two o'clock the procession entered the castle gates, amid a royal salute, having been exactly two hours and a half moving from the Lodge to the Castle The civic authorities and nobility here took leave of his Majesty, as he alighted at the palace The King immediately after appeared at the windows over the portico, between the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Sidmouth, and was loudly cheered. His Majesty repeatedly placed his hand upon his heart, and bowed to those who had given him so enthusiastic a reception He held out his hat from the window, and pointed to the shamrock; the sentiment it expressed was enthusiastically cheered. The King bowed to those around him repeatedly, and earnestly expressed the warm and lively sense he entertained of the reception he had just experienced upon his entrance to, and progress through, the Irish capital; he repeated the same satisfaction to several of the Irish nobility who were introduced to him while he remained in the Castle, and more than once hinted his determination to gratify the people often with his presence, and to impress upon their gentry the duty and necessity of residing more constantly amongst a race so full (to use the royal words) of "the noblest qualities." The different public bodies charged with the presentation of addresses appointed for reception this day, withdrew from the procession as the King alighted, and went up afterwards on foot to the Castle, preceded by bands of music, and passing through a part of the immense cavalcade of equestrians who closed the royal procession. There were upwards of 500 carriages in the procession, and there could not have been less than 10,000 equestrians; add to this nearly the whole population of the metropolis, and above 30,000 visitors, who were attracted to the spot from the country

His Majesty, before four o'clock, entered the presence chamber, and the ceremonial of the Lord Lieutenant presenting to him the sword of state took place. His Majesty afterwards received, on the throne, the following address:—

BY THE RECORDER OF DUBLIN

"May it please your Majesty,—We, your Majesty's ever faithful and devoted subjects, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the city of Dublin, impressed with sentiments of unbounded veneration for your Majesty's sacred person and Government, beg leave to embrace the earliest moment of tendering to your Majesty our dutiful and most heartfelt congratulations on your arrival in this part of your Majesty's dominions

"That the Monarch of the greatest empire upon earth, under whose paternal sway our rights, laws, and liberties, have been most anxiously protected and secured, should almost the instant after the crown had been placed upon his head, in performance of the august ceremony of his coronation, have ordered arrangements for his most gracious visit to Ireland, must to us, in common with the rest of our countrymen, be matter of just exultation and pride. But there is another consideration, sire, which gives additional interest to the present scene, and cannot but contribute to render this day for ever dear to the recollection of Irishmen.

History informs us, that some of your royal predecessors have visited this country; but, the same authority obliges us to add, under untoward circumstances,

and in periods of national agitation and disunion. How delightfully contrasted the occasion upon which your Majesty appears amongst us! In the person of you, royal sire, we behold the first monarch who has landed upon our shores, to receive the enthusiastic homage of the entire island, and, in the rapture of a nation's welcome, to partake of the happiness he communicates

"You are now, sire, about to enter your ancient and loyal city of Dublin. The acclamations of assembled thousands accompany your Majesty's advance—they are the richest offerings which love and gratitude can make, for they are the spontaneous bursts of the heart, and are sure to be received with a corresponding emotion by a sovereign, whose first ambition has uniformly been to reign in the affections of all his people."

The following answer was returned:—

"I am highly gratified by this testimony of your affectionate and zealous attachment to my person and government.

"It is with inexpressible satisfaction that I visit this part of my dominions. I am justly sensible how largely its inhabitants have contributed to the power and glory of the empire; and the feelings which have been manifested towards me upon the present occasion, have made a deep and indelible impression upon my heart.

"The manner in which you have evinced these feelings demands my warmest thanks. Be assured that my loyal city of Dublin will ever stand high in my confidence and esteem, and that I shall at all times be anxious to promote, to the utmost of my power, its welfare, prosperity, and happiness."

The King also received an Address from the clergy, presented by the archbishops and bishops; which his Majesty thus graciously answered:—

"I return you my warmest thanks for this loyal and dutiful Address. Your congratulations upon my arrival in this part of my kingdom afford me the most heartfelt satisfaction I am highly gratified by the testimony which you now present to me of your affectionate and faithful attachment to my person and throne.

"You may be assured of my firm and constant support of our established church, and I rely with confidence on your assiduity and earnestness in the discharge of the sacred duties of your ministry; and upon your zealous and unremitting endeavours, both by precept and example, to promote and cherish the benevolence and charities of our holy religion, amongst all classes and descriptions of your fellow-subjects."

The King's answer to a loyal Address from the University presented by the provost, fellows, and scholars of Trinity College, ran thus:—

"It is with the greatest satisfaction that I receive such a testimony of your feelings upon my arrival in this country, and of your affectionate and firm attachment to my person and government

"In visiting this part of my kingdom, it is my earnest wish to manifest the high sense which I entertain of the value of those excellent institutions and establishments with which it abounds. The University of Dublin holds among them a most distinguished place. Experience attests that within your walls cultivation has been given to genius, useful knowledge has been acquired, and those principles implanted, from which the public has in very numerous instances derived advantages the most splendid and important.

"It will, I am persuaded, be your constant endeavour to maintain and increase the reputation which you have so justly obtained; and, in the discharge of the duties which belong to your several stations, you may be assured of my constant favour and protection."

The illuminations at night were on the most splendid scale; the weather, which had auspiciously held up during the royal procession, unfortunately changed early in the evening, and the rain fell almost without intermission. This did not prevent the illuminations from being carried on with extensive arrangements, nor the streets from being crowded with company

On the 20th, a public levee was held at the Castle of Dublin

Previous to the levee, his Majesty sent for the Earl of Fingal, (the premier Catholic Peer of Ireland,) to his closet, and informed him, that as a special mark of his regard and esteem, he had determined to invest his Lordship with the Order of St Patrick, and the King added, that he had every reason to feel the highest satisfaction at the loyalty and demeanour of the Roman Catholics. His own sentiments, his Majesty added, were always those of confidence in that great body of his subjects, and he had uniformly felt that the government had every reason to be satisfied with their good demeanour as members of the community. The King farther said, that having always entertained those opinions of them, he could not refrain on the present occasion from sending for Lord Fingal, to express in person to his lordship, the high gratification he felt at now finding all his anticipations respecting that body fully realized. His Majesty could not, he said, better express the high sense he entertained of the loyalty of the Catholic body, than by taking this opportunity of declaring to his Lordship, that their loyalty and duty appeared to him to entitle them to his Majesty's fullest confidence. The Earl of Fingal expressed his gratitude to the King for his most gracious communication and mark of respect, and assured his Majesty, that there was no class in the community upon whose loyalty he could better rely than that of his Roman Catholic subjects.

Shortly after the noble earl withdrew, the elders of the Dissenters and the Quakers were severally introduced to his Majesty, who gave them a most gracious reception; the latter suffered their hats to be taken off before entering the presence. The attendance from the Society of Friends consisted of the most eminent persons of that sect, their plain attire and formal peculiarity of manner excited much observation among the brilliant concege of a crowded court. The following was the address of the Quakers, which was presented by Mr Simon Bewry, an eminent merchant of this city, attended by a large body of Friends:—

"To George the Fourth, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

"May it please the King,—Thy dutiful and loyal subjects, the Society of Friends in Ireland, commonly called Quakers, at their last yearly meeting held in this city, anticipating thy visit to this country, authorized us to address thee on their behalf on this memorable occasion. We should not do justice to our feelings, did we not assure the King that our Society participates in the general joy caused by his presence. Although religiously restrained from demonstrating those feelings by public marks of rejoicing, nevertheless we respectfully offer to the King a sincere and cordial welcome, and congratulate him upon his safe arrival upon our shores. We desire that thy visit may not only tend to thy own satisfaction and the joy of thy people, but that an event so auspicious may promote the improvement of Ireland and her inhabitants, and thus render an important and lasting advantage to the empire. We wish to avail ourselves of the present occasion to renew the declaration of our love and our allegiance to thee our King, under thy illustrious house. We, as a religious society, have received many privileges, we are therefore bound, both by duty and by gratitude, to fidelity to thy royal person and government. We are thankful to the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe, that peace generally prevails; we pray that this blessing may continue, and spread wider and wider; and we desire for thee, O King, that thou mayest be enabled, under the influence of that grace which visits the hearts of all men, to rule in righteousness, and be an instrument in the divine hand to promote that state wherein all nations may join in the holy anthem, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill to all men.'"

To which his Majesty was graciously pleased to give the following answer:—

"It is highly satisfactory to me to receive your congratulations on my arrival in this part of my kingdom, and your assurances of attachment to my person and government.

"The loyalty of your principles, and your regular and peaceable conduct, entitle you to my good opinion and esteem. You may rely upon my constant protection, and on the continuance of those privileges which you now so justly possess."

Then the following Roman Catholic Prelates were introduced into the closet by the Earl of Donoughmore, with their address—the Right Reverend Drs Murray, Curtis, Troy, Kelly, Plunkett, Archdeacon, Murphy, and Magowran.

They were not dressed in their full canonicals, as was supposed, but wore small black silk cloaks, and their gold chains and crosses. Dr Murray read their address, which the King received in the most gracious and condescending manner—they all had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand. It is a remarkable circumstance, that on the back of his Majesty's answer to the address of these Prelates was indorsed, "His Majesty's most gracious answer to the address of the *Roman Catholic Bishops*." This closet reception, and written indorsement upon an official instrument, is deemed by the Catholics to be the first public recognition of their clergy "as Bishops" which has yet occurred since the enactment of the penal restrictions affecting their body.

The following is the address from the Roman Catholic Bishops:—

"To the King's Most Excellent Majesty—We, your Majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the Bishops professing the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, presume to approach the throne with the offering of our zealous devotion to your Majesty's sacred person and illustrious house, and joyfully to hail your Majesty's august presence in this part of your United Kingdom.

"In other times, with which the Merciful Disposer of all human events has given it to the present generation to be acquainted through the page of history alone, our monarchs have approached the shores of Ireland in hostile array, driven to the necessity of conquering a litigated sceptre by their arms. For us has been reserved the happier lot, of welcoming, for the first time, a Sovereign, who comes to his people with the olive-branch of peace in his hand, and with healing on his wing, to receive the willing and undivided allegiance of every individual within the wide range of his extended rule—the homage of the assumed confidence and zealous attachment of all his subjects of every class and description.

"For ourselves, and for the clergy of our communion, the spiritual pastors of four-fifths of the population of this portion of your Majesty's dominions, we have to acknowledge the weighty debt of gratitude by which we are bound to your Majesty's august house, inasmuch as it is to the wise and beneficent provisions which distinguished the reign of your royal father and predecessor, and your Majesty's own gracious condescension, we are indebted for the privilege of administering the rites of our holy religion, under the protection of the law, and that we have now the high honour of being permitted to stand in your Majesty's presence.

"Under less propitious circumstances, and before the arms of the state had been opened at all to receive the King's Roman Catholic subjects, we never failed to inculcate upon all those of our communion whom it was our duty to instruct and to keep in the right way, the duty of respectful deference to those who were placed in authority over them, and implicit submission to the laws of the land. How many and how important are the additional inducements which must now stimulate our humble endeavours in the discharge of the same bounden duty, when, adopted as we are by the legislation of our country, we have now the happiness, impelled by the most zealous attachment to your Majesty's royal person, earnestly to impress upon the consciences of the whole Roman Catholic

community of this your Majesty's realm, the holy commandment of our blessed Redeemer, of rendering unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's

"And may He, the All Wise and All Mighty Dispenser of every good and perfect gift, and through whom kings reign and princes decree justice, and from whom alone cometh all wisdom and understanding, preside over your Majesty's councils, and after a long and prosperous reign, conduct your Majesty, in the fulness of time, to the possession of that crown of glory which fadeth not away.

"All which is humbly submitted to your Majesty for ourselves, and on behalf of the other Bishops and Clergy of the Roman Catholic communion in Ireland, by your Majesty's devoted subjects."

To which his Majesty returned the following answer —

"I am highly gratified by your congratulations on my arrival in this country, and by the sentiments of cordial and dutiful attachment which you have expressed to my person and throne

"It was my earnest wish, in visiting this part of my united kingdom, that an equal degree of satisfaction might be diffused amongst all descriptions of my faithful subjects in Ireland That wish is happily and fully accomplished; and I am persuaded that no endeavours will be wanting on your part to cherish and preserve that spirit of loyal union which now pervades and animates the whole community, and which is not less conducive to individual and social happiness, than to the strength and prosperity of the state"

The following was the answer to the address of the Presbyterians —

"The sentiments which you have expressed on my arrival in this part of my dominions, are highly gratifying to me, and are entitled to my warmest thanks

"I have the fullest confidence in your faithful and firm attachment to my person and throne, and you may be assured of my constant protection of those civil and religious liberties which are the birthright of my people."

Immediately after the addresses had been received, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant introduced the officers of the Order of St Patrick, and his Excellency's household, to his Majesty, who had severally the honour of kissing hands.

On the 21st his Majesty held a drawing-room, and on the 22d he attended the theatre.

On the 23d and 24th he visited the public institutions of Dublin

On the 29d the Lord Mayor gave his grand dinner to his Majesty, in the new circular room erected adjoining the Mansion House. This room is upwards 100 feet in diameter; it is altogether constructed of timber, the dome is well ventilated by windows, and immediately under the roof a gallery was erected for the accommodation of ladies. The walls were painted or stained in imitation of pillars and pilasters, and the general appearance was good, though somewhat more subdivided into minute compartments than is consistent with grandeur of effect; the building was, however, well contrived, considering the shortness of time employed in its erection, and the arrangements for dinner were prepared with great care, and most complete in all the essential departments for the speedy transfer of dishes in a season of corporate festivity. In the music gallery Miss Stephens, Miss Cheese, Mr Duruset, and Mr Bedford, swelled the throng of vocal performers; and there was a suitable attendance of Irish harpers, who in the course of the night enlivened the company with some fine melodies upon the national instrument.

At the King's table sat, on his Majesty's right hand, the Lord Mayor, the Lord Primate, the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, the Duke of Leinster, the Marquises of Donegal and Headfort, Lords Sidmouth, Maryborough, and Enniskillen, the Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Com-

mon pleas, and the Chief Baron of Exchequer. On the King's left sat his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, Prince Paul Esterhazy, Baron Fagel, the Lord Chancellor, the Marquises of Londonderry and Conyngham, Lord Oriel, the Commander of the Forces, Admiral Rowley, the Marquis of Winchester, and the Duke of Montrose They sat in the order we have enumerated them

At the other tables sat the Marquises of Graham, Thomond, Waterford, and Sligo, the Lord Lieutenant's brothers, the Earls of Ormonde, Clanricarde, Westmeath, Donoughmore, Meath, Kingston, Carrick, Arran, Howth, Mountcashel, Longford, Portarlington, Farnham, and Mayo; the two Princes Esterhazy, Metternich, and Floret; Earls of Clonmel, Clare, Belmore, Llandaff, O'Neil, Limerick, Caledon, Glengal, Errol, Bective, and Powerscourt; Lords Carleton, Montmorency, Gort, Oxmantown, Stopford, Doneraile, Garvagh, Clonbrock, Valletort, Ffrench, and several other Peers; the whole of the Irish bishops and judges, the principal law officers of the Crown; the mayors of Cork and Derry, the chief officers of the staff of the garrison; the officers on duty at the Mansion-house, and about 350 of the principal gentry of the country, exclusive of the members of the corporation who appeared in their civic gowns.

The Lord Mayor afterwards received a note from Sir Benjamin Bloomfield from the Phœnix-Park, congratulating his lordship in the warmest terms upon the distinguished manner in which he had entertained the King on the previous evening, and stating, "that his Majesty was never before treated so splendidly in the British dominions." Sir Benjamin added, that "the King was pleased, gratified, and delighted" at the reception he met with.

On the 25th his Majesty visted the Royal Dublin Society House, where a splendid *fête champetre* was given

On the 28th a grand installation of the Knights of St Patrick took place in the Cathedral of the tutelary saint with all the pomp and pageantry which belong to such an occasion.

On the 29th the University was honoured by the presence of his Majesty, at a grand dinner prepared for the occasion in the examination hall.

Sept. 1.—His Majesty having declared his determination, "wet or dry," to attend the races at Curragh yesterday, the preparations for the King's reception, and the definitive arrangements of the course, were carried on upon a scale suitable to the interest of the occasion. Additional stakes were laid down to enclose the race-grounds in the front of the stand-house, and a very large silk standard was planted on the roof, decorated with the royal arms, among which the Irish harp appeared with peculiar prominence The furniture for the King's apartment, at the extremity of the stand-house, was elegant and costly, and refreshments of the rarest kind were abundantly provided in adjoining apartments The weather, however, paid no respect to persons; the rain, which had poured incessantly since the Sunday, fell in torrents throughout the whole of the preceding morning, and the fine prospect which the locality of Curragh affords, was on all sides dimmed by an impenetrable haziness.

After a visit to the seats of one or two of the nobility in the vicinity of Dublin, his Majesty embarked on the 3d, at Dunleary, for England. The road leading to Dunleary was crowded from an early hour, by an immense number of persons, male and female, all eagerly anxious to get a last look at their King before he finally quitted the Irish shore. The day was uninterruptedly fine.

By ten o'clock it was with great difficulty that a jaunting car or vehicle of any description could be procured, and the drivers of the few that were to be met with returning to town, raised the prices of their fare as the day advanced At the upper end of the King's Road, at the outer pier of Dunleary Harbour, an elegant pavilion had been erected It was supported by five pillars, each encircled with evergreens. Foldings of crimson drapery ran round the top, and at each corner a small pillar was raised, from which four white flags floated gaily in the wind; one exhibited the shamrock in its proper colour, another the rose, the third the thistle, and the fourth the three emblems united. A pole was also raised for one side of the royal marquee, from which the flag was to be hoisted on his Majesty's entrance The pavilion was surmounted by the British crown, richly gilt The floor was boarded, over it was spread some blue cloth, and over that a rich and beautiful carpet; the descent from the pavilion to the water's edge was also covered with carpeting to match; and a large platform of wood, covered with scarlet cloth, was placed at the entrance of the pavilion, to facilitate the ascent to it, and on which his Majesty was to step on his alighting from his carriage. At the extremity of the pier the royal flag was hoisted. The deputation from the gentlemen of the country were ranged on the south side of the pavilion, dressed in their visitation costume, with pink silk scarfs, and wands, bearing favours of pink ribband, or pink banners, with appropriate mottos or devices The gentlemen forming the deputation from the city were ranged on the west side, dressed also in appropriate costume, and wearing sky-blue silk scarfs, and wands, &c. His Majesty did not leave the Park so early as was expected. It was not until one o'clock that he set forward on his tour into the country of Wicklow, intending to stop at the seat of Lord Powerscourt

At twenty minutes to seven o'clock, a courier announced to the Lord Lieutenant the approach of his Majesty; in a few minutes an officer of the lancers was seen coming at full speed; he had scarce arrived at the tent when a number of gentlemen rode in at full gallop, with their hats off, and crying, "The King, the King" A troop of lancers preceded his Majesty's carriage, which was surrounded by the officers of his staff; hats and handkerchiefs were seen waving in every direction, and the shouts that reverberated along the hills were almost enough to "shake earth to its centre." His Majesty, on alighting, was received by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor, and the distinguished and noble characters who had assembled at the royal tent. When his Majesty entered the tent, the royal flag was immediately hoisted over it; and this being a signal to the sloops of war who were to convoy his Majesty, at the King's arrival at the pier, a royal salute was fired from the vessels, which was answered by the overpowering and deafening shouts of myriads of spectators, who thronged the hills around as far as the eye could reach

A loyal address was presented to his ity, by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, at the moment of his embarkation.

Before descending the slip which led to the side of the vessel, the King addressed those around him, with considerable emotion, in these words —

"My friends! when I arrived in this beautiful country, my heart overflowed with joy—it is now depressed with sincere sorrow, I never felt sensations of more delight than since I came to Ireland.—I cannot expect to meet my superior, nor many equal till I have the happiness to see you again. Whenever an opportunity offers, wherein I can serve Ireland, I shall seize on it with eagerness I

am a man of few words.—Short adieus are best God bless you all, my friends; God bless you all."

Lord Sidmouth also addressed the following letter to the Lord Lieutenant, on the occasion of his Majesty's departure.—

"*Dublin Castle, Sept. 8, 1821.*

"My Lord,—The time of the King's departure from Ireland being arrived, I am commanded by his Majesty to express his entire approbation of the manner in which all persons acting in civil and military situations, in the city of Dublin and its neighbourhood, have performed their several duties, during the period of his Majesty's residence in this part of the kingdom. His Majesty is pleased to consider that to your Excellency his acknowledgments are particularly due, he is conscious how much he owes to your Excellency's attentions and arrangements; and his Majesty gladly avails himself of this occasion of declaring the high sense which he entertains of the ability, temper, and firmness, with which your Excellency has uniformly administered the great trust which he has placed in your hands. I am farther commanded to state, that the testimonies of dutiful and affectionate attachment which his Majesty has received from all classes and descriptions of his Irish subjects, have made the deepest impression on his mind, and that he looks forward to the period when he shall revisit them with the strongest feelings of satisfaction. His Majesty trusts, that, in the meantime, not only the spirit of loyal union, which now so generally exists, will remain unabated and unimpaired, but that every cause of irritation will be avoided and discountenanced, mutual forbearance and good will observed and encouraged, and security be thus afforded for the continuance of that concord amongst themselves, which is not less essential to his Majesty's happiness than to their own, and which it has been the chief object of his Majesty, during his residence in this country, to cherish and promote. His Majesty well knows the generosity and warmth of heart which distinguish the character of his faithful people in Ireland, and he leaves them with a heart full of affection towards them, and with the confident and gratifying persuasion, that this parting admonition and injunction of their Sovereign will not be given in vain. I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, my lord, your Excellency's most obedient and faithful servant,

"SIDMOUTH.

"*His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant.*"

On Friday the 7th, about half past two o'clock in the afternoon, a movement was observed in the royal squadron, at King's Town pier, (Dunleary) when the flotilla stood out to sea, and passed the promontory of Bray in a short time, under a smart breeze. His Majesty remained on deck, and with his usual condescension bowed most gracefully, took off his travelling bonnet, and saluted in a particularly affectionate manner, all the spectators who were assembled on the wall, and in the numerous boats with which the harbour was crowded, to witness the termination of the most endearing visit in the annals of modern Ireland. The scene was highly affecting and interesting. It was like the parting of a kind father from his children. The guns at the battery fired a royal salute. During the entire of the day, the pier was the resort of a number of persons, including many from the city, all anxiously looking towards the royal squadron, until the gathering shades of the evening hid them from their view. As the evening advanced, the royal squadron appeared to be making their way in fine style, right in the direction of Holyhead; and at that twilight hour, whilst they were yet discernible to the admiring and anxious spectators, "distinct but distant," the effect produced by their "gallant bearing" was fine beyond description. The royal squadron had reached within thirty miles of the land's-end, when, from the boisterous state of the weather, it was obliged to

put about, and return to Milford Haven, where it arrived four p. m. on Wednesday, the 14th At five next morning his Majesty landed, amidst the cheers of thousands of spectators. A band of music was in attendance, which played several national airs, and his Majesty appeared to receive the marked attention which was paid to his royal person, with much gratitude He bowed frequently, and looked remarkably well. Three carriages were landed from the fleet, one of which was his Majesty's private one, and in a short time his Majesty drove off, with his attendants, for London

From the effect which his Majesty's presence in Ireland has had in allaying all party animosities, and the manner in which this his parting injunction has been received by all classes, the most happy results may be anticipated from the royal visit. At a meeting of gentlemen, of all sects, held in Dublin on the 7th instant, after the best mode of distributing copies of his Majesty's letter to the Lord Lieutenant had been determined upon, Mr O'Connel proposed, and it was resolved, that a Club, to be called the "Loyal Union, or Royal Georgian Club," should be established in Dublin without delay, the object of which should be to carry into effect the parting admonition and injunction of their Sovereign; the members to pledge themselves to preserve unabated and unimpaired the spirit of loyal union amongst all classes of Irishmen; to observe and encourage mutual forbearance and good-will; and to perpetuate that affectionate gratitude towards his Majesty King George the Fourth, which now animates every Irish bosom. The Society to consist of a president, vice-president, committee, &c., and to dine together at least six times in the year, clothed in Irish manufacture, and in the colours worn by the citizens of Dublin on the auspicious day of his Majesty's public entry into that city.

It has also been determined that a public testimonial, in honour of his Majesty's visit, shall be erected in Dublin, subscriptions to execute which are rapidly filling up. It is to consist of a triumphant arch and an emerald crown. The first will be erected at the limits of the city's jurisdiction in Sackville-street where the barrier was raised for the King's public entrance. The second will be made of Irish gold, studded with precious stones, and it will form the commencement of National Regalia, similar to those of England or Scotland, and be deposited in the Castle The list of subscriptions is filling very fast. In Dublin alone, it already amounts to above 10,000*l*

Royal donations.—Sir Robert Shaw, Bart. and Co. bankers, have received directions to pay the following sums, being his Majesty's donations, in aid of the respective charitable institutions in Dublin —

Mendicity Association,	L 200
Sick and Indigent Room-keepers,	100
Magdalene Asylum, Leeson Street,	100
Female Orphan School,	100
Lying-in Hospital,	100
Charitable Association,	50
Meath Hospital,	100
Richmond Institution,	50
Molyneaux Asylum,	50
Dorset Institution,	50
Poor of the Liberty,	100
Chapelizod, Castleknock, &c	100
St Werburgh's Parish,	50
Lock Penitentiary,	50
Meath Charitable Loan,	100
Strangers' Friend Society,	50
The Eye Institution, Cumberland-Street,	50

Death of the Queen.

This sudden and unlooked-for event took place on the 7th instant, at half-past ten o'clock at night. Her Ma-

jesty attended Drury-lane Theatre on Monday the 29th ult in good health; but felt indisposed next morning, and her illness was first communicated to the public by the following bulletin, dated Brandenburgh-House, the 2d August:—"Her Majesty has had an obstruction of the bowels, attended with inflammation The symptoms, though mitigated, are not removed" This was signed by Drs W S Maton, Pelham Warren, and Henry Holland; and bulletins continued to be issued daily till her Majesty's decease. Her Majesty lost a great quantity of blood, and the warm baths and other remedies were resorted to, but without effect, in removing the obstruction. Drs Maton, Warren, and Holland, continued in close attendance; and on Friday the 3d, Dr Ainslie was sent for Messrs Brougham, Denman, Wilde, and Dr Lushington, were also in attendance. On Saturday, the different branches of the Royal Family, residing in and near the metropolis, sent to make inquiries concerning her Majesty's health. In the course of that day her Majesty's symptoms varied at intervals, and sometimes hopes were entertained of her recovery. On Sunday afternoon Dr Baillie, his Majesty's physician, arrived, having travelled 120 miles in ten hours. He saw the Queen, and entered into consultation with her physicians. In the course of that day a change seemed to have taken place for the better. About noon of Tuesday, however, she had a relapse, and suffered considerable pain. Opiates were administered, which had at first a consoling effect; but at two o'clock increased inflammation was visible to every one, and the physicians were sent for in all haste. A bulletin was issued at four o'clock, announcing the unfavourable change which had taken place on her Majesty, and from this period her situation became gradually more alarming until the hour of her dissolution.

Her Majesty continued sensible till within a short period of her death To those around her, she frequently declared that to die was happiness to her; that ever since she had first arrived in England, her enemies had, by plots and conspiracies, endeavoured to destroy her; "and at last," said her Majesty, "they have destroyed me! But I forgive them I die in peace with all mankind." Calling the servant, Mariette Brune, to the bed-side, she said, "Your sister Dement has done me great injury; her wickedness has been very great; but tell her that I forgive—tell her that with my dying breath I forgive her!"

Intelligence of the Queen's death was immediately communicated to the officers of state, and dispatches sent off to acquaint his Majesty, who had sailed from Portsmouth on the 31st of July, on his voyage to Ireland The messenger overtook his Majesty on board the Royal George at anchor off Holyhead, in Wales. The King was sensibly affected by the intelligence, and retired to his cabin, where he remained several hours, almost alone. The royal squadron immediately lowered their flags to half-mast, but no minute guns were fired; and the messenger returned with his Majesty's orders respecting the Queen's funeral, and the court mourning, which latter ceremony was ordered in the usual manner.

Her Majesty was Caroline Amelia, daughter of Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, by her Royal Highness Augusta, eldest sister of his late most gracious Majesty George III. She was born 17th May, 1768, and on the 5th April, 1794, married his present Majesty George IV., then Prince of Wales, by whom she had one daughter, the late la-

mented Princess Charlotte of Saxe-Cobourg.

The following is a copy of her Majesty's will —

"This is the last will and testament of me, Caroline, Queen-consort of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland I revoke all former wills.

"I constitute and appoint Stephen Lushington, doctor of laws, and Thomas Wilde, Esq, barrister at law, trustees and executors of this my will.

"In execution of all powers given me by the will of my late mother, Augusta, Duchess of Brunswick-Lunenburgh, I appoint, limit, give, devise, and bequeath to my said trustees, all my right, title, and interest under the said will, and also all the rest of my property, real and personal, debts and effects, of whatsoever nature or kind soever, and wheresoever situate, upon trust to receive and collect the same; and, when collected, convert into money, and invest it at their discretion in the funds of the United Kingdom, or otherwise, and, upon further trust, to pay the principal of the whole of the said trust-property to William Austin, who has been long under my protection, on his attaining the age of 21 years, and, in the mean time, to pay the interest and proceeds of the same, or so much thereof as to them may seem meet, towards the maintenance and education of the said William Austin. And I do declare that my said trustees and executors shall not be chargeable in respect of the default of each other, or of any agent employed by them, or either of them, but only for their own respective receipts, acts, and wilful defaults. I also give and bequeath to my said executors, to be disposed of according to their will and pleasure, all and every my documents, manuscripts, papers, writings, and memoranda, wheresoever being at the time of my death.

"CAROLINE, R.

"Signed, sealed, and published this third day of August, in the year 1821, at Brandenburgh-house, in the presence of

"H BROUGHAM.
"THOMAS DENMAN.
"HENRY HOLLAND, M D
"HOOD.

"This is a codicil to my will, dated this third day of August:—I give all my clothes here and in Italy to Mariette Brun. I direct that a particular box, by me described, be sealed with my seal, and delivered to Mr Obichini, of Colman-street, merchant; and I acknowledge that I owe him 4300*l*. I wish that government would pay the 15,000*l*, the price of my house in South Audley street I desire to be buried in Brunswick. I leave my coach to Stephen Lushington, my executor; my landaulet to John Hieronymus.

"CAROLINE, R.

Witnesses,

"HOOD.
"H. BROUGHAM
"T DENMAN.
"H. HOLLAND, M D

"This is a codicil to my last will —I give to John Hieronymus and Mariette Brun, all my bed and table linen, which has already been used I give to Louis Bischi the sum of 1000*l* and an annuity of 150*l* per annum, payable half yearly. I give the large picture of myself and late daughter to the Cardinal Albano The half-length picture of myself to Lady Ann Hamilton I give the picture of myself, which is a copy of that given to the city of London, to my executor, Stephen Lushington. There are two pictures remaining, of which I bequeath to the Marquis Antaldi that which he shall

choose, and the remaining one to William Austin. I give to the Viscount and Viscountess Hood 500*l* each I have already given to John Hieronymus one carriage; I also give him the other open carriage I declare that my interest under my mother's will is given to William Austin, as a specific legacy. I desire and direct that my body be not opened, and that three days after my death it be carried to Brunswick for interment, and that the inscription upon my coffin be—Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England.

"CAROLINE, R.

"Signed in the presence of HENRY HOLLAND, M D

"*August 5*, 1821

"A codicil to my last will:—I give and bequeath to William Austin all my plate and household furniture at Brandenburgh-house, and also all unused linen

"I direct my executors to make application to his Majesty's government to pay to them such sum of money as at the time of my decease I may have paid, or which they may be called upon to pay for the purchase of my house in South Audley-street; and I give and bequeath such sum of money, as my said executors shall procure and obtain in that respect, unto them my said executors, in trust for William Austin, according to the provisions of my will; such sum to be considered a specific legacy. And in case the government shall refuse to pay such sum, I direct my executors to sell my interest in the said house, and also the furniture and things therein. And I give and direct the proceeds thereof to be paid and applied to and for the use of the said William Austin in like manner, as a specific legacy; but in case the government shall repay the purchase-money of the said house, in that case, the proceeds which may be realised by the sale are to fall into the general residue of my estate. Dated 7th day of August, 1821.

"CAROLINE, R.

"Witness, HENRY U. THOMPSON, Kensington."

THE FUNERAL.—In her Majesty's will, she had given orders that her body should be conveyed to Brunswick, to be buried in the sepulchre of her gallant father, and that for this purpose it should be removed from Brandenburgh-house within three days after her decease The latter part of this request could not be complied with, owing to the absence of the King; and because the ministry could do nothing in the matter before receiving his Majesty's commands After the return of the messenger, Monday, the 13th instant was appointed for the removal of the body on its way to Brunswick; and notice to this effect was given to her Majesty's executors and friends, together with the programme of the procession from Brandenburgh-house, which it was determined should not proceed through the city, but take a by-route out of the metropolis As part of these arrangements, it appears, gave satisfaction to the Queen's friends, nor to the populace of London; and we regret to say, that the subsequent attempts to carry them into execution, were attended with fatal consequences

A correspondence took place between the Queen's ladies and Mr Hobhouse of the Secretary of State's office, relative to the time fixed for the removal of her Majesty Lady Anne Hamilton entreated that till Wednesday morning might be allowed. At length Lady Hood wrote to the Earl of Liverpool, requesting delay, and declaring, that *if a guard of horse accompanied the body*, as had been determined, *she foresaw mischief, and she feared bloodshed* Her ladyship also feelingly demanded of his lordship to

revoke the order which enforced the carrying of the corpse out of the direct road. Lord Liverpool replied, that orders had been given for the conveyance of the body to Brunswick, as nearly as possible in obedience to the intentions of her late Majesty; that Monday had been fixed for the procession, but that he had agreed with Dr Lushington, that the body should not be removed till Tuesday, and that he could not alter the last order

On Monday the 13th instant, the London Common Council also met, and unanimously passed resolutions expressive of their admiration of her Majesty's character, and of their regret at her death, and declaring their intention of accompanying the body through the city, in the event of its passing that way. In consequence of the last of these resolutions, the Sheriffs, with the Remembrancer, proceeded to the Secretary of State's office, and informed Mr Hobhouse of the great anxiety which the citizens felt to pay respect to the royal remains Mr Secretary Hobhouse informed Mr Waithman, that it was customary for royal corpses to be attended with a military guard, and that the military could not pass through the city without leave from the Lord Mayor —Mr W. said, that it was easy to communicate with the Lord Mayor on the subject Mr Hobhouse promised to take the instructions of the Earl of Liverpool Soon after, an answer was sent, that the arrangement for the removal of her Majesty's body was completed, and laid before the King, and that it was not intended that the procession should pass through the city on the way from Brandenburgh-house to Harwich

Accordingly, on the morning of Tuesday, her Majesty's body was removed, in the face of a solemn protest by Dr Lushington and Mr Wilde, her executors, and proceeded on the route marked out by ministers The public feeling had been strongly excited on the subject, and multitudes thronged to Brandenburgh-house in the morning, uncertain in what direction the procession was to move, but determined, it appeared, to oppose its departure from London, except through the city, in which they were ultimately successful, but unfortunately not before some lives were lost in the contest.

The cavalcade proceeded at a slow pace, and had reached Kensington church, when its farther progress was opposed by an impenetrable mass of carts, waggons, and other vehicles, which were thrown across the road in endless disorder It was found impossible to advance, and the procession, after halting for an hour, was obliged to turn down in another direction. It was again stopped at Hyde-park, and forced back A considerable augmentation was now made to the military, both horse and foot; the populace had also increased in number and in confidence, and at Cumberland-gate, leading out of Hyde-park into Oxford-street, a conflict arose in which two lives were lost, and a number of persons were wounded. The procession still kept on its way down the Edgeware-road, towards the suburbs, but when they arrived opposite Tottenham-court-road, all the outlets, except those which led to the city, were so completely blocked up with carts, waggons, and other vehicles, that the further advance of the procession was completely arrested, and they were obliged to pass down Drury-lane into the Strand, and from thence through the heart of the city of London At the gates of the city, the military were refused entrance by the Lord Mayor, with the exception of the guard of honour, consisting of the Horse Guards, Blues, and the procession then passed quietly through the city. After it departure from London, nothing far-

ther occurred to disturb the procession. In the church at Colchester, however, an altercation took place between the Queen's executors and those appointed by government to conduct the funeral. Her Majesty had expressed a wish to have a plate on the coffin, with an inscription in which she is styled the *injured* Queen of England, and Dr Lushington, while the body was lying in the church at Colchester, had this plate screwed on the coffin. Sir George Nayler, who was charged by government with the conducting of the funeral, insisted that this plate should be taken off, which, by the aid of the civil authorities, was effected, Dr Lushington protesting against the illegality of the proceeding.

The Glasgow frigate, commanded by Captain Doyle, was appointed to receive and convey the last remains of her Majesty to Brunswick. It was an extraordinary coincidence, that Captain Doyle was the very midshipman who had handed the rope to her Majesty on her ascending the man of war that brought her to England *

On the evening of the 24th, her Majesty's remains reached Brunswick, and (as it had been previously arranged) were immediately carried to the place of interment The horses were then removed from the hearse, and the coffin was deposited in a magnificent open car, while about a hundred Brunswickers, well dressed, and having all the appearance of the respectable classes of society, placed themselves in front in the most regular and tranquil order

The whole way, from the outer to the inner barrier, a space of little less than a mile in length, and about the breadth of Blackfriar's road, was lined with a dense mass of people, not merely from Brunswick, but from the neighbouring towns and villages, some families had followed the funeral *cortége* from Celle, and others even from Hamburgh. The front lines of this immense assemblage carried torches; and from the double rows of willows on each side of the road, were suspended lamps of various colours, green, red, and yellow In the distance were seen the illuminated houses of Brunswick, adding, by the fantastic variety of their architecture, to the picturesque beauty of the scene, and, by their undecayed antiquity, reminding man of the nothingness of his existence, in comparison even with the durability of the commonest works of his own hands. The procession moved slowly towards the town, and as the clock struck twelve reached the inner barrier. Here the mourners descended from the carriages, and the whole *cortege* proceeded on foot, with the exception of Sir George Nayler, who kept his state in the first carriage.

From the entrance of the town to the cathedral church, the distance is about a mile, and the slow pace at which the procession moved, together with the various streets through which it passed, gave the whole population an opportunity of witnessing the grand

* The following was the arrangement for the different frigates which were to carry her late Majesty's household to Cuxhaven —Glasgow frigate, 50 guns, Captain Doyle, having on board the royal corpse, Lord and Lady Hood, Lady Hamilton, Mr Austin, Dr and Mrs Lushington, Mr and Mrs Wilde —Wye, 28 guns, Captain Fisher, his wife and family —Tyne, 28 guns, Captain White, Chevalier Vassalt, Captain Hesse, and Mr Wilson —Garnet, 18 guns, Rev. Mr Wood on board —Rosario, 10 guns, Captain Simpson, Lieutenant Hownam Alderman Wood sailed in one of the regular packets for Cuxhaven

spectacle without much inconvenience, and with scarcely any danger. To the people, however, was due the praise of the good order that prevailed The only arrangement made by the authorities—so great and so just was their confidence in the good disposition of the people—was an escort of about twenty constables The Brunswick cavalry, that, to the amount of about 200, accompanied the procession, marched slowly by the sides, as state attendants, but took no part in directing the movements of the immense multitude about them, and guided their well managed chargers through a countless crowd, in narrow streets, without alarming, much less hurting, a single individual Outside the barriers, where the space was very extensive, women as well as men were seen in all parts of the assemblage, but in the streets of Brunswick not a woman was to be seen The men alone were in the streets, the women were at the windows of the houses; and there was not a house in any street through which the procession passed, which had not every window crowded with spectators of the female sex, all dressed in black, and all expressing, by their anxious attention, the deep interest which they took in the solemn ceremony passing before them In this manner the procession moved on to the church, the glare of a thousand torches making every part of it visible to the multitude.

At the church door the minister and municipality received the body; the coffin was lifted from the car, and carried by sixteen serjeants of the Brunswick cavalry, while sixteen majors bore the pall The appearance of the church was solemn and imposing. Though a building of no striking beauty when seen by day light, its lofty columns and long aisles hung with black, had by night an appearance of melancholy grandeur. Owing to orders, no service, not even a funeral chant, was to be performed As the Queen had died abroad, it was to be considered that these rites had been already performed, and that the ceremony at Brunswick was merely depositing the body of the deceased in the family vault, a ceremony which was always performed without funeral service, as in the case of the Duke of Brunswick, the father of the late Queen.

As the corpse passed along the aisle into the place of sepulture, a hundred young ladies, of the first families in Brunswick, dressed in white, stood on each side, and scattered flowers before it. In a few seconds the coffin and the mourners had all arrived in the family vault of the illustrious house of Brunswick The entire space is very large, and already contains fifty-seven coffins of different branches of that ancient family. A portion, about seven yards square, was separated from the rest by hangings of black cloth, and was illuminated with wax lights. In the middle of this section stood a platform, raised about two feet from the ground; on one side stood the coffin of the gallant father of the Queen, at the foot was the coffin of her gallant brother; both heroes slain in battle when fighting against the tyranny of Buonaparte; and here, in this appropriate spot, were deposited the remains of Caroline of Brunswick.

26th.—Inquest on George Francis.—The coroner's inquest on this individual, who was shot by the Life-Guards, in the riot which took place at the Queen's funeral, terminated on Friday night the 24th instant, when the Jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder against a Life-guards-man unknown. We regret to state, that at the funeral of this individual, and of the other unfortunate person, Richard Honey, which some factious individuals in London contrived should be made a public one, another serious af-

fray took place between the mob and the Life-Guards. Fortunately, however, peace was restored, by the exertions of the civil power, before any fatal consequences ensued.

28th.—The Robert Bruce steam-packet, between Liverpool and Dublin, caught fire this morning, when about thirty miles from land, owing to a want of attention to the boilers. She was then between Point Linæs and Holy-head. Captain Carlyle immediately steered for land, and the crew and passengers employed every exertion to keep down the fire. Providentially, in about four hours, they succeeded in running her into the creek of Cemmies, near Almwch, where she was instantly scuttled and sunk, after the passengers, twenty-four in number, and the crew, consisting of fourteen hands, with the luggage, &c, were all got safe on shore.

SEPTEMBER

1st.—A horrible crime was committed yesterday in the centre of Paris, in the most frequented quarter of the capital. About half past ten, an individual, who had left a gambling-house, entered the shop of M. Moutier, money-changer, Rue de la Feuillade, in which Madame Moutier was alone. He shut the door behind him, drew a dagger, and struck Madame Moutier, who fell bathed in blood. She had strength enough left to call for help. A female servant entered, who was laid low by nine stabs of the dagger. The nephew of M. Moutier, who was at the top of the house, ran down; he struggled for some time with the assassin, and at length fell also stabbed in seven places. It is to be remarked, that the assassin was secured, after having stabbed two persons who attempted to stop him.

11th.—The coroner's inquest, on the body of Richard Honey, one of the unfortunate individuals who lost his life during the disturbances at the funeral procession of her late Majesty, after a laborious and keen investigation, which occupied them fourteen days, closed their sittings, when they brought in a verdict of "manslaughter against the party of Life-Guards who were on duty at the place where Honey was shot."—Mr Sheriff Waithman acted as counsel for the relations of Honey on this occasion, and strong endeavours were made, but without effect, to bring home a charge of murder against an individual officer of the Life-Guards. For this purpose, the witnesses were examined over and over; the colonel, adjutant, and other officers, trumpeters and soldiers, of the regiment were examined. The witnesses and jury were admitted to the barracks, to inspect the regiment on parade, in order, if possible, to identify the individual who fired the fatal shot. Mr Adolphus appeared latterly on behalf of the regiment; and between him and Mr Waithman many keen altercations took place. Several individuals of the jury also displayed much acrimony and partial feeling in the course of the investigation.

14th.—The conduct of Sir Robert Baker, on the occasion of the Queen's funeral, in permitting the procession to take a route different from that marked out for it by government, has, it appears, given great offence; and Sir Robert has, in consequence, resigned his office of Head Magistrate of the Bow-street Police. On this subject a London paper of the 14th instant says, that "a statement of the unfortunate affair of the 14th August having been laid before the King, his Majesty was pleased to express his disapprobation of some part of Sir Robert Baker's conduct on that day. This was communicated to Sir Robert, and his re-

signation as magistrate immediately followed as a matter of course. Sir Robert sat at Bow-street, for the last time, on Wednesday evening. Yesterday afternoon the office of Chief Magistrate was conferred upon Richard Birnie, Esq. by command of his Majesty, through Lord Sidmouth. (Mr Birnie has since been knighted.) Mr White, of the Queen-square Police-Office, we understand, is to be third magistrate at Bow-street."

KING'S VISIT TO HANOVER.

His Majesty having determined upon visiting his German dominions, the Gazette of the 18th of September announced his intention, and the provision made for the administration of public affairs during his absence, in the following manner —

"At the Court at Carlton House, the 17th of September, 1821—Present, the King's most excellent Majesty in council.

"His Majesty in council this day declaring his intention of going out of the kingdom for a short time, was pleased to nominate the following persons to be Lords Justices for the administration of the Government, during his Majesty's absence:—

"His Royal Highness Frederick Duke of York.

"Charles, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury," &c

On the 24th of September, the King left Carlton House for Ramsgate, escorted by lancers. The weather, during the forenoon, being remarkably fine, several thousand persons of all descriptions, among whom were numbers of well-dressed ladies and gentlemen, some in barouches and gigs, and others on foot, proceeded from Woolwich, Blackheath, Eltham, and places adjacent, and placed themselves on different parts of the road. All the spectators testified their loyalty, the gentlemen by taking off their hats, and the ladies by waving their handkerchiefs. His Majesty seemed highly gratified by this mark of respectful attention. He frequently took off the travelling cap which he wore, and bowed most graciously from his carriage-window to the assembled multitude. The troops and the spectators remained in the places which they occupied, until the royal carriage was out of sight, by passing to the other side of the hill. The troops were then marched to their respective quarters, and the different groups of company retired to their homes.

His Majesty changed horses at Dartford, where the 16th dragoons attended. He was met on the road by the West Kent militia, as well as by several gentlemen on horseback, and parties in carriages; and the 56th, the sappers and miners, and the royal marines, were in the city, attended by their bands, and formed a guard of honour.

The preparations made at Canterbury, to give effect to the reception of his Majesty, on his entrance, were very extensive.

Extensive preparations also were made at Ramsgate, for the King's reception.

The principal streets were covered with fine gravel, and the neighbouring fields and gardens were stripped of their shrubs and flowers, to form festoons, arches, and other decorations, the foliage of which, waving with the wind, had a beautiful effect. The influx of the people into the town was prodigious, the roads leading to it being covered with pedestrians, and carriages of every description, not only from Margate, Broadstairs, and other parts of the adjacent coast, but from the distant points of the interior of the county.

The embarkation of his Majesty took place on the 25th, under circumstances which must prove to him the loyalty and devotion of the people of that place and its neighbourhood His Majesty left the residence of Sir William Curtis about half past ten, in an open landau, accompanied by Lord Liverpool, the Marquis Conyngham, Sir William Curtis, &c and immediately proceeded to the Pier, or (Trinity) House, where an address was presented

His Majesty disembarked safely at Calais, at half past four o'clock, where he was received with all the honours which the French authorities had it in their power to demonstrate.

The streets, in the course of his progress, had been previously covered with fine sand, and the whole way was lined with the military, (the 2d regiment,) one of the finest in the French service, commanded by the Duke de Ceres, which of course presented arms, and shewed his Majesty every mark of respect. The King appeared delighted with his reception; and the number of his subjects who greeted him in a foreign land, with the most unequivocal marks of loyalty, could not fail to heighten the pleasure which he seemed to experience In the evening, at eight o'clock, his Majesty entered the theatre; and short as was the notice, much praise is due to the manager for the arrangements he had made.

His Majesty sat in the centre, in front of the box. On his left was the French General the Marquis de Jumillac, in full costume; and on his right, the venerable Duke de Chartre. On the King's entrance, the whole house rose simultaneously, and the orchestra struck up our national anthem, "God save the King," which was admirably performed, and the words sung enthusiastically by the whole audience, both French and English. Shouts of applause followed, and a universal *encore* rang through the house. His Majesty, however, who was evidently most sensibly affected by the feelings evinced towards him in a foreign land, mentioned that he wished to decline its repetition The audience understood him, and after another hearty congratulation, they took their seats, and the performance proceeded. On retiring, his Majesty gracefully saluted the audience, and left the house universally applauded.

The next morning he set out for Lisle, and from thence to Brussels, where he arrived on the 27th

At Capel, department *Du Nord*, his Majesty, on his road to Brussels, was received in the most distinguished manner by the French military and civil authorities There was a general expression of respect from the English, of "God bless your Majesty! May your Majesty enjoy a long and happy reign!" To which the King replied, by thanks most feelingly uttered, and repeated obeisances His Majesty looked extremely well, and seemed delighted and surprised to receive warm and sincere congratulations in his own language, where he little expected it, for there are very few English residents there

On the 28th, the King dined with the King of the Netherlands, at the palace of Lacken, a short distance from the capital His Majesty proceeded to the palace of his royal brother, attended in the same carriage by Lord Clancarty, our ambassador at the Belgian court, and the Marquis of Conyngham.

On the 30th, he repaired to the field of Waterloo to attend a review of troops, and to witness, in company with the Duke of Wellington, a mimic representation of the battle, which decided the fate of Napoleon, and restored the Bourbons Thence he proceeded through Namur, Liege, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Dusseldorf, to Ha-

nover, at which latter place he arrived on Monday, October the 8th The town was all life and splendour; the streets were illuminated, the military drawn out on duty, the guns fired, the bells rung, and the population flocking from all sides towards the barrier through which his Majesty entered. All appeared animated with the most loyal and affectionate enthusiasm. Notwithstanding the distance from Brussels to Hanover, and the rapidity with which the King travelled, his health had not in the least suffered beyond the ordinary fatigue, consequent upon the movement and confinement of a carriage; and even of this his Majesty had less appearance than most of those who composed his suite The receptions, however, were rather private; and the addresses and formal congratulations of the authorities, and other public bodies, were postponed to the following and future days

The following extract is from the *Hannoverische Naehrichten*.—"The most ardent expectations of faithful subjects are realized—their most ardent wishes are fulfilled The King, notwithstanding the lateness of the season, has disregarded the great distance, to come to his children; and since yesterday afternoon, at five o'clock, the Hanoverians possess their beloved sovereign"

From an early hour in the morning, thousands of persons in carriages, on horseback, and on foot, hastened out to meet our revered Sovereign; and the road was thronged for miles with countless multitudes A signal gun announced to the eagerly expecting inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood, the approach of the monarch Their expectations were farther heightened, when a royal salute shewed that the moment was at hand The loudest acclamations resounded, as soon as the royal carriage came in sight His Majesty had let down the windows, and saluted, in the most gracious manner, the numerous and rejoicing multitude, who were particularly thronged in the vicinity of the palace at Herrenhausen.

His Majesty was received by his royal brothers, the Princes of Brunswick, the ministers, the chief officers of the royal household, and the officers of the court then on duty The band of the Yagers of the guard played "God save the King," and the royal standard was hoisted on the palace. At the same moment, the court-yard of the palace was filled by an innumerable assemblage, who broke out into the most enthusiastic transports when his Majesty shewed himself at the window His Majesty, sensible of the wishes of the expecting crowd, came into the balcony between his royal sisters-in-law, and, bowing repeatedly, most gracefully saluted the delighted multitude, who kept up an uninterrupted *hurra* His Majesty had the goodness to indulge his affectionate people with the sight of him for at least ten minutes; and, after he had repeatedly acknowledged the loud testimonies of the loyalty of the Hanoverians, withdrew to his apartments.

As the court-yard still continued to fill with new crowds, eager to behold their sovereign, his Majesty had the condescension again to shew himself twice in the balcony, and was again saluted with the most unequivocal expressions of joy and gratitude The 8th of October has been a festival—it gave the inhabitants of this capital their beloved Sovereign for the second time

On the 9th, his Imperial Highness the Archduke Ferdinand was presented to his Majesty, and likewise Prince Frederick of Hesse, and the Prince of Tour and Taxis. The King dined in private with his brothers and the above-mentioned princes, and the

princes of Brunswick, who were presented to his Majesty on his arrival At table, Prince George, son of the Duke of Cumberland, and Prince George, son of the Duke of Cambridge, were presented to the King by their parents. On the 10th, the inhabitants of this capital had the happiness of seeing their beloved Sovereign make his solemn entry.

His Majesty mounted his horse at Herrenhausen, at half past one o'clock. The procession was arranged as regulated in the programme previously published, and proceeded through the avenue of Herrenhausen, at the entrance of which his Majesty allowed the city guard, on horseback, to escort him In the avenue, the regiments of cavalry were drawn up on each side all the way to the city. The side avenues were crowded with spectators, who followed the procession with incessant acclamations, and cries of "God save the King," in which the troops joined

At the end of the avenue, where a triumphal arch was erected, his Majesty was welcomed by the citizens of the suburbs, in state dresses, and young ladies, who strewed flowers before him

At the gate, were the civil authorities and the clergy, who complimented his Majesty. A salute of 101 guns announced the entrance of his Majesty within the walls of his faithful German capital. His Majesty passed through a double file of artillery to the triumphal arch, where some young ladies presented a poem, which his Majesty most graciously received.

Accompanied by the ringing of all the bells, by the thunder of the cannon, and, what was certainly the most agreeable to his Majesty, the incessant rejoicings of the multitudes that thronged the streets, the royal procession advanced very slowly, so that every body could see their beloved monarch, who, with an affability that excited feelings of gratitude and delight in all, saluted on all sides as he rode along. After the detachment of the hussars of the guard that opened the procession, followed nine state carriages, each drawn by six horses. Immediately before the King rode his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. On the King's right hand the Duke of Cambridge, and on his left the Archduke Ferdinand. His Majesty wore the uniform of a Hanoverian Field-Marshal, with the insignia of the Order of the Guelphs The splendid procession, increased by a numerous suite of cavalry, passed between files of the citizens, and then of the military, through several streets to the palace of the Duke of Cambridge, where his Majesty, the royal Dukes, and the King's immediate attendants, dismounted and entered

The procession and the guard of honour, composed of citizens on horseback, halted in the streets. Soon after, the citizens defiled before the palace in military array, when his Majesty appeared with the princes at the balcony, and acknowledged, by repeatedly bowing, the joyful huzzas of the people.

About four o'clock the procession put itself into motion, to return to Herrenhausen. His Majesty rode in a state carriage, drawn by eight white horses, and passing through several streets, left the city by the Cleve gate to return to Herrenhausen. Another salute of artillery announced his Majesty's departure.

In the evening the city was finely illuminated. Transparencies and inscriptions were displayed on all sides, and there was not a single house unilluminated. His Majesty, with the Princesses, and the officers of his court, came to the city, and drove through the streets to view the illumi-

nations. The Duke of Cambridge rode by the side of the King's carriage Wherever his Majesty passed, he was received with transports by the crowds, who continued to throng the streets till a late hour, indulging in the happiness of having their Sovereign among them.

On the 11th a drawing-room was held, which, from the number of presentations, lasted from one to four o'clock, during all which time his Majesty remained standing.

On the 12th, in the forenoon, his Majesty was pleased to give a private audience to the General in Chief, Count Bennigsen, accompanied by Countess Bennigsen His Majesty then gave a public audience, sitting on the throne, and surrounded by the Dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, the ministers, the chief officers of the courts, &c to the deputation from the General Assembly of the States of the kingdom The hereditary land-marshal was at their head, having on his right hand the president of the first chamber, and, on his left, the president of the second chamber. His Majesty replied in the most gracious terms to the address spoken by the president, Count Merveld The high chamberlain then presented, in succession, deputations from numerous public bodies and cities.

His Majesty received them standing, and answered the addresses most graciously in the German language

In the afternoon, his Majesty was most agreeably surprised by the arrival of her Royal Highness the Landgravine of Hesse Hombourg, who reached Hanover some days sooner than the accounts that had been received gave reason to expect. In the evening, the officers of all the corps gave his Majesty a serenade by torch-light. His Majesty, attended by all the royal and noble personages now with him, appeared at the balcony of the palace towards the garden, and was welcomed with the loudest acclamations.

On the 13th, the King reviewed the troops assembled on a plain near Stocken His Majesty dined at a table of forty-six covers, at which all the royal Princes and Princesses, and the foreign Princes then there were present, as well as the foreign ministers to this court, and those who have come on special missions—his Majesty's ministers, and their ladies—the Marquis of Londonderry, and several foreign generals and admirals.

On the 14th, his Majesty transacted business with Count Munster and the Marquis of Londonderry In the ensuing night, his Majesty was seized with an attack of the gout in the knee. On the 15th, he saw only the royal Princes, and the Landgravine of Hesse Hombourg.

The serenade by torch-light, given by the officers, had an uncommonly fine effect Above 1000 torches, collected in a small compass in the garden of Herrenhausen, spread a mass of light, which, at a great distance, was taken for a large ball of fire

At the review on the 13th, fourteen battalions of infantry, several brigades of artillery, and eight regiments of cavalry, were collected The King, at whose arrival and departure a royal salute was fired, first rode along the line. By his side was his Royal Highness the Governor-General; behind his Majesty, the Princes on horseback, and the Princesses and a numerous suite in carriages, drawn by six and four horses. Both the troops and the numerous spectators (200 carriages were drawn up opposite the line) received his Majesty with the most enthusiastic transports of loyalty. When the King had retired to the centre, the Governor-General placed himself at the head of the corps, which then marched in parade before the King

The attack of gout was but slight, and in a few days the King recovered

The following speech of the hereditary land-marshal, Count Munster, was delivered on introducing the deputation of the States of the kingdom to his Majesty, on the 14th of October:

"Most august, most mighty King—most gracious King and Sovereign,—Your Majesty has granted to the present deputation of the General States of the Kingdom, at the head of which are the presidents of the two Chambers, the long-wished-for happiness of expressing before your Majesty's throne the sentiments of the most grateful respect of the whole kingdom

"What these sensations must be, your Majesty knows from your own consciousness, and the pleasing recollection of all that your Majesty has done for the deliverance and happiness of this country; and the remembrance of the fidelity of your people, which the hardest trials were unable to shake"

Hereupon the president, Count Von Meerveldt, made the following speech

"Most august King—most gracious Prince and Sovereign,—The most ardent wishes of the Hanoverians are fulfilled. After an interval of above half a century, they again behold their own Sovereign in the land of his fathers, and joyfully salute him as King on his hereditary throne. Only a few years since, fearing for our existence, nay, even for our name, we rise more vigorous from ten years' oppression, united in the interior by new bonds, and strengthened by an extension of our frontiers

"To your Majesty's power and firmness we are indebted for our recovered liberty, and for the blessings of a glorious peace—to your justice and to your elevated princely virtues, for the restoration of the old constitution. The benefit of a general representative Assembly of the States, which your Majesty's wisdom was pleased to add to our ancient rights, gives them a stronger guarantee in the union of all the provinces of this country in one kingdom.

"Most gracious King and Sovereign,—May your Majesty deign graciously to accept the sentiments of the most profound respect and the most devoted attachment, which we lay at the foot of your throne in the name of the General Assembly of the States of this kingdom

"May your Majesty find, in the unshaken attachment and fidelity which we inherited from our fathers, and preserved in the pressure of stormy times, the merited reward of all the blessings which we owe to your glorious and mild sceptre"

To which his Majesty was pleased to make the following answer:—

"I feel the greatest joy at finding myself in the midst of my faithful German subjects, and receive with pleasure, from this deputation of the General States of the kingdom, the assurance of their respect and love for my person and my royal house, of which I have already received so many affecting proofs. In the same manner as my endeavours have always been directed to the good of the country, I also expect with pleasing confidence from you that your endeavours will continue (as to my satisfaction they have hitherto been) to be directed to the same object"

The military evolutions executed on the 16th, were favoured by the finest weather, and collected an immense crowd of spectators, who were enabled to form a clear idea of the nature of military operations by the representation of a regular attack and defence.

On the 17th, the cavalry executed various evolutions. On the 18th, the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic was celebrated by a grand parade of all the troops.

In the evening, there were splendid fire-works in the garden of Herrenhausen, where every body had free admittance Notwithstanding the crowd, not the slightest accident or disorder occurred Cards of admission to the inner court, were given to above 2000 persons.

Friday the 19th, was appropriated to the royal pastime of the grand boar hunt

On the 25th, his Majesty gave pri-

vate audience to the Duke of Brunswick, and to numerous foreign ministers and persons of distinction presented by them Numerous presentations were also made by the High Chamberlain: Among these were the Hereditary Prince of Hohenlohe Langenburg, three Princes of Bentheim, and Count Bentinck Rhoon. The same morning his Majesty was waited upon by his State and Cabinet Ministers, and by the foreign ministers at the court.

His Majesty set out soon after 12 o'clock on the morning of the 29th, on his return to England, from Herrenhausen, having first taken a most affectionate leave of the Duchess of Cumberland, of the two Princes, George of Cumberland and Cambridge, and the Prince and Princess of Solms His Majesty was attended down the steps to his carriage by the ministers, the general officers, and the whole household, to whom he addressed himself in the most gracious manner, and gave the positive promise again to visit his German dominions next summer. The Marquis of Conyngham was in his Majesty's carriage. The most respectful silence prevailed among the crowd of spectators in the court-yard of the palace; and the most cordial wishes for his health and happiness, accompanied their beloved sovereign.

On the 27th, his Majesty went again to town, and inspected the royal stud, and dined that day in private. On the 28th, he gave an audience to General Count Tauenzien, and had the members of the public corporations of the city presented to him by the High Chamberlain, in the presence of the Ministers of State. The Marquis of Londonderry, Prince Metternich, the Count and Countess of Lieven, and the Marquis of Conyngham, were invited to dine with his Majesty in private In the evening several ladies were presented, and there was a concert at the palace.

From the frontiers his Majesty travelled under the name of Count Luneburg At Rotenkirchen, a deputation of 400 miners and inhabitants of the Harz, offered the homage of their countrymen.

On the morning of the 30th, the King's arrival at Gottingen was announced by a discharge of artillery. Gottingen is celebrated for its University, which was founded by George the Second. It was, therefore, naturally expected, that his Majesty would not pass through such a town with the same haste as he would through a place of less consideration; and the public opinion was not disappointed, for he was resolved to stay as long as the very short time he had prescribed for his journey would admit When his Majesty's carriage arrived at the principal gate of the town, where a grand triumphal arch was erected, a numerous train of young females, dressed in white and each carrying in her hand a festoon of variegated flowers, approached, with a poem placed on a scarlet velvet cushion; and his Majesty was pleased to accept it in the most condescending manner The first place to which his Majesty proceeded on his entrance, was the riding-school, where the students had made all the necessary arrangements for entertaining him with a carousal in the style of ancient chivalry. Here his Majesty was received by the public authorities; and the Professor of Riding in the University was in waiting, to exhibit before his sovereign specimens of his art, from the first essay up to the *acmé* of proficiency. His performance certainly shewed, that he was without a rival in his profession, and his Majesty was not more pleased than surprised at the exhibition The students were marshalled according to the instructions contained in a printed programme, and

they assembled in numbers, there being present not less than fifteen hundred. They rendezvoused at an early hour, in an open space, opposite to the library, and were placed in array by marshals chosen from among their body, wearing black coats, cocked hats, and scarfs of white silk tied round the waist. They marched to the riding-school in files of four deep, and formed an immense cavalcade. There were, besides, about fifty students on horseback, who were to serve as a guard of honour to his Majesty. These wore blue coats with red collars, buff leather small clothes and large boots, and cocked hats, with white feathers. Each of them carried a drawn sword in his hand. The riding-school is in the form of an oblong square; and on one side of it the students ranged themselves along in double rows, the inhabitants of the town standing immediately opposite to them, while his Majesty was conducted to an open pavilion that was placed at the upper end of the room, and hung with a rich drapery of crimson velvet and white satin. To this there was an ascent of seven steps, and two young gentlemen of the guard of honour stood on the first step in front of his Majesty. In the pavilion with his Majesty, were the Landgravine of Hesse-Hombourg, his illustrious sister, the Dukes of Cambridge and Cumberland, with their Duchesses, several minor princes, and the noblemen and gentlemen of his Majesty's suite, who took their station in the rear. A large party of the students now got on horseback, and went through various equestrian exercises, brandishing their lances with great agility, while they made a profound obeisance every time they passed his Majesty. Some Turks, in effigy, who stood as their opponents, were soon deprived of their heads. The young cavaliers shot them off with great adroitness, as they rode forward at full gallop, and displayed them alternately on the points of their lances, and of their long swords. They then rode a quadrille, and no French dancing-master of the first celebrity could have shewn more precision in the different figures than they evinced. As a conclusion to the scene, the riding professor held a spirited charger by two long reins of crimson velvet; and standing at some distance in the rear, made him, at the word of command, perform the different paces, and exhibit the different attitudes that come within the whole system of tuition. This latter performance might be said to be truly astonishing, whether we consider the ability of the master, or the docility of the animal. His Majesty partook of some refreshment before he re-entered his carriage, and was presented with two poems, one in German, and the other in Latin.

His Majesty's reception at Cassel was attended with all the splendour that military pomp could furnish. The Elector waited on the steps of the palace to receive his august visitor; and it was observed, that his Majesty declined the offer of his arm, though he consented to partake of an elegant *déjeuné*, which had been prepared for him.

His Majesty arrived at Coblentz on the 2d of November, at four o'clock; and proceeded immediately to the house of General Thielman, the commandant, where apartments were provided for his reception. On the preceding day, his Majesty, when he had got to Wetzlar, invited the general to dine with him; and so pleased was he with his conduct, that he presented him with a valuable ring, and gave him a letter to the King of Prussia, recommending him in earnest terms to the consideration of that monarch. However strong the differences are, which exist at present between the Courts of London and Berlin upon a great political ques

tion, they have not prevented his Prussian Majesty from paying every possible attention to our sovereign He visited the works of Ehrenbreitstein, a fortress on the left bank of the Rhine, and was surprised at the impregnable appearance they presented.

The King arrived at Cologne, November the 3d, at three o'clock P. M., and was received by the civil and military authorities at the hotel, which had been hired for his accommodation.

After passing through Brussels, Bruges, and Dunkirk, the King embarked at Calais for England on the 7th .

OCTOBER.

1st.—The Beacon—A weekly newspaper bearing this title, was established in Edinburgh in the beginning of the present year, with the avowed object of supporting the measures of Government; but it soon began to devote its columns to the defamation of private characters, particularly of the leading Whig noblemen and gentlemen of Scotland. This system of personal abuse had given rise to several actions at law On the 15th of August last, a very unpleasant rencounter took place on the streets of Edinburgh, between Mr James Stuart, W.S, and Mr Duncan Stevenson, the printer of the *Beacon* It had its origin in the insertion of an article in the *Beacon*, which Mr Stuart conceived to reflect upon his honour and character. Mr Stuart demanded to know the author, and Mr Stevenson referred him to a Mr John Nimmo, as editor of the paper; but he being known to be a journeyman compositor in Mr Stevenson's office, Mr Stuart refused to recognize him. This person, however, wrote to Mr Stuart, stating that he was authorized to give up the name of the writer of the article, on the condition that Mr Stuart meant only to seek the satisfaction *usual in such cases*, (meaning a challenge) After a long correspondence between the first-named parties, and much unsuccessful discussion, Mr Stuart made an attack on Mr Stevenson, in the Parliament-square, with a horse-whip, which Mr Stevenson retaliated with a cane. The parties were speedily separated; and Mr Stevenson, in the course of the day, demanded from Mr Stuart the satisfaction customary in such cases This was refused by Mr Stuart, on the ground, that, "as the servile instrument of a partnership of slander," he was unworthy of receiving the satisfaction of a gentleman. Mr Stevenson replied on the following day, by stating, that he should forthwith post Mr Stuart as "a coward and scoundrel;" and he put his threat into execution accordingly. Next day, both parties were bound over by the Sheriff, to keep the peace for twelve months

Mr Stuart, however, seemed determined not to let the matter rest here; and having learned that the Lord Advocate, with several other professional and private gentlemen, had signed an obligation to a considerable amount, to support the *Beacon*, he, in September last, wrote to his lordship, that he held him responsible for the calumnies alluded to, and called upon him for a formal disavowal of them, transmitting to him, at the same time, the numbers of the papers containing the attacks. The Lord Advocate declined perusing the numbers sent to him, or giving an opinion as to the articles alluded to, whilst certain proceedings were pending against the editor. He intimated, however, that the subscribers to the bond intended to declare their approval only of the political principles of the *Beacon*, and never had it in contemplation that the paper was to be-

come the vehicle of attack upon private character; that, as to himself personally, he had no concern in the conduct of the paper, and neither the articles complained of, nor any other in it, had received his sanction or approval. This explanation not being deemed satisfactory, several other letters were interchanged, and, at length, the Lord Advocate expressly disavowed all sanction and approbation of the attacks on the character and honour of Mr Stuart, "in Nos. 30, 31, 33, 34, and 35, or in any other number of the *Beacon*." The correspondence between his lordship and Mr Stuart having been published separately, and in most of the newspapers, the result was, that on the 21st ultimo the pecuniary supporters of the *Beacon* withdrew their bond from the Bank. The Earl of Hopetoun also gave notice, that he was to withdraw his frank from the paper after the 1st of October These proceedings proved a death-blow to the *Beacon*, which ceased to be published after the 22d of September.

ADMIRALTY OFFICE, *October* 9.—Rear-Admiral the Hon Sir Henry Blackwood, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships in the East Indies, has transmitted to John Wilson Croker, Esq. two letters which he had received from Captain Lumley, of his Majesty's ship Topaze, dated off Mocha, the 13th of December and 20th of January last, of which the following are copies:—

His Majesty's Ship Topaze, off Mocha, Dec. 13, 1820.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you, that having received the communications of the honourable the governor in council at Bombay, for the guidance of my conduct in demanding satisfaction for insults and indignities offered by the government of Mocha to the British flag, I sailed from Bombay on the 19th of November with the expedition which had been equipped, and of which I had assumed the command.

On my arrival here on the 3d instant, I immediately communicated with Mr Bruce, the honourable Company's agent, who had been appointed to assist me in this service, and finding from his representations, that he had abandoned all hopes of pacificatory arrangement, and that none but coercive measures would have the effect of inducing the government of Mocha to accede to the demands of the British government, on the receipt of his letter, recommending the adoption of those measures to me, and considering that it would tend to the benefit of the British interests, I lost no time in placing the squadron in the best possible position · and through the assistance of Mr A J Russel, master, (of whose professional qualities I cannot speak too highly,) in laying down buoys, I was enabled on the same afternoon to see the squadron advantageously disposed of, beyond my most sanguine expectations, off the forts and town of Mocha. At forty minutes past seven on the morning of the 4th, I commenced action, and kept up a spirited and well-directed fire against them until thirty minutes past twelve, when the enemy sent off a flag of truce, I then ceased firing, and gave Fukee Hassam, the Dola, two hours to consider of the terms that had been proposed; at fifty minutes past two, the terms not having been answered, I recommenced action, and the enemy having abandoned the north fort, I directed the boats of the squadron to be manned and armed; and at five o'clock they left the ship under the command of Lieut. William Moriarty, of the Topaze, for the purpose of spiking the guns and blowing up the north fort; before, however, the boats could reach the shore, the enemy succeeded in repossessing themselves of it, and occupied it in force. Lieutenant Wm. Moriarty, notwith-

standing, proceeded to land, and advanced with the most daring intrepidity up to the walls of the fort, under a heavy and most annoying fire of musketry. Finding himself unable, after repeated attempts, to force an entrance, and considering that all further efforts would be unavailing, and only tend to increase the great loss which they had already sustained, he felt himself under the necessity of retreating to the boats; which operation was covered in a very handsome manner by Mr Charles Napier, master's mate, and Mr Francis Stwell, admiralty midshipman, in the barge and launch of the Topaze

When I remark to you, that every officer disembarked on this service from the Topaze, was either killed or wounded, you will be able to appreciate the gallantry and devotion with which they led their men to the attack, and though it was not crowned with the success it merited, their conduct deserves the highest praise.

Amongst the killed I have to regret the loss of Lieutenant K. G. Atkinson of the royal marines, a most gallant and meritorious officer; Mr C P. Gill, who had conspicuously distinguished himself; and Mr F S Burnett, a young officer of the highest promise.

In the number wounded are Lieutenants Wright and Moriarty, Mr Alexander Morton, boatswain, a most zealous officer; Mr William Stephens, admiralty midshipman, and who has served long and with credit, and whom I beg leave to recommend to your protection; and Mr Robert Ward, admiralty midshipman, mortally, since dead, a deserving and gallant officer. The skill and attention which has been shewn by Mr James Foy, surgeon, and Mr William Porteous, assistant-surgeon, towards the wounded, merit my warmest praise.

In the evening I had ordered the Benares and Antelope, cruisers, to shift their birth, abreast of the town, to protect the bomb-vessel, which had been throwing shells half-hourly during the day The precision with which the mortar had been fired, was, at nine o'clock, marked by the breaking out of the flames in the town It continued burning until thirty minutes past three in the morning The conduct of Lieutenant and Adjutant Jacob, of the artillery, was highly praiseworthy, and claims my grateful acknowledgments He speaks most highly of the detachment of artillery under his command

On the morning of the 5th, at 30 minutes past seven, the enemy again hoisted a flag of truce, and, in consequence of the Dola having delivered hostages to ensure their compliance with our demands, I consented to a truce of 14 days, and have every reason to conclude that every thing will be satisfactorily settled as soon as the courier, who has been dispatched to Senna, can return.

During the whole course of the operations at this place, rendered extremely arduous from the violence with which the wind has blown, and the consequent difficulty of carrying them on, I have derived from Lieutenant Wilkie, first lieutenant of this ship, all the assistance which I could have anticipated from an officer of his abilities and experience.

To Captains Faithful and Robson, commanding the honourable Company's cruisers Benares and Antelope, Captain Jones, commanding the Elnard, Company's store-ship, and Lieutenant Elwin, of the Thames, Company's mortar-boat, I am highly indebted for their zealous and active co-operations. They report most fully of the conduct of their crews

In calling your particular attention to the distinguished conduct of Lieutenant Moriarty, I feel myself quite un-

able to render justice to his merits, and I therefore take the liberty of requesting you will be pleased to recommend him to the lords commissioners of the admiralty. (Signed)

JNO R. LUMLEY, captain

To Rear-Admiral the Hon. Sir Henry Blackwood, Bart and K C.B Commander in Chief, &c. &c

His Majesty's ship Topaze, off Mocha, in the Red Sea, Jan 20, 1821.

SIR,—In continuance of my letter of the 13th ultimo, I have the honour to congratulate on the success which has since attended the exertions of the squadron under my command, and the satisfactory termination of its labours at Mocha.

The anticipations I had indulged in, of being able to adjust amicably the differences subsisting between the government of India and his Highness the Imaum of Senna, and which I had been induced to form from the apparent anxiety expressed by the Dola to coincide with all our wishes, gradually dissipated before the evasive delays by which he endeavoured to prolong the term of the time, and which (out of a spirit of conciliation) had drawn from me a concession of five days beyond the stated period. Sufficient having been done on my part to evince the friendliness of our disposition, it became my duty to shew that we were not to be made the dupes of Arab cunning; and every thing being prepared for resuming hostilities, should it become necessary, at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 25th, I ordered the flag of truce to be struck, with the intention of recommencing the attack as early next morning as day-light would permit

The interval of the truce had been well employed in ascertaining the best approaches, and on the 24th, the Benares, Anteldpe, and Thames mortar-boat, had been warped into a channel round a spit projecting from the north fort, and placed on its rear face, forming a battery of five long eighteen pounders and an eight-inch mortar, the distance from 350 to 450 yards; his Majesty's ship Topaze was likewise warped as close as her draught of water would permit, bearing on the sea face, with a battery of sixteen long eighteen pounders, and eight thirty-two pound carronades, at a distance of 700 yards

Thus prepared, on the morning of the 26th ult, Mr Russel, (master) with a party of seamen to work the guns of the Thames, the launch and barge for the purpose of enfilading the beach, and at ten minutes past six A M. the squadron opened its fire against the north fort, it was instantly returned from the north and south forts, bunda, five-gun, and north-gate batteries. The peculiarly destructive effects of a cross fire were in ten minutes made manifest by the silence of the fort, and by ten o'clock compelled the enemy to abandon it, they retreated to the number of 150, exposed to a most galling fire of grape and canister from the in-shore squadron, under which they suffered severely. At twenty minutes past ten I went in-shore on board the Benares, and Lieutenant Jacob having reported that there were two practicable breaches, I made the signal for the boats, and sent them with the detachment of marines, Bombay artillery, and sepoys of the squadron, under the command of Lieut. Moriarty, to take possession and destroy it. The whole fire of the enemy was turned on our people while employed on this service, but the feelings which gave energy to their conduct were not to be impeded by any difficulties, and the celerity with which they pulled to land, the cool deliberate style in which they formed on the beach, and the steady

order in which they marched into the fort, in two divisions by the different breaches, excited my warmest admiration. I at noon enjoyed the satisfaction of witnessing the display of the British flag flying from the battlements; at three our people again embarked, having spiked all the guns, destroyed the carriages, formed and sprung three deep fougasses, which at twenty minutes past three burst with a dreadful explosion, reducing the whole to a complete mass of shapeless ruins. The Thames was employed this whole night throwing shells, with an effect corresponding to the precision with which they were projected

The demolition of the north fort having been thus accomplished, it became my next concern to turn our force against the south one, but the extreme violence of the wind prevented my getting the vessels into position, before the evening of the 29th, and the depth of water would not admit of the Topaze's being hauled sufficiently close to batter it with advantage; her fire was, however, useful in keeping in check that of the enemy from the different batteries in the town, and the brisk one preserved by the cruisers, required no addition to obtain the desired end.

During the days of the 27th, 28th, and 29th, we had been partially engaging, and on the 30th at sun-rise again opened our cannonade with effect, answering in description to that practised before It was returned from the south-fort, bunda, five-gun, and south-mosque batteries. At thirty minutes past nine, the enemy, to the number of two hundred or three hundred, were constrained to retire, as formerly, under a galling fire of grape.

The different detachments were again landed under the command of Lieutenant Moriarty, whom I sent on shore for that purpose, and at thirty minutes past ten, by hoisting his Majesty's colours, I observed he had gained possession of it

The work of destruction was once more proceeded in, and perfected a few minutes before one, by the explosion of five fougasses which had been sprung, reducing the fort entirely to a heap of rubbish. The Thames was employed throwing shells (in consequence of Lieutenant Jacob having been severely wounded) under the superintendance of Mr Russel On the morning of the 31st the enemy commenced firing from all the town batteries at the squadron, and a partial engagement was sustained As I, however, had no longer any object in exposing the squadron, I ordered the cruisers and bomb out of range, and in the afternoon shifted the Topaze out also.

The submission of the enemy relieved me from any embarrassment as to my further proceedings. Ameer Fathullah, who had been particularly deputed by the Imaum to treat with us, arrived on the 26th, and assumed the government of Mocha. Having evinced the inutility of opposing us, and foreseen the ruin impending over his country, through the removal of its trade, and the interruption of its supplies, he began to consider it wiser to adopt every means of regaining our friendship, and with a view of obtaining this end, sent off, on the 1st instant, a deputation of merchants to entreat a cessation of hostilities, and at the same time to say, if acceded to, he would himself come off the next morning to wait on Captain Bruce, and shew the powers under which he was authorised to act.

The returns of the killed and wounded you will receive herewith. I rejoice to say they are not so severe as might have been expected from the opposition we experienced; and the wounded, through the skill and attention of Mr Foy, surgeon, and Mr Porteous, assistant, are all doing well.

I have great pleasure in acquainting you of the cordiality which had subsisted between Captain Bruce and myself, and the great benefit the public service has derived from his aid.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. R. LUMLEY, captain.

To Rear-Admiral the Hon. Sir Henry Blackwood, Bart. and K.C.B. Commander-in-Chief, &c. &c.

A return of the killed and wounded, on board the ships and vessels of the squadron, employed in the expedition, under the command of Captain John Richard Lumley, of his Majesty's ship Topaze, in the attack against Mocha, on the 4th of December, 1820.

TOPAZE.—Lieutenant R. G. Atkinson, royal marines, killed

Mr C. P. Gill, master's mate, ditto.

Mr F. S. Burnett, midshipman, ditto

Lieutenant William Moriarty, royal navy, wounded.

Lieutenant C. M. M. Wright, ditto, ditto.

Mr Alexander Morton, boatswain, ditto

Mr Robert Ward, Admiralty midshipman, ditto severely, since dead.

Mr William Stephens, ditto, wounded.

William Neil, boatswain's mate, ditto.

John Brennon, quarter-master, ditto.

William Stewart, ditto, ditto.

1 seaman killed, 10 wounded, 5 severely, 2 of the latter since dead

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CRUIZERS AND ARTILLERY.—2 seamen, 2 of the Bombay artillery, killed; 1 seaman, 3 quarter-gunners, 1 private of native artillery, 4 seapoys, wounded.

Total—8 killed, 27 wounded.

Additional return of killed and wounded on board the squadron, employed as above-mentioned, in the attacks which took place between the 26th and 31st of December, inclusive.

TOPAZE.—1 private marine killed; 5 seamen wounded.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CRUIZERS AND ARTILLERY.—Lieutenant H. Wilson, of the Company's marines, wounded severely.

Lieutenant William Jacob, of the Bombay artillery, ditto.

3 seamen wounded.

Total—1 killed, 10 wounded

16th.—OUTRAGES IN THE COUNTY LIMERICK.—Ballinvirick, the residence of M. White, Esq. was attacked on Thursday night, at the early hour of eight o'clock, by a very large party, all well armed. Mr White had but one servant man in the house. They first attacked the door with a sledge, and required him to hand out his arms, particularizing the number and kind he had, and as accurately as possible, with a promise of their being returned after a few nights. Mr White refused doing so; on which they succeeded in breaking one of the iron bars of a window in the hall, by which a great number entered. Being so much out-numbered, Mr White put out the lights, and took his station at the winding of the stairs, and declared his determination to have the life of the first person who would attempt to ascend them, they remained for some time in the hall, and after a long consultation, retired, without arms, or even being allowed the satisfaction to search for them. Mr White's firm conduct is worthy imitation, and nothing is more clear than that a little determination would put down the dastardly assailants

On Friday night, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock, a banditti attacked the house of James Raymond, Esq. of Hollywood, and succeeded in taking off two guns and a blunderbuss. Mr Raymond was in Kerry, and being apprized of his absence, they attacked the front and rear of the house at the same time, breaking all the windows; but not being able to force an entry at the lower part, they climbed to a window on the second floor, which they

dashed in, and by this means accomplished their object. The same party also attacked the house of T. B Fitzgerald, Esq of Ballinvirick, and in like manner obtained fire-arms.

The houses of T. Furlong, Esq at Drumcolloher, and Captain R. Odell, near the Grove, were attacked for fire-arms on Saturday night, and the banditti beat off.

Several houses in the village of Ballingarry were searched on Sunday night for fire-arms

The house of Richard J Steveley, Esq of Glanduff, was attacked on Saturday by a numerous band of ruffians, who, we are sorry to learn, succeeded in obtaining seven stand of arms, but the arms were, on Tuesday night, sent back to him in perfect repair.

In the middle of the day on Wednesday, a gang of armed fellows, with their faces blackened, had the hardihood to enter Camass, the residence of J. Sullivan, Esq but were disappointed in obtaining fire arms, which Mr Sullivan had removed a short time before

The arms taken from Sir Aubrey de Vere Hunt, Bart. at Curragh, have been returned to Sir Aubrey's brother-in-law, Mr Rice, M P.

After the party took the arms from Mr Nash's house, they proceeded to the house of a respectable farmer, of the name of Wallis, a tenant of Mr Mason's, of Glenbrook, from whom they took a gun; and hence arose an erroneous report that Mr Mason's house was attacked.

On Monday night, about twelve o'clock, Mr Millwood's premises, at Courtbrook, were attacked by a number of men, who surrounded the lodge at the gate, and after threatening the people inside, and desiring them not to attempt to stir out, proceeded to strip the lead off the roof, a quantity of which they carried away. This is the third time Mr Millwood's place was robbed of lead, and once his house entered in search of arms.

A party of the military came up with a banditti on Thursday night, in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, upon whom they fired; one of them has been killed and several wounded—one man has been brought in prisoner to the bridewell of Rathkeale.

The yeomanry corps of Colonel Crosbie and Captain Leslie, nightly patrol the roads between Tarbert and Listowel, which prevents any outrages whatever being perpetrated in these districts.

Lord Courtenay's property is the chief seat of the disorders which for some time have agitated the county of Limerick This extensive estate comprises 42,000 plantation acres. The property fell out of lease between the years 1810 and 1813, when it was released at the enormous rate of the war prices. Abatements were granted at the peace, which have been discontinued for the last three years.

Lord Courtenay resides on the continent, and his property is managed by trustees, several of whom have proceeded to the district for the special purpose of investigating the circumstances, and we trust they will see good cause for changing a system so ruinous to both his lordship and the tenantry. In the meantime, the tenants have addressed a statement of facts to the public, which shews that they have just grounds of complaint, although it cannot in any degree palliate their violation of the laws of the country

It appears that the gentlemen deputed by Lord Courtenay's trustees to investigate the conduct of the agent, arrived at Newcastle on the evening of the 8th. They were met by a large concourse of the tenantry, who took the horses from the carriages, and drew them to the inn, amidst shouts of congratulation. The town was illumina-

ted, bonfires blazed, and the arrival of these gentlemen has diffused general joy

County Clare.—On Monday last, a process server from Ennis, who went to the house of Captain W V Taylor, at Burton-hill, in this county, within about two miles of Limerick, for the purpose of serving a latitat upon him, was, after serving the writ, pursued at a short distance from Captain Taylor's house by a posse of men, and beaten most unmercifully, and otherwise ill-treated, and the writ, with several other papers, and a small sum of money that he had about him, taken from him

— From the New York Advertiser.—It is but a short time since we turned the attention of our readers to the subject of the piracies committed upon the commerce of our merchants in the West India seas, and all along the route from here to South America. As the robberies increase both in number and atrocity, and as no effectual measures, as far as we have heard, have been taken to prevent them in future, we consider it the duty of every publisher of a paper to bring every fresh case distinctly before the public, that the opinion of the public may have a fair opportunity to produce that effect upon the government, which we fear nothing else will be able to accomplish With this object in view, we publish to-day two cases, one transmitted to us from the office of the Georgian (Savannah), published there on the 31st of August last, and the other from Norfolk in Virginia If such daring villainy as this is suffered to exist, the external commerce of our country will soon be cut up root and branch We are surprised that our merchantmen, despairing of aid from government, do not prepare themselves for self-defence. They are now subjected to the disgrace of being plundered, not only by sloops and schooners, but by the crews of long boats. Armed with deadly weapons, they bring to our unarmed and helpless merchantmen, and with the most insolent as well as blood-thirsty ferocity, rob them of the indispensable articles of their own and their vessel's safety. If we had no armed ships—if we were entirely destitute of naval force, there would be something like an apology for suffering this aggravated abuse and injustice to exist Even in that case, however, our merchant vessels ought to be suffered to carry their own arms for their own protection. But we have armed national vessels that want employment—we have officers and men that want active service—and the merchants pay enough for the support of the government to demand protection

We think the subject one of sufficient importance to all concerned in foreign commerce, to claim their most serious and earnest attention, and we should be gratified to see the merchants engaged in that commerce bestirring themselves, and adopting such measures for their own safety, as the exigency of the case seems to require.

— A letter from Barcelona, dated September 29, gives the following details:—"Sickness prevails in every street; our town has already lost two-thirds of its population According to the health-bulletins issued every morning, from 60 to 70 new cases, and about 30 deaths, occur daily. During the last three days the mortality has rather diminished.

"Barceloneta is more unfortunate The bulletins state the daily deaths there at from 40 to 50; but it is thought that the number of victims is diminished in these official announcements

"The greatest order is maintained at Barcelona, and the efforts of charity are unremitting A subscription has been opened, in support of the hospital, and for the relief of the destitute, which already amounts to 40,000 francs

(1666*l* 13*s* sterling,) and soup is distributed in various quarters of the town"

— From the 22d to the 25th inclusive, died in—

Barcelona	199
Barcelonetta	146
Seminary	44
Total	389

NOTE.—The above includes those who died in the city and in Barcelonetta, in four days, of all kinds of diseases, but the Faculty estimate that three-fourths are of the yellow fever

The number of patients now in the city, Barcelonetta, the Seminary, and the house of the Vice Queen, is 431, being an increase of 31 since yesterday. The number of deaths having been 76, cured and removed 13, and new cases 120

By accounts from Mequinenza, of the 24th, 25th, and 26th, the contagion seems to be spreading there also, but not in so great a degree

TORTOSA.—This unhappy town, which is filled with death in all its parts, and its vicinity, especially Las Roquela, where the contagion commits dreadful ravages, is worthy of the greatest compassion; and an hospital of convalescence is confided to the Sisters of Charity of San Vincente, Paul, and Young Eleves, who have offered themselves for this service, compelled by feelings of humanity. The Committee of this Junta has, for the second time, assisted it with some vinegar, chocolate, and rice. The greatest care continues to be taken in maintaining the cordon; and two unhappy wretches, who had the boldness to pass it, have been stopped, and given up to the rigour of the laws. An instance of the same kind carried the contagion to Mequinenza, which is now surrounded with a cordon. This fact, and that some persons from Tortosa and its country houses have entered Sarragossa and Fraya, has caused the Junta to declare Mequinenza infected, Sarragossa and Fraya suspected, and persons coming from all parts of that province in general subject to ten days' surveillance The port of Malaga is again declared suspected, a person having died on board one of the vessels, though his illness was not contagious

An article from Sarragossa of the 26th September, says there was no fear of contagion in that city

23.—About eight o'clock, another of those awful catastrophes which, within these few years, it has too often been our melancholy duty to mention, occurred at Carville colliery, near Newcastle. The pit had been re-opened for working about eight weeks, by the owners of the adjoining colliery of Wall's End. The workmen employed in it had been selected as the very prime, from the whole of the extensive works of the owners, and the ventilation was considered as complete as that of any mine on the river. We understand that there is a band (*i. e.* stratum of stone) in the coal, and that it was necessary to use candles in blasting it However that may be, at the time above mentioned, when fifty-five persons were in the mine, an explosion of hydrogen gas took place, which killed fifty-two of them, wounded dreadfully two others, one of whom is since dead, and only one miraculously escaped unhurt. The explosion shook the ground like an earthquake, and made the furniture dance in the surrounding houses. The body of one boy was blown high out of the shaft, and fell again to the bottom. By this lamentable event, twenty-six widows, and between eighty and ninety children, have been deprived of their support Forty of the sufferers were under forty years of age It is a most remarkable circumstance, that one of them told his wife, before setting out to work on the fatal morning, that he had dreamt the

pit was blown up, and she affectionately entreated him not to go; but he said it was but a dream, and waived her advice. The man who escaped, in the course of an hour, bravely ventured down again to the mine, to assist in bringing up his unfortunate companions. An inquest was on Wednesday held on the bodies, by S. Reed, Esq, and the verdict was, that "the sufferers accidentally came by their deaths, by an explosion of hydrogen gas in the workings of the colliery." On Thursday afternoon they were decently buried in Wall's End churchyard, at the expense of the owners of the colliery, who presented each family with a guinea for present use, and will afford them houses, fuel, &c as long as they may need them; but we have little doubt that the benevolence of the public will on this, as on other occasions of a similar nature, step forward to alleviate, as far as pecuniary benevolence can alleviate, the anguish of this unhappy and long train of mourners.

A respectable farmer named Widdicombe, residing at Winslow, near Yealmton, was unfortunately killed at Ivy-Bridge, by being thrown from his horse, a few days ago, at the moment the Regulator Coach was passing, by which accident his head was so crushed by one of the wheels, as to cause his death.

"*By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.*

"A PROCLAMATION

"TALBOT, "

"Whereas, we have received information, that, on Sunday the 14th of October instant, Richard Going, Esq a magistrate of the county of Limerick, and late chief magistrate of the police established in that county, was, on his return from Limerick, way-laid at or near a place called Curraheen, at a short distance from Rathkeale, in the said county, and inhumanly murdered by some person or persons at present unknown, by a discharge of fire-arms.

"Now we, the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland, with a view of bringing the persons concerned in the said barbarous murder to speedy and condign punishment, do hereby offer a reward of two thousand pounds, the same to be paid in the following manner, to any person or persons who shall, within the space of six calendar months from the date hereof, discover the persons concerned in the said murder, so as that they, or any of them, be apprehended and prosecuted to conviction, that is to say, the sum of three hundred pounds for each and every of the first five, and one hundred pounds for each and every of the next five persons concerned in the said murder, as perpetrators or accomplices, who shall be apprehended and prosecuted to conviction, as aforesaid

"And in order to induce any of the accomplices in the said murder to make discovery thereof, we do hereby offer his Majesty's most gracious pardon to any of the said accomplices, except the person or persons who actually fired at the said Richard Going, who shall give information, so as that the others, or any of them, may be apprehended and prosecuted to conviction, and so as said last-mentioned discovery shall be made within the space of two calendar months from the date hereof.

"And we do hereby strictly charge and command all Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and others his Majesty's loving subjects, to be aiding and assisting in apprehending all and every of the person or persons who was or were

concerned in the aforesaid murder, or in instigating the same, so as that he, she, or they, may be apprehended for the same, according to law

"Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 17th day of October, 1821

"John G Dublin, Erne, Frankfort, Castlecoote, Norbury, W Downes, Wm M'Mahon, D Baird, St Geo Daly, J. Radcliff

"God save the King."

Farther Particulars

On Sunday last, Richard Going, Esq lately in command of the county of Limerick establishment of police, left that city about eleven o'clock in the morning, for Rathkeale, on horseback, unattended; and on his way, stopped at the house of John Waller, Esq of Castletown, where he remained but a short time, from thence he proceeded by the road to Cappagh, and when near the commons of Rathkeale, and from that town not distant two miles, he was attacked by a number of demons, in the shape of men, armed, several shots in succession were fired at him, which, from the nature of the wounds, must have instantly deprived him of life Not content, the blood-thirsty villains approached the lifeless body, and, either with bludgeons or the butts of muskets, beat him desperately about the head. There could not have elapsed many minutes after the murder, when the corpse was found on the road by the next passenger; and the account of it having reached Rathkeale, his mangled remains were brought into that town about half past four o'clock at noon. There were five musket-ball wounds in the body, one of which perforated his heart, several superficial slug-wounds on the right side, two musket shots in the head, one entered the left temple—the ear split, and his face much bruised The right arm was also broken by a musket ball Mr Going, on leaving Rathkeale, took a case of pistols in his coat pocket, which it is supposed he had with him on his return, and were taken by the murderers; he had a considerable sum of money with him, which, with his watch, remained untouched.

17th.—Limerick—Mr Going's remains have just reached town, (and, melancholy to state, under military escort,) on its way for interment in the family vault at Kilnara, near Newport, county Tipperary The procession is attended by a vast concourse of most respectable gentlemen from the surrounding counties, and a numerous train of tenantry

Government have adopted the most prompt and efficacious measures for the reduction of that part of Limerick which is disturbed, to the dominion of the laws

— The Earl Falconberg, of Grimsby, one of the whale-ships in the late Greenland fishery, was cut through by the ice, under which the vessel soon disappeared, and the Leviathan, of Hull, was literally penetrated by the ice on each side, until it cut through, and carried away the main-mast. The loss of the fine ship Dexterity, of Leith, was attended with aggravating circumstances, for, having got twenty-two fish, a violent gale of wind came on while the greater part of the crew was absent in the boats, and the ship was driven on a reef of rocks and bilged; so that, on the return of her boats and seamen with six fish, sufficient to fill the vessel, it was found their ship was lost, and with great reluctance, but of hard necessity, it was abandoned. As the whale-ship Achilles was taking Dundee harbour, on Thursday forenoon, the 11th instant, she was, by the carelessness of the pilot, it is said, run against the powder magazine. The

eastern turret of the magazine was laid in ruins by the shock, and the bowsprit of the ship was also broken The Achilles brought home three boats' crews, belonging to the Dexterity of Leith.

— Some disturbances have lately taken place in the town of Douglas and Peel, Isle of Man The corn-dealers having conspired, and put an unnecessary advance on the price of that indispensable article, the lower classes collected and demolished the houses of several bakers and flour-venders A good deal of property was carried off by the mob, and wines and spirits were set flowing in the streets. As there were no military in the island, the gentlemen in the different towns, being joined by the half-pay officers, associated under the command of Major Nicholl, late of the 97th regiment, and having obtained arms and ammunition from the King's store, they succeeded in restoring order, after wounding two or three of the rioters, and securing the ring-leaders Troops have been ordered from England; the corn-dealers have lowered their prices, and the exportation of grain from the island is inhibited for three months On Friday se'ennight, at twelve o'clock at night, the Manx cavalry and half-pay soldiers were still on duty, and all was quiet

— A French paper mentions a recent duel which took place between two ladies in the forest of Boulogne Two shots were exchanged. The quarrel terminated as usual at a restaurateur's, near the Porte Maillot Motives of jealousy were, it is said, the cause of this hostile meeting.

18th.—Dr Dufour, an eminent French physician, died suddenly at Paris in the sixty-sixth year of his age. Himself, and fifty other physicians, had assembled at a dinner to celebrate the festival of St Luke, when, in the middle of the first course, he was seized with apoplexy, which, in spite of the medical aid of his brethren promptly administered, terminated his life in five minutes.

— The monument erected at Wittenberg in honour of Martin Luther, was commemorated with great solemnity on the 31st of October The day being extremely fine, the concourse of people was very great, and the whole was conducted with a degree of order and solemnity suitable to the occasion, and which made profound impression on the spectators The statue of the great reformer, by M Schadow, is a masterpiece Before the statue was uncovered, the ancient and celebrated hymn, "*Ein feste Berg ist unser Gott*," was sung in chorus, and had a surprisingly sublime effect. Dr Nitsch then delivered a suitable discourse, at the conclusion of which, a signal being given, the covering of the monument fell, and disclosed this noble work Many of the spectators, overpowered by their feelings, fell on their knees in adoration of the Almighty, who gave us this great man

The preacher then put up a solemn prayer, concluding with the Lord's Prayer, after which the whole assembly sung the hymn, "The Lord appeared, and restored to us his work through his servant."

In the evening a bright fire was kindled in iron baskets placed around the monument, and was kept up the whole night All the houses, not excepting the smallest cottage, were illuminated, the Town-house, the Lyceum, the Castle, and the barracks, were distinguished by suitable inscriptions, and a lofty illumination between the towers of the town announced the sense which the inhabitants of Luther's native place honoured his memory The students from Halle, Berlin, and Leipsic, conducted themselves in the most exemplary manner, and went at eleven at night to the market-place, where they sung several academic songs The

memory of this day will leave in the hearts of the people of Wittenberg, and of all Protestants, an impression of respect and gratitude to his Majesty the King of Prussia, to whom we are indebted for this solemn commemoration

NOVEMBER.

The most melancholy accounts have been received from all parts of the island of Jamaica, of the deplorable effects of the long continued dry weather The crops of yams, expected about this season, will be almost entirely lost, as well as every other kind of provisions, and it is feared that many proprietors will soon be called upon to purchase provision for their negroes Many cattle have perished from the want of water and food, and the next crop of sugar will be lost throughout several districts, the canes being irrecoverably withered.

With such a miserable prospect, the reduction of the poll-tax last year, in consequence of the loan of 80,000*l*, may be considered a most fortunate circumstance, and other and large loans must be indispensably resorted to, to defray the public contingencies, unless some immediate steps are taken by government for the relief of the ruined sugar planters, whose produce, at the present prices and duties, even under favourable circumstances, do not afford a sufficient profit to defray the necessary contingencies of their estates

16th.—Windsor and the neighbourhood was visited with one of the heaviest storms of rain ever remembered by the oldest inhabitant. The watery torrents descended with scarcely any abatement from nine till eleven o'clock. All the low grounds are inundated. The land flood from the Forest came so rapidly into the Sheet-street-road and the adjoining meadows, that horses and other animals were with difficulty saved; any sheep that may have been out must have been washed away The storm extended many miles round the neighbourhood.

21st.—CLONMEL —We can scarcely recollect an incident of such horrible atrocity since the burning of Scullabogue, in the last Irish rebellion, as that which occurred on Monday night, at or near "the Seven Acres," a farm so called, between Thornybridge and Cloneen, at the foot of Slievenaman, in this county. The place was the residence of a better kind of farmer, named Shea, who had recently put out some under-tenants at will, as they are called, who held without lease, by civil process, and had possessed himself of their lands. For this, he was served with a notice, that, unless he restored the old occupants, he should suffer for it, and being determined to preserve his property, and to resist the attack with which he was menaced, he provided himself with fire-arms, in sufficient number, for good defence, and got into his house two or three neighbours of resolute character for his help These precautions, it seems, were fatally rendered useless; for, at a late hour on Monday night, he and his numerous family, consisting in all of about eighteen, men, women, and children, found the dwelling-house in flames around them Shea, the owner, appears to have been the first to burst out on his assailants, but was instantly shot, and thrown back into the flames; another, making a similar attempt, shared the same fate; and before the murderers departed, every inmate was burned to death! This is the pith and marrow, so far as we can learn it from an eye-witness of the ruins, who has taken out Mr Thomson, the coroner, to hold an inquest on the bodies The conflagration, which continued until a late hour yesterday mor-

ning, was seen in various directions, at a long distance; and one gentleman, asking a countryman whom he met on the road, two or three miles from the place, what could occasion such a fire, was answered with perfect *sang froid*, "Nothing, I suppose, sir, but satisfaction they are taking for the poor people that were turned out of their houses t'other day." We acknowledge, without shame, that in the moment of this diabolical excess of savage ferocity being reported to us, we do not see what help language can afford, not to aggravate, but to paint the horror of such a sanguinary glut upon a number so large, and of whom so many, even in the eyes of these savages, must have been entirely free of any possible participation in Shea's assertion of his property—five or six are represented to us as children of the tenderest years! three, or, as some say, four, were friends joining him for his protection—all the rest were servants—and all—all mingled in one indiscriminate slaughter, of the most hellish character, because the owner of the land thought himself entitled to use the property that he paid for, and refused submission to the legislation of midnight assassins.

29th.—The London Gazette of the 17th September contained a notice, stating, that "the King had been pleased to remove Major-General Sir Robert Thomas Wilson from his Majesty's service." This measure was supposed to have been occasioned by some representations of Sir Robert's conduct, on the occasion of the late Queen's funeral procession through London. Sir Robert, who was then at Paris, immediately wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, demanding a court-martial on his conduct, which was refused. The gallant general then returned to London, where he wrote a letter to Lord Sidmouth, requesting a copy of alleged or suspected informations on oath, that he had plotted obstructions to the Queen's funeral. This request was also refused, but without any denial, either expressed or that could be implied, that such information had been given. On the 22d instant, Sir Robert wrote again to Lord Sidmouth, stating, that he had received information that a deposition on oath existed in the home department, of his having been seen on the 14th of August on horseback, with a porter-pot in his hand, encouraging the populace to pull up the pavement, and to oppose impediments to the funeral procession; and requesting that his lordship would direct a copy of such deposition to be delivered to him, that he might institute a prosecution for perjury against the person so swearing. His lordship next day acknowledged the receipt of the General's letter; but says, that he would not think himself justified in giving the directions for which he had applied. On the 25th a meeting was held at the City of London Tavern, at which resolutions, strongly deprecating the mode of Sir Robert's dismissal, were carried unanimously, and a subscription to remunerate the General for the loss of his half-pay has been some time open, to which many noblemen and gentlemen have put down their names for sums of from 100*l.* to 500*l.*

DECEMBER.

1st.—Early this morning, Newcastle and the neighbourhood were visited by a tremendous gale from the westward. A blast at once so powerful, and continuing so long, has not been known here for many years. Greater part of two new houses in New Bridge-street, in this town, was

blown to the ground by it A stack of chimneys fell on the roof of a house in Johnson's chare, on the New-road, and by the force of their fall removed a beam from its situation, which struck the head of a poor woman, named Brown, upwards of eighty years of age, who lived in the garret, and killed her instantly Her grandson, a boy of about nine years of age, who was in the same bed, escaped unhurt Such was the force of the gale in the neighbourhood of All Saints' church, that small pebbles were blown through some of the panes in the windows, exactly as if they had been shot. In the garden of Hugh Harrison, Esq on the Leazes, several yards of the wall with rails on the top were blown over The Methodist Chapel at Kenton, which is now used as a school, had the roof blown off, and two of the windows blown in. In Gateshead, part of the front of a house came into the street with great violence. A stack of chimneys fell, and broke through the roof of Mrs Ludlow's house, in the Back-lane, and lodged in the garret, which was fortunately boarded, or the Misses Ludlow, who slept in the room beneath, must have been killed. A window in Mr Price's glass-manufactory, fronting the river, was blown in, and forced to the end of the apartment Between four and five o'clock in the morning, John Dobson, servant to Mr Archibald Freeman, of the Windmill-hills, fell from the mill-wand, about thirty feet high, on a granary two stories high, and from thence to the ground He was taken up apparently dead, but medical aid being immediately procured, there are great hopes entertained of his recovery By the fury of the wind, many mills in the neighbourhood broke away from their brakes, and several wands, sails, &c have been destroyed, or more or less damaged The top and two of the wands of Bolton-mill were blown off A new mill at Northallerton was blown down.

A most awful and melancholy occurrence took place at Newton-house, the seat of the Earl of Darlington, near Bedale. Between three and four o'clock in the morning, the family were alarmed and called from their beds, by a most dreadful crash On flying to the spot, it was found that the wind had blown down a stack of chimneys, which had fallen on the roof of the room wherein Miss Russell, the niece of the Countess of Darlington, slept The roof and ceiling having been thus driven down into the room, choked the whole up, so that the door could not be opened; and no entrance was obtained until the panels were broken away, when Miss Russell was found covered with the materials of the roof and ceiling; and on removing them she was brought out in a lifeless state Hopes of resuscitation were for some time entertained, every means instantly resorted to, and skilful medical aid procured in a very short space of time; but, lamentable to relate, all proved fruitless, although every hope was not abandoned until near twelve o'clock at noon It was most wonderful, that no mark or blow appeared upon the face or person, but the features and the countenance were most placid and serene, as if she had passed from sleep to death Thus departed from this uncertain and probationary state, this amiable and interesting young lady, blessed with the brightest prospects, and in the bloom of life, being in the 20th year of her age. To add to the mourners in this sad scene of sorrow, Newton-house was full of visitors at the time, and it may be some consolation to reflect, that no other person sustained the slightest injury.

8th —About ten at night, Thomas Evans, blacksmith, of Rhydfendigaid,

in the parish of Caron, Cardiganshire, was most inhumanly murdered. Three persons have been committed to Cardigan gaol under the coroner's warrant, a verdict of wilful murder having been returned against them. A murder has not been committed in that neighbourhood within the memory of the oldest person, and such was the sensation felt on the present occasion, that above forty men came voluntarily on the Sunday morning (though the Sabbath is perhaps more religiously respected in that vicinity than in most places) before a magistrate, and requested that they should be sworn in as special constables; and they searched that day almost all the houses in the neighbourhood. The result was, that the three men were apprehended and committed

20th.—Glasgow.—How gratifying is it to all lovers of harmony, and to all those who conceive that the encouragement of the Fine Arts adds materially to the elegance, to the comforts, and even to the virtues of a people, that the city of Glasgow has at length produced a Musical Festival, in every respect corresponding with the spirit of her enterprizing and opulent inhabitants! Well aware that vocal music was particularly admired by their fellow-citizens, the managing committee determined to give an unrivalled preponderance to this department of their entertainment—and by engaging Catalini, Salmon, Braham, and Placci, shewed that they had a proper judgment in the choice of means which would at once gratify the public, and ensure the ultimate success of their undertaking; at the same time, their orchestra was numerous, and well appointed, and under that experienced leader, Signor Spagnoletti, did not fail to give, throughout their overtures and accompaniments, the most perfect satisfaction to the auditory. The concertos, by Signor Spagnoletti, particularly those of his own composition, brought down thundering applause The theatre of Glasgow, though perhaps one of the most elegant of its size in Great Britain, and capable of containing nearly 2000 persons, had, from a prevailing distaste for the drama, fallen into a state of neglect approaching to ruin, when the committee, with a spirit and energy worthy of the occasion, resolved to give it the most thorough repair, and with a degree of industry and good taste, which does them infinite credit, succeeded in renovating the house to such a degree of simple magnificence, that it was acknowledged by several gentlemen who had seen most of the theatres in Europe, that they had no where witnessed a more elegant and imposing spectacle. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, and the very short time in which the arrangements of the festival were completed, every part of the house was filled during each performance, with a display of beauty and fashion never before seen in Glasgow Catalani was throughout in most excellent voice, and although she had travelled direct from Bath, a distance of upwards of 400 miles, during the worst of weather, it was acknowledged by all amateurs that she never made a more brilliant display of her unrivalled powers than on the present occasion. Catalani never trod the stage with more elegance and dignity than on the present occasion; and the addition of *en bon point* which she has latterly acquired, adds much to the beauty of her person. We have lately remarked in the public papers, with much regret, several scurrilous attacks on Mr Braham's singing; and are informed, that a junta of musical miscreants, jealous of the high reputation and wealth of the great English vocalist, have been making many malicious efforts to de-

grade him in the eyes of the public We do not conceive it any great effusion of vanity to say, that we consider our judgment as at least equal to theirs, or the men of Chester, and declare thus publicly, and most unequivocally, that though from having read the venomous remarks of his puny rivals, we heard with a critical jealousy every note of Mr Braham; and though he sung in company with two of the finest soprano voices in the world, the effect of which might naturally throw the best tenor in the shade, yet we pronounce that his conception, taste, and execution, are equal, or superior now, to what they ever were in any part of his dramatic life, and that he is, beyond all comparison, in flexibility, expression, and volume of voice, the first tenor in Europe. He executed Italian music like a great master, and a native of Italy, his English songs (principally his own composition) in that elegant style peculiarly his own, which has given a grace and polish to English music previously unknown, and which his paltry detractors, in their greatest efforts to excel, attempt but an insipid imitation In Scottish music, he has surpassed all other English singers, and in a very successful first attempt of the admired ballad of Mc-Neill, which he made during this festival, he elicited the most intrinsically rich conception of that vernacular expression, which so particularly reaches the hearts of a Scottish audience, and, at the same time, unexpectedly gratified them with the purest pronunciation of their favourite Doric. Mrs Salmon's beautifully clear and high soprano voice, never was sweeter than during the Glasgow Festival. Her English songs seemed most congenial to the taste of the public; yet, in her Italian pieces, she displayed that science and execution for which she is so deservedly celebrated.—Signior Placci's buffa airs were a pleasing relief to the more scientific pieces. He seldom shewed his face without exciting the risibility of the audience, and we believe he never was better received than in Glasgow. Should we indulge in any further remarks on the merits of the different performers, this article, already perhaps too long, would become irksome to the reader, and occupy too much space, we therefore, with regret, are forced to conclude with one or two short remarks We learn, that a great part of the audience would have wished a more frequent introduction of Scottish music, and we know it was the sincere wish of the managers to gratify the public and themselves by doing so. From the Italian singers, however, it was impossible to procure it; and from the English, the few Scottish songs they knew were drawn from them with the greatest reluctance, as they felt an insuperable difficulty in singing Scottish music, before an audience learned and critical, both in the music and pronunciation. We are informed, that the more scientific part of the audience felt disappointed that no entire scenes were brought forward, where the whole singers might each take their parts From two of them being soprano voices, and some other circumstances, this was found difficult to accomplish, but we are given to understand that it is the intention of the managers, at the next Glasgow festival, to make such a selection of vocal performers, that while they can have equally well the usual variety of solos, duets, &c., they may be able to combine the whole in such a manner as to give the admirers of harmony the very superb treats of having entire scenes from the best operas of the greatest masters.

Government House, Sydney, *Monday, July* 16, 1821.—Civil Department.—His Excellency the Go-

vernor-in-chief, having returned a few days ago to the seat of government, from his late tour of inspection through the dependency of Van Diemen's Land, deems it expedient to give publicity to the following narrative of his voyage to, his progress through, and his return from, that dependency; especially for the information of those who may be desirous of being acquainted with the nature of the soil, and the state of cultivation to which that dependency has arrived

1. His Excellency, family, and suite, embarked in the ship Midas, Captain Beveridge, for Van Diemen's Land, on the 4th of April last At an early hour, on the next morning, the ship got clear of the heads of Port Jackson, and had proceeded some way to the southward, when the wind became contrary, and blew so strong, that she was obliged to return in the evening of the 6th to Port Jackson.

Early on the 19th the ship got again under weigh, and arrived at Hobart Town, on the river Derwent, in Van Diemen's Land, on the morning of Tuesday, the 24th, after a voyage of eleven days.

His Excellency's arrival being expected, his landing was marked by every degree of attention and respect by his honour, Lieutenant-Governor Sorell, the civil and military officers of government, and the principal inhabitants, which his station or personal regard could dictate.

2 It was with much satisfaction that his Excellency beheld the numerous changes and improvements which Hobart Town had undergone since the period of his former visit, in 1811; the wretched huts and cottages, of which it then consisted, being now converted into regular substantial buildings, and the whole laid out in regular streets; several of the houses being two stories high, spacious, and not deficient in architectural taste The principal public buildings which have been erected are—a government house, a handsome church, a commodious military barrack, a strong gaol, a well-constructed hospital, and a roomy barrack for convicts, which latter is now nearly completed.

The governor had the curiosity to ascertain the number of houses and population of the town; the former he found to consist of no less than 421 houses, and the inhabitants to amount to upwards of 2700 souls.

On the stream, which passes through the town, there have been four water-mills erected for the grinding of grain, and a neat battery has been constructed on Mulgrave Point, at the entrance of Sullivan's Cove, and on Mount Nelson a signal post and telegraph have been established. The governor observed also, with much pleasure, the well-directed attention which has been displayed towards the accommodation of the shipping interests, in the planning of a large substantial pier or quay, which is now in progress in Sullivan's Cove, for the convenience of ships or vessels trading thither, in the loading and unloading of their cargoes; which work, combined with the natural facilities of the place, will render Sullivan's Cove one of the best and safest anchorages in the world

3. The industry and spirit of enterprize, exhibited generally by the inhabitants of Hobart Town, bespeak a favourable opinion of their manners, and the numerous comforts enjoyed by them, as the result of their application, mark the certain reward which will ever be attendant on persevering industry; whilst the prevailing desire for the improvement of the town bids fair to render it one of the handsomest and most flourishing in Australia.

4. In rendering this tribute to the inhabitants, it would be injustice not

to refer much of the prevailing spirit of industry to the wise regulations and judicious arrangements of his honour, Lieutenant-Governor Sorell, under whose administration, during the short period of little more than four years, all the principal public buildings, and the greater part of the private ones, have been erected; and the various other improvements have flowed from the same source.

Beholding these rapid, extensive, and ornamental improvements of Hobart Town, the governor cannot sufficiently express his admiration of the superior talents and zealous exertions of Lieutenant-Governor Sorell, by whom they have been thus so happily produced, or so effectually promoted.

5 Having surveyed, with much pleasure, all the public works and buildings at this time in progress, or already completed, in the town and neighbourhood of Hobart Town, the governor proceeded on his tour to Port Dalrymple, on the 5th of May, for the purpose of inspecting the settlements in that part of the island; and in addition to his personal staff and suite, was accompanied by his honour, Lieutenant-Governor Sorell, and the Hon Judge Advocate Wylde. On the 10th his Excellency arrived at Launceston, being received by Lieutenant-Colonel Cimetiere, commandant of Port Dalrymple, the officers, civil and military, and the principal inhabitants at that station, with the most marked attention and respect.

6 After spending a few days at Launceston, during which he inspected the several public establishments at that place, the governor proceeded by water down the river Tamer, to the lately erected settlement of George Town, seat at York Cove, near the entrance of Port Dalrymple, and within a few miles of Bass's Straits.

His Excellency felt agreeably surprised at beholding the very considerable progress lately made in the erection of the more immediately requisite public buildings at this new station, much of which progress may be attributed to the personal superintendence of the commandant, whose head-quarters had been with that view removed thither from Launceston, in May, 1819.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Cimetiere, the governor is accordingly much indebted for the zeal and attention he has so beneficially exhibited in carrying his instructions, in regard to George Town, into effect.

His Excellency derived particular satisfaction from observing, that the troops and convicts have been respectively most comfortably accommodated; the former having a very good barrack, and the latter neat huts, with gardens adjoining, sufficiently large to supply vegetables in abundance.

The chief buildings completed in George Town, are the commandant's house; quarters for the civil and military officers; a commodious parsonage-house; a gaol; a guard-house; and a temporary provision store; and there is a temporary chapel; and a large school-house in progress, and nearly completed. The situation in George Town is not only beautiful, but also admirably adapted for all the purposes of trade, being situated on the banks of a river navigable for ships of large burden, and but a short way removed from the sea in Bass's Straits; and has the advantage of a plentiful supply of fresh water from springs in its immediate neighbourhood.

The governor having spent three days in admiring the progress of the new settlement of George Town, returned to Launceston on Saturday, the 29th of May, taking his route by land, with the purpose of examining the road some time since opened be-

tween those stations, being a distance of 34 miles. Owing to the original bad construction of this road, his Excellency found it nearly impassable for any sort of wheel carriage, which induced him to give directions for its being immediately and thoroughly repaired, for the accommodation of the inhabitants at each place

7. The governor, having found the original public buildings at Launceston in such a state of dilapidation and decay as to be altogether incapable of being repaired, whilst, at the same time, such buildings are indispensable, has given orders for the following to be forthwith erected. viz —

1. A gaol
2 A military barrack.
3 An hospital.
4 A commissariat store and granary.
5. A barrack for one military officer; and,
6 A barrack for an assistant-surgeon.

The only good building for the public service, being confined to a schoolhouse and temporary chapel, which has been lately built, and is strong and substantial.

8. Having surveyed, with much pleasure, the principal agricultural settlements near Launceston, the governor took leave of that part of the island, and proceeded on the 28th of May, on his return to Hobart Town, visiting the intermediate agricultural and pasturage farms, including the districts of New Norfolk and Macquarrie, situated on the banks of the river Derwent, above Elizabeth Town. On his route from Launceston to Hobart Town, his Excellency was induced, from local circumstances, to mark out sites of four townships viz —

1 Perth,—on the left bank of the river South Esk; 14 miles of Launceston.

2. Campbell Town,—on the north bank of the Elizabeth River; 28 miles from Perth

3 Oatlands,—on the bank of Jericho Lagoon, in Westmoreland Plains; 30 miles from Campbell Town; and,

4. Brighton,—on that part of Bagdad Plains, formed by the river Jordan, and Strathallan Creek, 35 miles from Oatlands, and 15 from Hobart Town; all of which are arranged with a due consideration to the accommodation and convenience of new settlers, they being all seated in the midst of extensive tracts of rich land, and forming, at the same time, a regular chain of stations between Hobart Town and Launceston, whereby the journeying between those places will be rendered both safe and convenient

With this view of the importance of these townships, his Excellency has instructed the lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Land to pay an early attention to their establishment, and to encourage useful mechanics to establish themselves at them.

9 On Saturday, the 9th of June, the governor arrived at Hobart Town, and has to express himself much surprised, and highly gratified, by the rapid state of improvement in which he found the several districts through which his route from Launceston to Hobart Town had led him

10 On the 20th of June, the governor, accompanied by Lieutenant-governor Sorell, and their respective suites, made an excursion to the districts of Pitt-water, and the Coal River, and were particularly gratified in beholding the highly improved state of those beautiful and rich agricultural settlements;—the agricultural settlers carrying on their farming concerns there, on a much more extensive scale than any others in Van Diemen's Land

In the district of Pitt-water, a por

tion of land having been reserved for the purpose of a township, his Excellency, finding it admirably circumstanced for that object, being in the midst of a rich soil, and well watered, approved of its location, and in compliment to Lieutenant-General Sorell, named the township Sorell Some progress has been already made at this place in buildings; a gaol has been erected, and the site of a school-house and temporary chapel marked out, which is to be shortly commenced on.

11 The various roads, well constructed, leading from Hobart Town to the different settlements in the interior, together with the strong bridges thrown across the streams and creeks crossing these roads, could not fail to excite his Excellency's surprise and admiration, finding that thereby the intercourse between Hobart Town and all the principal farming establishments, on both sides of the river Derwent, was rendered so very easy and convenient.

On the great line of road from Hobart Town to Port Dalrymple, one portion, extending so far as the north side of Constitution Hill, being nearly completed; another line extends as far as the Coal River and Pitt-water districts; and a third leads to the Macquarrie district, through New Norfolk, and including the settlements there on both sides of the Derwent. These roads, which have been projected by, and executed under the superintendence of Major Bell, C B of the 48th regiment, acting engineer and inspector of public works at Hobart Town, appear to have been most judiciously laid out, and expeditiously constructed, and reflect much credit on that gentleman's zeal for the public service. It is unnecessary to dwell on the innumerable benefits resulting from the country being thus intersected with good roads, the advantages being felt and duly appreciated by the settlers at large; and the entire line from Hobart Town to Launceston, a distance of 120 miles, which is now in rapid progress from both extremities, will be completed as soon as the numerous gangs placed on it can possibly effect so very great and important an undertaking.

12 From this interesting excursion, his Excellency returned to Hobart Town on the 22d ultimo, and it now chiefly remains for him to express the high feelings of gratification which he experienced throughout every part of his tour, arising from the happy situation of the people, the fertility of the soil, and the beauty of the country at large; all aided by the wise, judicious, and successful exertions of his honour, Lieutenant-Governor Sorell, who appears to be indefatigable in projecting, and carrying into effect, all those measures, which, by being persevered in, must raise Van Diemen's Land, at no very distant day, to the proud distinction of being one of the most valuable colonies belonging to the Crown The recent influx of several respectable free settlers, with considerable property, will not fail, under the auspices of Lieutenant-Governor Sorell, to hasten that period at which Van Diemen's Land will hold a high rank among the settlements of the British empire. According to a census, which had been completed only some little time previous to the governor's arrival at Hobart Town, his Excellency is enabled to state the following particulars: viz. —That the population of Van Diemen's Land is 6372 souls, exclusive of the civil and military officers; and that it contains no less than 28,838 head of horned cattle, 182,468 sheep, 421 horses, and 10,683 acres of land in cultivation.

His Excellency was also happy to observe, that by the introduction of the Merino breed of sheep, (some of

which have been lately imported direct from England, and still many more, sent by this government from the extensive flocks of the pure Merino breed, belonging to John M'Arthur, Esq), the wool is much improved, and though perhaps it may not altogether rival that produced in this part of the territory, yet will it soon attain such a degree of perfection as will render it a most valuable export to the mother country

13. His Excellency has much pleasure in declaring, that every information he required from the public departments in Van Diemen's Land, was furnished with the utmost promptitude and correctness, and the officers, civil and military, at the heads of those departments, are entitled to, and he hopes for their acceptance of, his thanks and approbation of their conduct therein

And his Excellency further feels it due to every class of the inhabitants in Van Diemen's Land, to express himself much gratified by the marked attention, kindness, and respect which he experienced invariably from the inhabitants, during the whole period of his tour, and he will always retain a pleasing remembrance of the good will and obliging disposition manifested by them towards his Excellency personally.

14. All the objects of this tour of inspection being effected, his Excellency, family, and suite, and accompanied by the Honourable Judge Advocate Wylde, embarked on board the ship Caroline, at Hobart Town, on the 30th ultimo; and arrived safe at Sydney, on the 12th inst., after an absence of near three months from headquarters

By his Excellency's command,
FRED. GOULBURN,
Colonial Secretary.

31st.—In the course of the past week, many parts of the south and west of England have been visited by very heavy rains, in consequence of which the roads were in several places laid under water for some time At London, the Thames rose on Friday to such a height, that all the cellars, and most of the kitchens, parlours, &c, on both sides of the river, were more or less under water The utmost consternation prevailed. Many of the kitchens in Great Surrey street had water in them a foot deep The main road leading from Vauxhall, was covered with boats conveying people to places of safety. Hundreds of families were hurried from their homes with all the unceremonious and destructive confusion usual at great fires Boats were seen gliding along the streets near the river, every where except where interrupted by high walls or fences. At Kingston-on-Thames, people calling at any of the neighbouring houses, were obliged to hire a punt. A post-boy returning to Egham, was surrounded on every side by the rapidly-increasing floods, he was with a great deal of difficulty saved, and a pair of horses in a chaise he was taking home were drowned On the road to Salisbury from London, the old Salisbury coach saved a London post boy and two horses, near Staines, after the poor fellow had been in water above an hour, with his head just high enough to avoid suffocation. All the moors and low grounds near Taunton present huge sheets of water. The Worcester mail could not get over Tewkesbury bridge on Wednesday. The guard was obliged to take a boat, swim a horse by the side of it, and mount as soon as the horse found his feet At Godmanchester, not far from Stamford, the people were obliged to throw the water out of their chamber windows by buckets The fens of Lincolnshire are three or four feet under water. At Plymouth, there was a tremendous gale on Thursday night, which, amongst other damage,

blew down a stack of chimneys, that so much injured the paintings and machinery of Mr Thiodon's Theatre of Arts, that what cost 1000*l* is not worth 250*l* The floods in the neighbourhood of Oxford have been so high, that all the entrances into that city have the appearance of springing from an immense lake. At Brighton, and the neighbouring parts of Sussex, there has been very stormy weather for above two months. No collier has been able to come on the beach for that time. The low lands in Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and some of the neighbouring counties, are under water. The guard of the Exeter mail was obliged to travel fifteen miles in boats.

PUBLIC AND PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

PUBLIC INCOME OF THE UNITED KINGDOM,

FOR THE YEAR ENDED FIFTH JANUARY, 1821

An Account of the ORDINARY REVENUES and EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES, constituting the PUBLIC INCOME of the United Kingdom of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, for the Year ended 5th January, 1821

HEADS OF REVENUE	GROSS RECEIPT, Total Sum to be accounted for			Drawbacks, Discounts, Charges of Management, &c paid out of the Gross Revenue			NETT PRODUCE, applicable to National Objects, and to Payments into the Exchequer		
ORDINARY REVENUES	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
Customs, including the annual duties, -	14,440,881	5	11¼	3,697,691	12	10	10,743,189	13	1¼
Excise, including the annual duties, -	31,714,935	10	9	3,092,687	0	6½	28,622,248	10	2¼
Stamps, - - - - - -	7,250,199	1	9¼	455,332	5	0¼	6,794,866	16	9
Land and Assessed Taxes, including the assessed taxes of Ireland, - -	8,694,733	0	5½	381,584	13	1	8,313,148	7	4½
Post Office, - - - - - -	2,310,599	1	10½	617,962	3	11½	1,692,636	17	10¼
Pensions and Salaries, 1s in the Pound, -	21,252	1	9	480	7	0	20,771	14	9
Pensions and Salaries, 6d in the Pound, -	9,559	6	5	296	17	3	9,262	9	2
Hackney Coaches, - - - - -	26,466	0	1	4,122	5	9	22,343	14	4
Hawkers and Pedlars, - - -	30,522	8	9	5,219	17	6	25,302	11	3
Poundage Fees, (Ireland) - -	4,392	10	8½	-	-	-	4,392	10	8½
Pells Fees, Do. - - -	878	10	0¼	-	-	-	878	10	0¼
Casualties, Do - - -	3,419	13	3	-	-	-	3,419	13	3
Treasury Fees, and Hospital Fees, (Do) small branches of the King's Hereditary Revenue, - - - -	515 132,967	0 7	1½ 4½	- 5,146	- 19	- 4¾	515 127,820	0 7	1½ 11¾
Total of ordinary revenues, - -	94,641,320	19	3	8,260,524	2	3¼	86,380,796	16	11¼
EXTRAORDINARY RESOURCES									
Property-Tax and Income Duty, (Arrears)	57,043	5	6¼	15,395	15	6	41,647	10	0¼
Lottery, nett receipt, - - -	175,154	10	2	19,000	0	0	156,154	10	2
Unclaimed dividends, &c. per Act 56, Geo III. cap 97 - - -	283,810	7	11	-	-	-	283,810	7	11
From the Commissioners for the issue of Exchequer Bills, per Act 57, Geo. III cap 34, for the employment of the poor, -	159,000	0	0	-	-	-	159,000	0	0
Surplus Fees of Regulated Public Offices,	25,849	1	4½	-	-	-	25,849	1	4½
From several County Treasurers in Ireland on account of advances made by the Treasury for improving Post Roads, for building Gaols, for the Police, for Public Works, Employment of the Poor, &c &c - -	61,664	1	2¾	-	-	-	61,664	1	2¾
Imprest Monies repaid by sundry Public Accountants, and other Monies paid to the Public, - - - -	195,728	4	4	-	-	-	195,728	4	4
Total, (exclusive of Loans,) -	95,599,570	9	9	8,294,919	17	9¾	87,304,650	11	11¼
Loans paid into the Exchequer, -	17,292,544	16	6	-	-	-	17,292,544	16	6
Grand Total, -	112,892,115	6	3½	8,294,919	17	9¾	104,597,195	8	5¼

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED JAN 1821.

HEADS OF EXPENDITURE	£	s	d	£	s	d
I. For Interest, &c. on the Permanent Debt of the United Kingdom, unredeemed, including Annuities for Lives and Terms of Years				47,070,927	16	5½
II The Interest on Exchequer Bills, and Irish Treasury Bills				1,849,219	13	0
III The Civil Lists of { England £857,780 4 4 / Ireland 204,231 3 10½ }	1,062,011	8	2½			
IV The other Charges on the Consolidated Fund: Courts of Justice in England	65,137	17	2¼			
Mint	13,800	0	0			
Allowances to the Royal Family Pensions, &c	327,066	8	9½			
Salaries and Allowances	56,948	4	9			
Bounties	2,849	0	0			
Miscellaneous	224,896	16	0			
Permanent Charges in Ireland	381,503	19	5¼			
V The Civil Government of Scotland				2,134,213	14	5½
VI The other Payments in anticipation of the Exchequer Receipts, viz.				132,080	11	9¾
Bounties for Fisheries, { Customs 277,091 2 7½ / Excise 81,261 12 8 }	379 212	15	3¼			
Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue { Excise 14,000 0 0 / Post-office 13,700 0 0 }	27,700	0	0			
Militia and Deserters Warrants, &c Excise and Taxes	51,426	6	10½			
				438,339	2	4½
VII The Navy, viz. Wages	3,454,000	0	0			
General Services	1,801,086	0	1			
	5,255,086	0	1			
The Victualling department	1 132,713	5	7			
				6,387,799	5	8
VIII The Ordnance				1 401,585	5	11½
IX The Army, viz. Ordinary Services 47,941,512 14 4¼ / Extraordinary Services 986,140 11 4	8,927,653	5	8¼			
Deduct the Amount of Remittances and Advances to other Countries	1,229	12	0			
				8 926 423	13	8¼
X Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other Countries Morocco	1,125	0	0			
Holland	104	12	0			
				1,229	12	0
XI Issues from Appropriated Funds, for Local Purposes				49,128	18	0
XII Miscellaneous Services, viz. At Home	2,324,652	16	9½			
Abroad	292,047	12	6¾			
				2,616,700	9	3½
				71,007,648	2	6
Deduct, Sinking Fund on Loan to the East India Company				156,906	18	6
				*70,850,741	4	0

* This includes the sum of £265,333, 8s. 6¼d. for Interest, Management, and Sinking Fund, on Imperial Loan, £36,672, 12s. 9d. Portuguese Loan

PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.

An Account of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT of the UNITED KINGDOM, payable in GREAT BRITAIN, as the same stood on the 5th of January, 1821.

	CAPITALS, at £3 per Cent per Annum			CAPITALS at £3, 10s per Cent per Annum.	Consolidated £4 per Cents.	CAPITALS at £5 per Cent Consolidated Annuities	
	Bank of England Annuities 1726	South Sea Old and New Annuities 1751	Consolidated Annuities	Reduced Annuities			
TOTAL DEBT of the United Kingdom, payable in Great Britain	£ 14,686,800	£ s d 21,037,684 13 11½	£ s d 398,828,865 17 0½	£ s d 201,171,660 17 0	£ s d 22,635,246 3 11	£ s d. 74,935,719 2 2	£ s. d. 141,830,057 9 7½
Ditto payable in Ireland	- -	- - -	- - -	- - -	19,376,637 12 3¾	789,784 12 3¾	11,289,803 9 3½
TOTAL LOANS to the Emperor of Germany, payable in Great Britain	- -	- - -	7,502,633 6 8	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
Ditto to the Prince Regent of Portugal, payable in Ditto	- -	- - -	- - -	895,522 7 9	- - -	- - -	- - -
	14,686,800	21,037,684 13 11½	406,331,499 3 8½	202,067,183 4 9	42,011,883 16 2¾	75,725,503 14 5¾	153,119,860 18 10½
In the Names of the Commissioners of the National Debt	- -	8,216,100 0 0	26,850,593 0 7	63,406,939 17 3	11,369,805 0 10	187,633 3 7¾	28,882 12 4
	14,686,800	12,821,584 13 11½	379,480,906 3 1¼	138,660,243 7 6	30,642,078 15 4¾	75,537,870 10 10	153,090,978 6 6¼
Transferred to Commissioners for Purchase of Life Annuities, per Act 48 Geo 3, cap. 142	- -	- - -	3,682,183 0 0	2,019,847 0 0	- - -	41,706 0 0	90,646 0 0
TOTAL	14,686,800	12,821,584 13 11½	375,798,723 3 1¼	136,640,396 7 6	30,642 078 15 4¾	75,496,164 10 10	153,000,332 6 6¼

PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT.

	* CAPITALS at L 5 per Cent. Annuities 1797 and 1802	TOTAL CAPITALS	ANNUAL INTEREST	Annuities for Lives, or for Terms of Years	Charges of Management	Annual, or other Sums, by sundry Acts	TOTAL of ANNUAL EXPENSE
	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d	£ s. d
TOTAL DEBT of the United Kingdom, payable in Great Britain	1,021,968 12 4	877,611,216 8 8¾	30,077,174 14 3	1,418,584 3 1¾	277,123 11 11¾	12,929,874 4 8¼	44,702,756 14 0
Ditto, payable in Ireland	- - -	31,456,225 13 10¼	1,274,263 17 5¾	43,724 6 2	553 16 11¼	404,542 0 9	1,723,084 1 4
TOTAL LOANS to the Emperor of Germany, payable in Great Britain,	- -	7,502,633 6 8	225,079 0 0	- - -	- - -	36,693 0 0	261,772 0 0
Ditto ditto, to the Prince Regent of Portugal, payable in ditto,	- - -	895,522 7 9	26,865 13 5¼	- - -	- - -	30,000 0 0	56,865 13 5
	1,021,968 12 4	917,465,597 17 0¾	31,603,383 5 2	1,462,308 9 3¾	277,677 8 11	13,401,109 5 5¼	46,744,478 8 10
In the Names of the Commissioners of the National Debt,	6,000 0 11	110 065,905 4 6¼	3,361,399 18 7	599 5 3	- - -	3,361,999 3 10	—
	1,015,968 2 1	807,399,692 12 5¾	20,241,983 6 7	1,461,709 4 0¾	277,677 8 11	16,763,108 9 3¼	46,744,478 8 10
Transferred to Commissioners for Purchase of Life Annuities, per Act 48 Geo. III., cap 141,	- - -	5,834,382 0 0	177,261 8 9¾	8,471 0 0	- - -	185,732 8 9½	—
	1,015 968 2 1	801 565,310 12 5¾	28,064,721 17 9¼	1,453,238 4 0¼	277 677 8 11	16,948,840 18 0¾	46 744,478 8 10
Add Annuities, payable at the Exchequer, unclaimed for three years at 5th January, 1821,	- - - - - - - - -					30,835 2 0	
						16,979,676 0 0¾	
Deduct Life Annuities, payable at the Bank of England,	- - - - - - - - -					383,000 8 0	
Amount applicable to the Reduction of the Debt of the United Kingdom	- - - - - - - - -					16,596,675 12 0¾	

REDEMPTION OF PUBLIC DEBT.

An Account of the Progress made in the Redemption of the PUBLIC FUNDED DEBT of the United Kingdom, payable in GREAT BRITAIN, at the 5th January, 1821.

FUNDS.	CAPITALS	Long Annuities at the Bank of England	Transferred to, or Redeemed by the Commissioners, from 1st August, 1786, to 5th Jan 1821	TOTAL SUMS Paid.	Average Price of Stocks.
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d	£ s. d	
Consolidated £3 per Cent Annuities,	516,379,744 7 10¼		128,391,627 0 0	83,583,903 5 11	65¼
Reduced Ditto,	395,131,452 0 1	- - -	244,861,855 0 0	157,017,569 11 0	64¼
£3½ per Cent Annuities,	22,635,246 3 11	- - -	4,334,500 0 0	3,598,504 5 0	83
Old South Sea Do		- - Old	6,891,600 0 0	4,730,759 14 0	68⅝
New Do Do	24,065,084 13 11½	- - New	5,140,500 0 0	3,571,885 1 9	69½
£3 per Cent Do		- - -	1,131,000 0 0	796,780 10 0	70½
Consolidated £4 per Cent Annuities	1,919,600 0 0	- - -	7,796,400 0 0	6,586,934 8 9	84½
Do £5 Do. Do	82,732,119 2 2	- - -	145,500 0 0	130,113 7 6	89½
£5 per Cent Annuities, Anno 1797 and 1802,	141,972,057 9 7	- - -	—	—	
£3 per Cent Do Anno 1726,	1 021,968 12 4	- - -	—	—	
Do Bank Annuities,	1,000,000 0 0	—	—	—	
Consolidated Long Annuities,	14,686,800 0 0	—	—	—	
£5 per Cent Annuities, formerly paid in Ireland,	- - -	1,359,435 18 8½	—	—	
Capitals transferred to the Commissioners, the Dividends on which have not been claimed for 10 years and upwards, and which are subject to the Claims of the Parties entitled thereto	1,643,510 2 1	- - -	180,296 9 4	155 334 10 2	86¼
	- - -	- - -	398,873,278 9 4	260,171,784 14 8	
			686,822 11 6		
Transferred to Commissioners, on account of Land Tax Redeemed, at 5th January, 1821,	1 203,187 582 11 11¾	1 359,435 18 8½	399,560,101 0 10		
	25,726,200 13 11				
Ditto, for Purchase of Life Annuities, per Act 48 Geo III	1,177,461,381 18 0¾				
	5,834,382 0 0				
Redeemed by the Commissioners, including Capitals, the Dividend upon which have not been claimed for 10 Years and upwards	1,171,626,999 18 0¾				
	399,560,101 0 10				
Unredeemed Debt of the United Kingdom payable in Great Britain, at 5th January, 1821.	772,066,398 17 2¼				

NOTE.

The Unredeemed Debt of £772,066,898, 17s. 2¾d includes £31,104,000, created Anno 1820, and the Capital redeemed of £399,560,101, 0s 10½ includes £17,064,000, being the amount of Capital obtained for the Sinking Fund Loan of £12,000,000, Anno 1820

TRADE AND NAVIGATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

I.—TRADE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

An Account of the Value of all Imports into, and of all Exports from Great Britain, during each of the three Years ending the 5th January, 1821, (calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation, and stated inclusive and exclusive of the Trade with Ireland), distinguishing the amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported, from the Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandize Exported; also, stating the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported from Great Britain, according to the real and declared Value thereof.

Years		Official Value of Imports	Official Value of Exports: Produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom	Official Value of Exports: Foreign and Colonial Merchandize	Official Value of Exports: Total Exports	Declared Value of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom exported
		£ s	£ s	£ s	£ s	£ s.
Value, inclusive of the Trade with Ireland	1819	40,135,952 0	44,564,044 14	12,287,274 15	56,851,319 9	48,903,760 16
	1820	33,625,740 17	35,634,415 11	11,278,076 17	46,912,492 8	37,939,506 17
	1821	36,517,262 0	40,240,277 10	11,490,339 8	51,730,616 18	38,619,897 8
Value exclusive of the Trade with Ireland	181[illegible]	35,845,340 0	41 963,527 0	10,835 800 6	52,799,327 7	45,188,249 9
	1820	29,681,639 16	32,923,574 18	9,879,236 0	42,802,810 18	34,248,495 6
	1821	31 517,891 1	37,818,035 13	10,525,025 18	48 343,061 11	35,568,669 9

2.—TRADE OF IRELAND

An Account of the Value of the Imports into, and of all Exports from Ireland, during each of the Three Years ending the 5th January 1821, (calculated at the Official Rates of Valuation, and stated inclusive and exclusive of the Trade with Great Britain), distinguishing the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported, from the Value of Foreign and Colonial Merchandize Exported —also, stating the Amount of the Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported from Ireland, according to the Value thereof, as computed at the Average Prices Current.

Years		Official Value of Imports	Official Value of Exports: Produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom	Official Value of Exports: Foreign and Colonial Merchandize	Official Value of Exports: Total Exports	Declared Value of Produce and Manufactures of the United Kingdom Exported
		£ s	£ s	£ s	£ s	£ s.
Value, inclusive of Trade with Great Britain	1819	6,078,720 2	6,436,950 14	84,078 9	6,521,029 4	11,776,860 14
	1820	6,395,972 17	5,708,582 15	61,882 12	5,770,465 7	9,747,206 1
	1821	5,167,014 10	7,089,441 11	89,781 6	7,179,222 18	10,308,713 11
Value, exclusive of Trade with Great Britain.	1819	1,073,660 7	736,325 17	24,057 17	760,383 15	1,423,099 0
	1820	1,093,247 8	558,261 10	25,948 11	584,210 2	956,069 12
	1821	921 542 5	577,519 13	30,886 11	608,406 5	855,983 4

NAVIGATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

NEW VESSELS BUILT.—An Account of the Number of VESSELS, with the Amount of their TONNAGE, that were built and registered in the several Ports of the British Empire, in the Years ending the 5th January 1819, 1820, and 1821, respectively.

	In the Years ending the 5th January,					
	1819		1820		1821.	
	Vessels	Tonnage	Vessels	Tonnage	Vessels	Tonnage
United Kingdom - - -	752	86,748	777	89,091	619	66,691
Isles, Guernsey, Jersey, and Man -	9	316	20	1,381	16	1,451
British Plantations - - -	298	17,302	328	21,701	170	9,847
Total, - -	1,059	104,366	1,125	112,173	805	77,989

VESSELS REGISTERED.—An Account of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, and the Number of Men and Boys usually employed in navigating the same, that belonged to the several Ports of the British Empire, on the 30th September, in the Years 1818, 1819, and 1820, respectively

	On 30th Sept 1818			On 30th Sept 1819			On 30th Sept 1820		
	Vessels	Tons	Men	Vessels	Tons	Men	Vessels	Tons	Men
United Kingdom, -	21,526	2,426,069	154,891	21,501	2,425,885	155,277	21,473	2,412,804	155,335
Isles, Guernsey, Jersey, and Man, -	498	25,639	3,595	496	25,712	3,613	496	26,225	3,775
British Plantations,	3,483	221,860	15,121	3,485	214,799	15,488	3,405	209,564	15,304
Total, - -	25,507	2,674,468	173,607	25,482	2,666,396	174,378	25,374	2,648,593	174,414

VESSELS EMPLOYED IN THE FOREIGN TRADE.—An Account of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, and the Number of Men and Boys employed in navigating the same (including their repeated Voyages) that entered Inwards, and cleared Outwards, at the several Ports of the United Kingdom, from and to all Parts of the World, (exclusive of the intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland respectively,) during each of the Three Years ending 5th January, 1821.

Years ending 5th Jan	INWARDS								
	BRITISH AND IRISH			FOREIGN			TOTAL		
	Vessels	Tons.	Men	Vessels	Tons.	Men	Vessels	Tons	Men
1819....	13,006	1,886,394	111,880	6,230	762,457	43,936	19,236	2,648,851	155,816
1820....	11,974	1,809,128	107,556	4,215	542,684	32,632	16,189	2,351,812	140,188
1821....	11,285	1,668,060	100,325	3,472	447,611	27,633	14,757	2,115,671	127,95[illegible]
	OUTWARDS.								
1819....	11,442	1,715,566	106,610	5,400	734,571	40,181	16,842	2,450,137	146,791
1820....	10,250	1,562,802	97,267	3,795	556,041	30,333	14,045	2,118,84[illegible]	127,600
1821....	10,102	1,549,508	95,849	2,969	433,328	24,545	13,071	1,982,836	120,394

REPORTS.

Reports of the Selfct Committee of the House of Commons on the Foreign Trade of the Country.

First Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to consider of the means of Improving and Maintaining the Foreign Trade of the Country: Ordered to be printed 9th March, 1821.

The Select Committee appointed to consider of the means of maintaining and improving the foreign trade of the country, and to report their opinion and observations thereupon from time to time to the House; and to whom the report relative to the timber trade, which was communicated from the Lords in the last session of parliament, and the several petitions respecting the duties on timber, presented to the House in the present session, were severally referred,—have, pursuant to the order of the House, considered the matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following Report:—

Your Committee have deviated from the course which their former report appeared to prescribe, and instead of proceeding to examine some of the burthens that were stated to press with considerable weight upon the foreign trade of the country generally, have applied their consideration to that particular branch of it, which embraces the importation of timber from the northern states of Europe, and the British colonies in North America. This they have done, as well on account of that branch having (as appears by a report referred to them) already occupied the attention of a committee of the other house of parliament, appointed for similar purposes, as of the anxiety they understand to prevail among the commercial and shipping interests, connected with the trade in question, and the inconvenience of a continued suspense in respect to the system which parliament may deem it expedient to adopt, on the expiration of the existing law, which, according to the latest extension of it, will terminate on the 25th of March in the present year.

In the imposition of the several duties, at present in force, on the importation of timber, the consideration of the legislature appears to have been directed to two distinct objects; first, to the protection and encouragement of the wood trade in the British American colonies; and secondly, to the augmentation of the revenue

Regarding them in this point of view, the first question that obviously presented itself was, to the maintenance of what part of these duties, if of any, the public faith might be supposed to be committed. A short reference to the laws which imposed the respective duties, and to the circumstances attending the periods at which they were imposed, has been sufficient to satisfy your Committee on this head.

Although the policy of giving en-

couragement to the trade in timber from the British American colonies, may be inferred to have been previously entertained, from the acts 3 and 4 Anne, and 5 Geo. III, by which bounties upon the export of it were granted, it does not appear to have been acted upon with much effect before the year 1809 At that time the course of events had placed our relations with the northern states (from whose territories our supplies of timber, as well for domestic as for naval purposes, had been chiefly derived) in a situation which gave rise to a well-founded apprehension, lest the resources in that quarter might entirely cease to be available for the demands of this country.

Under the influence of this apprehension, it was deemed advisable by parliament to resort to the hitherto neglected, though abundant supplies, to be found in our American colonies, and by adequate protection to encourage the transport of them, to meet the exigency with which we were threatened To accomplish this object, a virtual exemption from duty was granted to the timber imported from our North American possessions, while a large addition was made to that levied on timber from the north of Europe, first, by the 49th Geo. III, c 98, and in the ensuing year by the 50th, c. 77, by which the duties of the preceding year were doubled, making the whole duty on northern timber, including the temporary duty imposed in the same years, for the support and during the continuance of the war, amount to 2*l.* 14*s.* 8*d* per load These duties were again augmented by an addition of 25 per cent to the permanent duties on timber, in common with all other duties of customs, for the express purpose of assisting the revenue. The whole of these duties were consolidated by the 59th of the late King, and now amount to 3*l* 5*s* per load, when imported in British ships

From this statement it will appear, that of these duties (however they may all alike have operated in the way of protection to the colonial timber trade,) a part only can be said to have been intended for that purpose; viz. those which were imposed by the acts passed avowedly with the object of giving encouragement to that trade, amounting to 2*l* 1*s* per load, and which may be contended to have led to its extension by the application of capital, which, except for such inducement, would never have been so invested With respect to the exemption from duty in favour of colonial timber, that advantage was originally temporary, and has been since continued from time to time for limited periods, and although the persons concerned in the colonial timber trade may have had a just expectation that they should enjoy for a considerable period the advantages afforded them, as well by the exemption granted as by the duties imposed by the 49th and 50th Geo III; so far from any expectation being held out that the encouragement so given had been considered by government as permanent, or was intended to be indefinitely continued to them, that means seem to have been studiously taken to produce by explanation a conviction of a contrary tendency, and to impress them with the assurance, that previously to the expiration of the existing law, the timber trade would be brought under consideration of parliament, with the view of introducing an alteration into the scale of the present duties, that should render them more equal and more favourable to our intercourse with the foreign states with whom it was carried on. Your Committee are therefore of opinion, that there is nothing which precludes the consideration of these duties, nor any part of

them, which in strictness may not be open to any modification, either in respect to the rate at which they shall continue, or the mode in which they shall be levied, that parliament, under a sense of the public interest, may deem it prudent to introduce

The policy most advantageous to the country, as far as the mere supply of timber is concerned, would be, to obtain it of the best quality, and at the lowest price, without reference to the quarter from whence it might be derived; and the course of your Committee has been to inquire, first, to what extent the operation of this policy is infringed by the system of duties now in force; in the next place, to examine how far the limits imposed on its operation are sustained by adequate considerations of expediency; and lastly, to determine whether, by the adoption of any and what alterations, the duties might be rendered, as far as circumstances allowed, more consistent with the regard due to the principle on which this policy proceeds, and generally more beneficial to the commercial interests of the United Kingdom

It appears, that previously to the imposition of the duties in 1809-10, the supplies of wood required for the consumption of the country were principally furnished by the northern states of Europe; that subsequently to that period, a great and gradually increasing proportion of its supplies has been drawn from the British North American colonies; that at present the use of the timber from the north of Europe, owing to the price it bears in comparison to American timber, is in a great measure confined to the higher and more valuable description of buildings, and to purposes for which increased strength in bearing is necessary or desirable, that for less substantial buildings, and for the inferior purposes to which wood is applicable, the American timber and deals have been generally brought into consumption; and although the red pine of America (of which the quantity is relatively small) is said by several witnesses to be equal in quality to the fir from the north of Europe, yet the yellow pine, of which the great importation consists, is stated, when used in this country, to be inferior to it, except for particular purposes and in particular situations, from its supposed greater liability to dry-rot, and comparative deficiency in strength and durability. At the same time there is reason to believe, from other evidence, that much prejudice subsists on this head, and that in Lancashire, where the yellow pine has been a longer time in general use than in any other part of the kingdom, as well as in the neighbourhood of Shields, its qualities are considered as more valuable than they are generally esteemed; and there is repeated testimony, that when used in America, both in the construction of ships and buildings, it has been found to be free from the particular defect alluded to, and of a durability equal to that of the best timber of Europe.

The scale of comparative value attached by different witnesses to the wood drawn from each particular country, will be seen in the evidence of Sir R Seppings, Mr Holland, Mr White, Mr Copland, Mr Churchill, Mr Smith, Mr Haigh, Mr Belhouse and others, to which your Committee think it sufficient to refer.

That the supply of wood to meet the demands of the British and Irish market might be obtained with greater facility and cheapness to the consumer (if the means of purchasing and transporting it at the lowest rate were the only considerations to be attended to,) a reference to the account of the charges of obtaining and transporting it

from the northern ports of Europe, independent of the duty, will leave no doubt; and although, under the pressure of the duty, the demands of the country for superior purposes may have been such as to lead to the importation to a certain amount of timber from the Baltic, it yet must be obvious, that while this duty bears upon it with its present weight, it is to those higher purposes alone to which that species of timber can be applicable, and that a great proportion of wood of an inferior quality must be forced into consumption, both in avowed substitution for the superior timber in buildings, which thereby become less solid and lasting, and in a fraudulent application of it, when that of a superior kind has been contracted for, which, according to the evidence, if practised, can be with difficulty detected, expedients of this nature would probably not be resorted to, if the difference of price were reduced, and the inducement to prefer the American wood were less powerful It appears, too, by the admission of some of the principal dealers, that the difference is at present such as to be prejudicial to the trade itself, and to bring into the market from the colonies an excessive quantity of timber of a very inferior description, both in point of quality and preparation, and that some alteration of the duty, calculated to approximate the relative prices of the timber from the north and from the American colonies, would be desirable, if only to confine the supply of the market to a more carefully selected and better prepared commodity In addition to these inconveniences, the amount of the duty levied on Baltic timber, and the increased price which, under the operation of that duty, the American timber must have borne, may be considered as a bounty paid by the consumers of the united kingdom for the benefit of the North American colonies, and the support of the superfluous shipping, to which the transport of their wood is said to afford the only employment.

The prudential considerations by which the application of the same principle appear to have been limited, are, the danger incident to want of competition, from the exclusion of colonial timber, and from a reliance for our supplies on a single source; the possible failure of supply from the north of Europe, in a moment of necessity; the maintenance and employment of our shipping, and the effect that might be produced on the various interests connected with our American trade, and the capital embarked in the establishments for carrying it on The same prudential considerations, in the opinion of your Committee, at present forbid any recommendation on their part, tending entirely to take away the legislative protection hitherto enjoyed by the colonial trade; but, as the extent of that protection is admitted on almost all hands to exceed the necessary bounds, they have directed their attention to ascertain to what amount that protection, and in what mode, should be prospectively continued

In so far as any alteration introduced is favourable to foreign trade, it must have a tendency to produce an increased importation from the north of Europe, and thereby possibly to induce an increased demand from that quarter for the manufactures of Great Britain; and your Committee are inclined to believe, that an increased demand would be the result, as well from the desire for British manufactures that is said strongly to prevail in those countries, as from the extent to which the export of them has been maintained, notwithstanding the burthens imposed on the importation of this important branch of their produce into

the United Kingdom. Your Committee do not think it improbable, that a diminution of the export of wood from the British North American colonies might, on the other hand, be experienced, some diminution, as far as the trade is concerned, would be desirable, and indeed can hardly fail to take place, even independent of any alteration of duties, owing to the excess beyond the consumption of the country, to which the importation has been, by peculiar circumstances, recently enlarged. The causes to which we may attribute this excess, are, in part, the prolonged expectation of an alteration in the rate of duties, combined with the desire to take advantage of the time the present law may continue, and to anticipate the impending change by the greatest possible previous importation; and in part, to the amount of shipping (greatly exceeding the actual demands of our commerce,) which has been thrown out of employment by the conclusion of the war, and other circumstances, and which has been since engaged in this branch of trade, not so much because the employment was attended with advantage, as because it was preferable to the vessels lying entirely idle, incurring expense, and deteriorating in value.

As our intercourse with the northern states must be liable to be influenced by the fluctuations of political events, and as the exclusion from their ports, which has been once experienced, may at some future period recur, your Committee are apprehensive, that the consequences of any measure that might have the effect of placing our dependence for a supply of timber exclusively on those countries, might become eventually the occasion of serious political inconvenience and danger; and by the exclusion of competition, possibly defeat the expectation of comparative cheapness to the consumers of this country.

The alarms represented in the petitions from the shipping interest in various quarters, which have been referred by the House to your Committee, appear to proceed on a presumption of the necessarily destructive effects of any alteration made in the existing duties, a measure which is accordingly deprecated with corresponding earnestness. Your Committee feel the respect due to an interest so important to the power and safety of the country; and if all the weight is not given to the representations of the petitioners which they may expect, it is because the alarms expressed in them appear to be carried to excess, and the objects sought, not conducive to the general commercial interests of the kingdom, in which their own must be inseparably involved.

Your Committee see no reason whatever to imagine, that the alteration which they have in contemplation, would be attended with the effect of depriving the American colonies of their due participation in the benefits of the wood trade, although it might have a moderate and temporary tendency to the reduction of the importations from thence, and so far may, in the first instance, and for a given period, affect the interests of the ship-owners. In fact, the interest of the ship-owners is the one most concerned in the present question, while that of the colonies themselves, important as it is, is still a comparatively subordinate one. Your Committee fully concur in the wisdom of that policy which has rendered the British shipping a favourite object of the attention and vigilance of parliament; but they cannot feel, that, beyond the extent which may be rationally deemed essential to the safety and defence of the country, every other consideration is to be sacrificed to that object, or that it is consistent with the public welfare, that the care due to the interests of our merchants and manufacturers and every

regard to our foreign commercial relations, should be foregone, for the purpose of supporting by artificial means a mercantile marine in a state of magnitude, at which it has arrived from accidental causes alone, and which is neither conducive to the commercial prosperity, nor essential to the political security of the nation, and in which (unless by the opening of new sources of employment, or the extension of those existing,) the regular trade of the country is incapable of maintaining it. Of this, the great depreciation which all property in shipping is represented to have undergone, appears to your Committee to furnish sufficient proof

The degree in which the shipping may be affected by any change that is adopted, must depend upon the influence which such change is likely to have in reducing the export of wood from the colonies From the evidence of persons conversant in the uses to which wood is applied, your Committee collect, that for many of those uses, the wood imported from America is either indispensable, or preferable, or as good, or nearly so, as that brought from the north of Europe In reference to the first description, are mentioned masts for ships of large dimensions, both ships of war, and the more valuable description of merchant-men, which can only be found in our North American colonies, and which must therefore form a considerable article of import into this country under almost any state of duties To the second, all articles in which facility of working, and an extensive surface and freedom from knots, are required, and to whatever extent pine timber for these purposes is employed, the American wood, even at equal prices, would have a preference. To the last, the application to all inferior purposes, as for packing-chests, and various objects in the interior of houses, or in situations where it has the benefit of a free circulation of air; for such uses it may be fairly supposed, and indeed it is more than once admitted, that the consideration of mere cheapness would cast the balance in favour of the produce of our American provinces

The aggregate of these applications of timber, form a very considerable proportion of the general consumption of the country; and it appears to your Committee, that it would require something little short of equality in point of price with those of the Baltic, to exclude the timber and deals of the British colonies from importation for these purposes Nor must it be forgotten that the experience, obtained within the last few years, of the qualities and value of the American wood, which has had the effect of removing much of the prejudice that prevailed against it, in so far must probably have contributed to induce a permanent extension of its consumption

By the estimate of some of the witnesses, the excess of supply of American pine beyond the demand, is stated to be at present considerable, insomuch that a heavy loss is incurred by the importers. This circumstance, even under the existing duties, cannot fail to lead to a reduction in its future importation, and of course to a diminution of employment, in the same degree, of the shipping engaged in the trade. If the effect of an alteration of duty should for a time increase the demand for northern timber, it must also undoubtedly tend to a similar consequence, not likely to be more than partially counterbalanced by a corresponding increase of demand for British shipping in the trade with the north of Europe, from the ports of which a smaller number of vessels may be sufficient for an equal amount of importation.

By a diminution of the demand from America, the capital invested in saw-mills and establishments in those colo-

nies, stated at 150,000*l* may be liable to some injury It must be recollected, however, that the advantage given to the American colonial trade, on which these establishments were founded, has already extended beyond the period on which those engaged in it had any right to calculate, and having speculated on their own views of public policy, they can have no just ground of complaint, in the event of parliament taking a different view of what that policy requires, and subjecting these duties to some modification beyond the expectation which they had formed

To the Canadian propriety, the principal value of the timber trade appears to consist in the employment it affords to the persons concerned in agriculture and their servants, during a certain period of the year, in conveying the wood from the places where it has been felled, to the places from which it is to be conveyed to the ports of export; while the part of the business which belongs to cutting and rafting, is in many instances performed by axe-men passing from the United States for this purpose, who are understood to be more expert in these operations than the labourers of the British territories.

If what has been stated by your Committee leads them to expect some diminution of the export of the American colonies, from a change in the scale of existing duties, they have also reason to believe that it is only by a temporary restraint of that export that the character of the wood is likely to be improved, and its value eventually increased; such a diminution, therefore, is in itself by no means, in the contemplation of your Committee, a sufficient ground of objection on the part of the colonies to any alteration that may be proposed, unless it be such an alteration as shall be calculated extensively to exclude from consumption the timber of the North American colonies, and transfer the trade to foreigners Within certain limits, the trade of the colonies of Great Britain has a just claim to encouragement and support from the mother country; and to such claim your Committee are anxious to give full weight It is not, however, a question whether this encouragement and support should be given or withholden; but admitting it to be due, to what extent it should be carried, in justice to other interests, which have also their peculiar claims to attention, and which are, in the opinion of your Committee, also deeply involved in this discussion. On the fair regard shown to foreign countries, the extent of our commerce with them may depend, and in providing with too much partiality for the interests connected with the trade to and from our American colonies, we may put in hazard all those still more extensive interests that are engaged in the export to those countries which are directly concerned in the timber trade, (if not of our foreign trade generally,) by such a proof of deliberate preference of a principle of restriction, as the rule of our commercial policy

In maintaining the original duty imposed expressly for the purpose of encouragement to the North American trade, it cannot be contended that every claim on public faith is not fully satisfied. In point of expediency, however, and in consideration of the interests involved, your Committee are disposed to think it may be allowed to go even something farther in favour of the colonies. The difference created by duty on timber amounts at present to 3*l* 5*s* per load, if, by the effect of the alteration, that should be reduced to 2*l* 5*s*, which would leave a protection, after providing for the ordinary difference in freight, in the actual selling price of the respective descriptions of timber, of 1*l* 10*s* per load in favour of the imports of our North American provinces, your Committee can-

not but think, in recommending such a difference, they shall at least be free from the charge of not having sufficiently listened to the pretensions of the parties whose interests are involved in the colonial trade, and tendered as great sacrifice on the part of the country, both to the shipping and the colonies, as they can persuade themselves the House will be disposed to sanction At this rate of difference, it appears to your Committee, a fairer competition will be given to foreign produce, and a freedom of choice, (which, under the present relative prices, can hardly be said to exist), will be secured to the consumers, between the descriptions of wood brought from the respective points of supply, while a certain and large proportion of the consumption of the united kingdom will be assured to the American colonies, in the applications of their timber to those uses for which its qualities and comparative price must give it a preference

However the tendency of the evidence generally may be, to recommend an alteration in the duties, to such an amount as may prove a corrective to the trade, without impairing materially the consumption of the American timber, a considerable variety of opinion was expressed by the witnesses examined, as to the extent to which an alteration of the existing duty may be carried, without danger to the fair demand for the produce of our American colonies. Amidst the different opinions given, it was difficult for your Committee to determine the precise amount by which the relative difference between the colonial timber, and that from the northern states, should be reduced; and in fixing upon 20s, they have not only taken that sum as a point between the extremes, but have been influenced by a reference to the accounts of the market in several years, and particularly in 1816, 1817, 1818, and 1819, as it is given in a paper added in the Appendix, and in the evidence of two of the witnesses, when it appears to have been, according to the remarks of one of them, in a natural and healthy state, when a fair competition existed, when the prejudice entertained against American timber seemed to be on the decline, and the demand for it augmenting The relative price was, at this period, about or nearly three to four, which has recently been reduced to one-half, owing to the unnatural situation into which the market has been brought by excessive importations, produced by the various circumstances which, at the present moment, have contributed to disturb the channels, and change the character of the trade

Your Committee next proceeded to consider, in what mode that alteration of duty should be effected, whether by reduction of duty on Baltic timber, by an imposition of duty on American, or by a combination of both; and the result of their consideration has been, a preference of the last mode of producing the relative approximation they have recommended, in the prices of the respective descriptions of timber, by the imposition of 10s. on the American timber, and a corresponding reduction from the duty on that imported from the north of Europe This they conceive to be most effectual to produce the advantages they have in contemplation, by removing the excessive inequality of the present system, facilitating our intercourse with foreign nations, and marking our desire, as far as circumstances will permit, to adopt more liberal principles than those by which our commerce with them has been hitherto governed

The state of the duty on deals will not, in the opinion of your Committee, allow the same degree of relative reduction to be applied to it which has been recommended for that on timber

The rate of duty on long deals at

present falls considerably below that on timber, whilst on those of short lengths it rather exceeds it. In what principle this distinction in favour of deals, as compared with timber in the log, originated, your Committee are at a loss to discover, and are averse to recommend a continuance of it, at least to its present extent. They feel, however, considerable difficulty in proposing to equalize the duty on timber and deals, which, if effected by a reduction of the duty on timber, must be attended with a large sacrifice of revenue, and if by an addition to that on deals, might tend in some measure rather to impair than assist the foreign trade of the kingdom, by the effect it would have on the exports of wood from those states, of which deals form the greatest proportion. This, in the opinion of your Committee, precludes the application of a rule of strict equality to deals and to timber; but it appears to them, that while the amount of duty on timber is reduced in the degree proposed, a small increase on deals of large dimensions will in some measure lessen the distinction, at least as far as that class of deals is concerned. On the shorter deals, they recommend some reduction of duty, less with reference to the manner in which the duty at present bears upon this description of deals in comparison with timber, than in consideration of the difference in the quantity of wood contained in a given number of deals of the larger and smaller dimensions, which seems to call, in respect of the latter, for a more favourable assessment. Another alteration which has suggested itself to your Committee, is one that has reference to deal ends, on which a comparative low duty has been hitherto levied, in order to accommodate the ship-owner in broken stowage: this indulgence has been found to lead to great abuse in covering the introduction of timber of this description as cargo, (a practice never contemplated,) to an extent most injurious to the revenue. They therefore submit the propriety of confining the length of this class of deals to six feet, and making a moderate reduction in duty to which they are at present liable.

In consequence of the report referred to them, the mode of levying the duty on deals and wood of the other denominations, under which it is imported into this country, according to the cubic measure, has been an object of your Committee's examination, and although the reduction of them all to their cubical contents in assessing the duty, seems, on the first view of it, the most easy, as well as the most equitable, principle that could be adopted, your Committee have found reasons in support of continuing the existing mode (both as a matter of convenience, and as producing a degree of equality between the countries by which our importations of wood are furnished,) sufficient to prevent their proposing to the House to relinquish it. In preserving the mode, however, they are of opinion, that an improvement may be introduced into the scale now in use, by admitting a gradation of duty between the deal-ends and deals of the largest class, which, it appears to your Committee, would attain more effectually that advantage by which the existing mode of levying the duty is chiefly recommended

Your Committee have abstained from entering, in this report, into details upon the subject of battens, oak-plank, staves, deck-plank, paling-boards, masts, spars, and the other various denominations under which timber is imported, to which their attention has been directed. The duties on these will be influenced by those on the more important articles, and will make a necessary part of any measure

that may hereafter be submitted to the House.

The policy of a legislative preference being given to the importation of timber in the log, and the discouragement of the importation of deals, seems to your Committee very doubtful, both because they are of opinion that any advantage to be expected from the conversion of timber into deals in this country, will not be sufficient to compensate for the corresponding disadvantage to the general consumer, (to whom the deals would come with a considerable increase of cost,) and because it is founded on a principle of exclusion, which they are most averse to see brought into operation in any new instance, without the warrant of some evident and great political expediency

Your Committee have discovered, in the accounts before them, that the protective duty in favour of British shipping has been made to operate in different degrees on the importation of wood of different descriptions, varying from two and a half to five per cent, and in some unimportant instances falling below, as in others considerably exceeding these rates, on the value of the particular article imported; for this inequality, which introduces much perplexity into the collection of the duty, there does not appear to be any sufficient reason, and they therefore submit to the consideration of the House, the propriety of making the same duty attach on all importations of wood in foreign ships alike, and that the amount of difference between the importation in the foreign ship, and that in the British ship, should be fixed for the future at five per cent.

One only farther recommendation has suggested itself to your Committee, which, in concluding their report, they are desirous of offering to the House. It has appeared in the evidence, that a great proportion of the timber which is imported from the province of Canada, is the growth of the United States, and has been permitted to be received into that province free from duty, and has from thence been exported to the united kingdom, with all the benefits and immunities conceded to the produce of the British territory To obviate the objection to which this practice appears to your Committee to be liable, they are of opinion, that with every exportation of timber from the British provinces in North America, a certificate of its being the produce of those provinces should be required, and that timber imported without such certificate should be hereafter charged with the same rate of duty as would be payable on it, if imported directly from a foreign state.

In submitting the result of what has occurred to them in the course of their inquiry into this important subject, your Committee have only to add, that in the recommendations which they have tendered, it has been their endeavour, to the utmost of their power, to conciliate the claims of adverse interests, and the contending considerations of policy that demanded their attention If what they propose falls short of a recurrence to those sound principles by which all commerce ought to be regulated, they trust it will appear to the House, that they have proceeded as far as, under present circumstances, is consistent with an equitable regard to the protection due to extensive interests that have grown up under an established system, and which must be deeply affected by any material and sudden change to which that system is subjected.

9th March, 1821

SECOND REPORT, ORDERED TO BE PRINTED 18TH MAY, 1821

The Select Committee appointed to consider of the means of maintaining and improving the Foreign Trade of the country, and to report their opinion and observations thereupon from time to time to the House;—have, pursuant to the order of the House, considered the matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following Report:—

From the period of their submitting to the House their last report, the attention of your Committee has been directed to the commerce of the united kingdom with India and China, and the trade between those countries and other parts of the world. The advanced state of the public business, and the additional evidence yet to be received, before they can consider themselves as having completed their investigation into that branch of their inquiry, afford them no expectation of being able to produce a report, embracing a general view of the subject, in sufficient time to admit of any measure being founded upon it, and receiving the approbation of Parliament previously to the close of the session

It has, however, occurred to your Committee, in the course of their inquiry, that there are some branches of the trade, in reference to which farther facilities may be afforded, with great advantage to the interests of British commerce and navigation; and that such facilities cannot be delayed to a future year, without the risk of losing much of the beneficial results which, at the present time, may be expected from them This impression is founded rather upon general principles, and circumstances of general notoriety, than upon any particular evidence adduced before your Committee, however the tendency of that evidence may have been farther to establish the expediency of the measures about to be proposed.

In adverting to the peculiar system of laws by which the trade of the East Indies is regulated, the House cannot but observe, that the subjects of foreign nations, whether European or American, are in possession of privileges far more extensive than those which are enjoyed by his Majesty's subjects generally, and greater, as to many branches of circuitous and foreign trade, than have been accorded to the East India Company itself To relieve the commerce and shipping of this country from a situation of such comparative disadvantage, (for the continuance of which your Committee can discover no sufficient reason,) they feel the expediency of some measure, the principle of which may be, to allow British subjects, as well private traders as the East India Company, to carry on every sort of traffic between India and foreign countries, (with the exception of the trade in tea, and that with the united kingdom and the British colonies, with which they do not propose any interference,) which foreigners are now capable of carrying on; and have, therefore, come to the following resolution, which they submit to the House —

Resolved, "That it is expedient to permit his Majesty's subjects to carry on trade and traffic, directly and circuitously, between any ports within the limits of the East India Company's charter, (except the dominions of the Emperor of China,) and any port or ports beyond the limits of the said charter, belonging to any state or countries in amity with his Majesty.

18th May, 1821.

East India Trade.

Report relative to the Trade with the East Indies and China, from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, appointed to inquire into the means of extending and securing the Foreign Trade of the Country, and to report to the House.—Ordered to be Printed 11th April, 1821.

By the Lords Committees appointed a Select Committee to inquire into the means of extending and securing the Foreign Trade of the country, and to report to the House; and to whom were referred the Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee appointed in the last Session of Parliament for the like purpose; and also the several Petitions, Papers, and Accounts which had been referred to that Committee; and also the several Petitions presented in the present Session of Parliament on the subject of Foreign Trade:—

Ordered to Report,

That the Committee have met, and have proceeded in the inquiry, which had been entered upon by the said Committee appointed in the last session of Parliament, into the state of British commerce with Asia, including as well that which is carried on with the territorial possessions of the honourable East India Company, as that with the independent States in the same part of the globe.

In the conduct of this inquiry, the Committee have not thought it necessary to direct their attention to the commercial concerns of the East India Company, as administered by the Court of Directors, with a view to the interests, both political and financial, of that corporate body, farther than was necessary to elucidate the present state and future prospects of free trade, as affected by existing regulations.

This subject, therefore, naturally divides itself according to the various restrictions to which different descriptions of commerce in these regions are now subjected by law; that to the territorial possessions of the Company being carried on by licence only from the Company; that to other parts of Southern Asia, (China excepted,) and to the islands of the Indian ocean, by licence from the Board of Control; that to China being entirely prohibited to all British vessels but those in the actual employment of the East India Company, and the whole trade confined to ships of a certain fixed amount of tonnage.

The trade which is carried on by licence with the territories of the East India Company, is confined to the presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, and the port of Penang.—Some inconveniences and injury to individuals are stated to have arisen where circumstances have made it desirable to change the destination of vessels from one of these ports to another, after their arrival in the East, in consequence of the delay attendant upon obtaining a permission to do so from the local government This, indeed, may be obviated by obtaining licences including the above-named ports generally, which have been sometimes applied for, and do not appear to have been refused But the system of requiring licences does not appear to be attended with and public benefit; and a fee is charged for each of them.

A more material advantage might probably accrue to the free trader from being permitted to trade with other smaller ports on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, where the Company have already collectors of the customs established, who might effec-

tually counteract an illicit trade; whereby a wider field of adventure may be opened, and an additional stimulus to commercial intercourse afforded to the native inhabitants. It would, however, be necessary in this case to provide by regulations, which it could not be difficult to establish, against any abuse of this extension of privilege by British vessels carrying on the coasting trade, in which there is every reason to believe they might successfully compete with the native ships, which have hitherto been considered as enjoying a monopoly of that trade, of which the East India Company could not reasonably be expected to deprive their subjects, as long as they are precluded from carrying on the direct trade to Europe in India-built vessels. It must be observed, however, that the coasting trade is now open to vessels of other nations, those of the United States not being excluded from it, and instances have been stated to the Committee in which the Portuguese flag has been allowed to pass from one port to another carrying on trade, from which British European ships are excluded

The Committee cannot dismiss this branch of the subject without observing, that although it is difficult, from the great fluctuation which the free trade to the Peninsula of India has experienced since it has been admitted upon the terms of the renewed charter granted to the East India Company in 1813, to estimate fairly the precise amount of its increase, it must be admitted that its progress has been such as to indicate, that neither a power to purchase, nor a disposition to use commodities of European manufacture, is wanting in the natives of British India, whilst the minute knowledge of the wants and wishes of the inhabitants, acquired by a direct intercourse with this country, would naturally lead to a still farther augmentation of our exports. The great increased consumption cannot be sufficiently accounted for by the demand of the European residents, the number of whom does not materially vary; and it appears to have been much the greatest in any articles calculated for the general use of the natives. That of the cotton manufactures of this country alone, is stated, since the first opening of the trade, to have been augmented from four to five-fold And the taste of the natives for such articles may not improbably have been created in some instances, and extended in others, by that very glut in the market, which has doubtless, by its excess and consequent lowering of prices, frequently defeated the speculations of private merchants. The value of the merchandize exported from Great Britain to India, which amounted in the year 1815 to 870,177*l*, had, in the year 1819, increased to 3,052,741*l*; and although the market appears then to have been so far overstocked as to occasion a diminution of nearly one-half in the exports of the following year (1820,) that diminution appears to have taken place more in the articles intended for the consumption of Europeans than of natives; and the trade is now stated to the Committee by the best-informed persons to be reviving When the amount of population, and the extent of country over which the consumption of these articles is spread, are considered, it is obvious that every facility which can, consistent with the political interest and security of the Company's dominions, be given to the private trader for the distribution of his exports, by increasing the number of points at which he may have the option of touching in pursuit of a market, cannot fail to promote a more ready and extensive demand

If the restriction of trade to vessels of the burden of 350 tons and up-

wards, in all seas and countries within the limits of the East India Company's charter, has any tendency to check the operations of the private trader in a direct commerce with the dominions of the East India Company, it can hardly fail to operate still more as an impediment to his exertions in seeking new channels of commerce, or extending those which already exist with other countries and islands in the same part of the globe. Here a field, in a great measure new, would be opened by the free admission to trade of vessels of a smaller burthen. It is stated to the Committee, by persons who have been most interested in forming a correct opinion upon the subject, that in a trade with the native powers in the Gulph of Persia, along the Red Sea, and on the eastern coast of Africa, as well as with the islands and countries to the eastward of the Company's dominions in Asia, small vessels would be employed in preference to large, from the nature of the navigation, and the great value and small bulk of some of the articles, as well as the description of markets where such trade would be carried on. Some apprehension, indeed, has been stated to exist, that vessels of that description might be exposed to frequent depredations from pirates, who infest those seas; but it does not appear that there is any difference in the rate of insurance required from large and small ships, if there is a risk, however, the private merchant might safely be left to consider how far it applies to his particular case; while the American trade in those seas, which is carried on as well in vessels below as above the burden of 350 tons, is not stated at any time to have suffered materially from such dangers. It may be remarked, that although the native governments of India have been generally supposed to be unfavourable upon system to foreign commerce, no recent instance of such disposition has been adduced, the French, on the contrary, are stated to have been remarkably successful in some recent attempts to open a commercial intercourse with Cochin China; and the recent knowledge which has been acquired of the manners and habits of the inhabitants in some of the islands of the Malay race, leads to a much more favourable opinion of their character and aptitude for civil and commercial intercourse than was previously entertained

The maintenance of a free port, eligibly situated amongst the Indian islands under British protection, which the magnitude of our establishments in that quarter of the globe may enable us to support at much less expense than any other nation, may be attended with the greatest benefit to commerce and civilization. The importance of such a station, and the quick perception of its advantages, formed by the native traders in that part of the globe, may be estimated by the rapid rise of the port of Singapore, during the year that it has been in the possession of the British government, and opened for the purposes of general trade. The population, which had before scarcely amounted to 200 souls, in three months increased to not less than 3000, and now exceeds 10,000 in the whole—while 173 sail of vessels of different descriptions arrived and sailed in the course of the first two months

The commerce with China is carried on by the East India Company, in whom the sole and exclusive right of trading with the ports of that empire, as well as the sole and exclusive right of trading and trafficking in tea to and from all the islands and ports between the Cape of Good Hope and Straits of Magellan, is now vested by law. The value and extent of this trade has naturally attracted the attention of the private merchant; and

although it could not be contemplated that the East India Company would willingly relinquish so important a privilege, an earnest desire has been expressed, that the British free trader might be permitted, even previous to the expiration of the charter, to embark in those branches of the trade which the Company neither carries on itself, nor appears to be immediately interested in, and in which the only competition to be encountered by the British merchant, would be that of the foreign trader

Of this description, may be considered the trade in tea, and other articles, between Canton and foreign Europe; the tea trade within the limits of the Company's charter, exclusive of the ports of the Chinese empire; and the trade between Canton and the western shores of North and South America

The hopes entertained by merchants and others, who have the best means of information, of benefit to commerce from such an extension of its freedom, as well as the apprehensions, felt by persons of great experience in the direction of the affairs, and in the service of the East India Company, of the risk with which such an extension may be attended to their political and commercial interests, will be found fully stated in the evidence and documents contained in the Appendix.

On the one hand, it is confidently stated, that the low rate of British freight, and other advantages possessed by the British merchantmen, would enable the British free trader to enter into an immediate and successful competition with those of other countries, and more particularly of the United States, by whom these branches of commerce have been carried on for some years past, with every appearance of progressive increase and prosperity, that thus a portion of Europe might be supplied with tea by the British trader; that the export of furs from America, which now takes place even from the British territories in American vessels, would be carried on by British shipping; and that at all events, that portion of the Eastern trade, which is carried on by the export of British manufactures in American vessels, would fall into the hands of the British merchant, with greater opportunities of extending it, afforded by a more direct intercourse, and, on the other hand, it is stated to afford reasonable ground for alarm, that the seamen, who would be admitted under such circumstances to the port of Canton, might probably be a character so different from that of the seamen employed on board the vessels of the United States, and be subject to a discipline so inferior to that which prevails on board of the larger description of vessels employed in the service of the East India Company, that disputes might take place, and excesses be occasioned, which might produce fatal consequences, by awaking the jealousy, or exciting the anger, of the Chinese government.

It is also apprehended, that the admission of new competitors into the market might lead to some deterioration in quality, or enhancement in the prices of teas, which are now regulated by arrangements made previously to their coming into the market, between the servants of the Company and the Hong merchants, who enjoy a monopoly of the sale of that article.

To what extent such hopes or such apprehensions might be realized, in the progress of a trade which has never yet been permitted to exist, it is difficult, perhaps, to form an accurate judgment. The most natural, and indeed the only means of forming one, must be derived from the circumstances and progress of the foreign independent trade, and more especially that of the vessels of the United States with the

port of Canton. That trade, although carried on in vessels of nearly the same description that would probably be employed by the British merchants, has continued to flourish without being productive of injurious consequences, either to trade in general, or to that of the East India Company in particular It is stated, that it would not have done so, had it not been for the protection, and other advantages, derived from the establishment of the Company's factory at Canton; but no satisfactory reason has been assigned, why the British free trader should not derive the same benefit from its countenance and protection, to which he certainly would not be less entitled. It must also be observed, that the circumstance which has principally been relied upon as constituting the difference between the character of the American and British seaman, namely, the former having a share in the profits of the voyage, applies only to that portion (not a large one) of their trade with Canton, which is employed in the export of furs from North America; and might be expected to apply in the same degree, as far as respects that portion of trade, to British vessels, if permitted to engage in it. It is admitted, also, that all danger arising from disputes is greatly diminished, if not entirely removed, by the abolition of the custom which permitted seamen to go, at particular periods, in large bodies, and under no control, to enjoy liberty-days on shore at Canton.

In the course of the last few years, the imports of the United States into China, (comparing an average of the years 1804-5, 1805-6, 1806-7, with an average of 1816-17, 1817-18, 1818-19, being the last years of which the Committee have received an account,) appear nearly to have doubled. It is alleged, that the principal part of these imports consists of metals and other articles, which the merchants in the United States have a greater facility in procuring than those of other countries There can be no doubt, however, that articles of British manufacture are directly exported to China from this country by Americans, and it appears from an account procured at the Custom-house, that the declared value of those articles exported to countries within the limits of the East India Company's Charter, in foreign vessels, and presumed to be chiefly to Canton, was, in the last year, to the amount of 178,358*l*; and it affords some indication of an increasing taste for British manufactures in China, that an opinion prevails that they are now introduced into the northern parts of that empire, subject to all the delay and inconvenience of transport by land, through Russia and the caravan trade, of which Kiakta and its immediate neighbourhood is the great depot, and which appears recently to have experienced a considerable increase.

What portion of the teas, and other articles, exported from China, in vessels of the United States, is destined for America, and what for European consumption, it is difficult precisely to determine Although doubts have been expressed, whether the demand arising from the latter constitutes a permanent or a considerable portion of their trade, it may fairly be assumed, that a contrary opinion prevails in America, as it is stated in the report upon American currency, laid before the House of Representatives in 1819, "That the annual exports in American vessels from the United States, and all other ports, to China and the East Indies, can hardly be estimated at more than 12,000,000 of dollars; and it cannot be doubted, that the sales of East India articles in Europe exceed that amount. The value of merchandize from China and India, consumed an-

nually in the United States, is probably equal to 5,000,000 dollars; and if this be so, the consumption of East India articles by the United States is paid for by the mere profit of the trade."

On the whole, the Committee are inclined to the opinion, that regulations might be established at Canton, either by placing the free trade of Canton under the superintendance of a consul, or investing the principal servants of the Company with some authority over the seamen engaged in the free trade, by which any apprehension or inconvenience might be removed, and without interfering with the monopoly of the British market enjoyed by the East India Company, the British merchant might be safely admitted to a participation in a trade which has proved safe, lucrative, and capable of great improvement in the hands of the foreign trader

In the event of these obstacles, however, being considered insurmountable, the maintenance of the establishment at Sincapore, to which vessels frequently come down from China in five days, or of any other free port as advantageously situated, might, considering the readiness of the Chinese to engage actively by every means, direct and indirect, in trade, prove highly advantageous to the interests of British commerce, if permitted to engage in the tea-trade within the limits of the East India charter, exclusive of the ports of the Chinese empire

The Committee cannot conceal from themselves, that in the present state of the law, no material benefit or facility to free trade in this quarter of the globe can be obtained, without infringing in a greater or less degree upon the privileges vested in the East India Company, until the year 1834, when their present Charter expires; and that their consent may be required to any measures which may be submitted for that purpose to the consideration of Parliament At the same time, considering that no propositions here suggested are intended directly or indirectly to affect the monopoly enjoyed by the Company of the home market, to which the greatest importance is justly attached, but that their object is confined to procuring for the British free trader an access to markets entirely new, or the means of fair competition with the foreign merchant, in those which already exist, the Committee feel themselves justified in relying upon the liberality of the Court of Directors, upon the concern they have frequently evinced in the national prosperity, and the preference they may be expected to give to British over foreign commerce, for a disposition to meet, as far as may be consistent with their own essential interests, the wishes of their fellow-subjects, if sanctioned by the wisdom and authority of Parliament

At all events, there are some views of this subject, to which the attention of Parliament may be immediately directed, and the whole cannot fail to deserve its consideration, previous to the renewal of the East India Company's charter.

The Committee have been informed, by the members of his Majesty's government, who are members of the Committee, that a bill was prepared to be submitted to Parliament in the course of last Session, for extending the private trade between India and foreign Europe; and that the introduction of such a bill has only been postponed in consequence of the inquiries depending in parliament, connected with Asiatic commerce.

Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the depressed State of Agriculture.

[After treating at great length of the causes of the present depression, and shewing that it cannot be ascribed to any want of protection afforded to agriculture, the Committee proceed to consider the practical remedies which there could now be room to adopt.]

Your Committee are the more anxious to impress upon the attention of the House the real state of our trade in foreign corn, between the years 1773 and 1814, as it appears to them, taken in connexion with the progress of general prosperity in the country, and more especially with the great improvements in agriculture, and its highly flourishing condition during that period, to suggest to Parliament, as a matter highly deserving of their future consideration, whether a trade in corn, constantly open to all nations of the world, and subject only to such a fixed duty as might compensate to the grower the loss of that encouragement which he received during the late war from the obstacles thrown in the way of free importation, and thereby protect the capitals now vested in agriculture from an unequal competition in the home market, is not, as a permanent system, preferable to that state of law by which the corn trade is now regulated. It would be indispensable, for the just execution of this principle, that such duty should be calculated fairly to countervail the difference of expense, including the ordinary rate of profit, at which corn, in the present state of this country, can be grown and brought to market within the united kingdom, compared with the expense, including also the ordinary rate of profit, of producing it in any of those countries from whence our principal supplies of foreign corn have usually been drawn, joined to the ordinary charges of conveying it from thence to our markets.

In suggesting this change of system for further consideration, as a possible improvement of the corn laws at some future time, the Committee are fully aware of the unfitness of the present moment for attempting such a change, when, owing to the general abundance of the late harvests in Europe, and to the markets of this country having been shut against foreign corn for near thirty months, a great accumulation has taken place in the shipping ports on the continent, and in the warehouses of foreign corn in this country; and when that accumulation, from want of any vent, is held at very low prices, and might tend still further to depress the already overstocked markets of this country, if allowed to be introduced at this period, except at such a high rate of duty as it would be inexpedient to attempt, and moreover very difficult to determine. The present market price of the corn thus accumulated, is not the measure of the cost at which it has been produced, or of the rate at which it can be afforded by the foreign grower, but the result of a general glut of the article, of a long want of demand, and of extreme distress and heavy loss on the part of those by whom it has been raised, and of those by whom it is now held, either in the warehouses of the continent, or of this country.

Assuming, therefore, that under the present circumstances of the case, parliament would not now deem it expedient to abandon entirely the principle of the existing law, your Committee have anxiously directed their attention to the possibility of, in some degree, modifying its operation, so as to remedy that inconvenience to which they have more particularly referred in the earlier part of their Report—which

consists in the sudden and irregular manner in which, in many cases, foreign corn may be introduced upon the opening of the ports, under circumstances inconsistent with the spirit and intention of the law. They conceive, that this object might be attained by the imposition of a fixed duty upon corn, whenever, upon the opening of the ports, it should become admissible for home consumption It would, however, be necessary, in case this suggestion should be carried into effect, that the present import price should be fixed at a lower rate, because it is obvious that the duty would otherwise not only check the sudden and overwhelming amount of import, but also enhance the price beyond what it might reach under the present law; an effect which your Committee are so far from desirous of producing, that they think it would probably be expedient additionally to guard against it, by providing, that, after corn should have reached some given high price, the duty should cease altogether

If such a change in the operation of the corn laws should have the effect of checking extravagant speculation and extensive import, it would be equally beneficial to the grower and the consumer It would apply some remedy to the evil, of which almost all the petitions referred to your Committee so loudly complain, and it has no tendency, either hastily or prematurely, to affect the principle upon which is rested that protection, which the law now gives to the agricultural interest of the country.

It is not the province of your Committee to specify any precise permanent duty for the protection of the British grower; nor should they, perhaps, be adequately prepared so to do without further inquiry, nor until the obstacle to that inquiry, created by the present accumulation and glut, shall be removed. At the same time, they incline to the opinion, that leaving to every part of the united kingdom the inestimable public benefit of the most full and free competition in the home market, without regard to the difference of fertility in the soil, or of expense in its cultivation, either from a difference in the price of labour, or in the amount of local and public burthens directly affecting the land; it may, perhaps, be difficult, if not impossible, putting rent out of the question, for the occupiers of some of the poorest and most expensive soils now under tillage in Great Britain, to bring their produce to market in competition with the more fertile lands of this country, and especially of Ireland Your Committee would be anxious to suggest, for the consideration of parliament, as the principle and basis of the trade in foreign corn, such a protecting duty upon the produce of other countries, as would not aggravate to the occupiers of such soils the present difficulty of that competition The general question, how far the forced cultivation of some of those inferior lands may have been expedient or advantageous for the public interest, is one upon which it is unnecessary to offer a positive opinion They can, however, have no difficulty in stating, that, within the limits of the existing competition at home, the exertions of industry, and the investment of capital in agriculture, ought to be protected against any revulsion, but that the protection ought not to go further; and that, if protected to that extent, the growth of our population, the accumulation of our internal wealth, affording increased employment to that population, and consequently increased means of purchasing all those articles of consumption and enjoyment, which must be derived from the soil of this country, will continue to give, as they have given during the last 60 years, the most effectual stimulus and

encouragement to the progressive improvement of our agriculture, and to the consequent value of the landed property of the kingdom; that, under such a system, there can be no apprehension that either will permanently retrograde, (except in so far as rents may be nominally affected by the resumption of cash payments,) or even be for any time stationary, so long as our institutions continue to afford, to capital and industry, that superior degree of security and protection, which they have hitherto found in this country—so long as public credit and good faith keep pace with that security and protection, and as we avoid any course which, in a time of peace, and possibly of improving confidence in the stability of the institutions of other countries, might drive capital to seek a more profitable employment in foreign states It is under the impression that the present corn law, together with the amount of our taxation, by diminishing the profits of capital, have such a tendency, that your Committee suggest the modifications which have been pointed out, as fit for further inquiry and investigation, and that they feel it their duty also to accompany that suggestion with a most earnest recommendation, that every opportunity should be watched, and every practical measure adopted, for reducing the amount of the public expenditure, as the only means of approximating to a state of finance, which, without impairing the credit of the country, may lead to a diminution of the existing burthens of the people

Your Committee have abstained from urging, in favour of an open intercourse in foreign corn, those general principles of freedom of trade, which are now universally acknowledged to be sound and true, in reference to the commerce of nations If it be for the wisdom of the House, on the one hand, to endeavour to revert to those principles as far as practicable, in this and in all other cases, on the other, it is also for its prudence and its justice to take care, in that application, to spare vested interests, to deal tenderly with those obstacles to improvement, which the long existence of a vicious and artificial system too often creates, and sometimes even to modify and limit that principle, in reference to considerations of general policy connected with the institutions, or the safety of the state. Looking to the possible contingencies of war, your Committee are not insensible to the importance of securing the country from a state of dependence upon other, and possibly hostile, countries, for the subsistence of its population—looking to the institutions of the country, in their several bearings and influence in the practice of our constitution, they are still more anxious to preserve to the landed interest the weight, station, and ascendancy, which it has enjoyed so long, and used so beneficially Their first wish, therefore, is, that whatever general suggestions they may offer, should be scrupulously examined with a due regard to these two considerations.

As they have adverted to the state of the country between 1773 and 1814, as connected with the important subject of their inquiry, it may perhaps assist others, in their researches and reflections, to state, that your Committee selected that period, because the year 1773 was, in fact, the commencement of a great change in the practical operation, if not in the avowed policy, of our corn laws From that date, the aggregate balance of our imports of grain, taken upon a series of years, began to exceed the balance of our exports But upon looking back from that year to the period of the Revolution in 1688, (a space of

80 years,) our exports, taken for any number of years, on the contrary, exceeded our imports. From the year 1697 (the earliest date from which accurate returns have been made) to the year 1773, the total excess of exports was 30,968,366 quarters, upon which exports, bounties, amounting to 6,237,176l, were paid out of the public revenue A course, somewhat similar in principle, of exciting an export by a bounty, but more desultory in its application, and more frequently interrupted by arbitrary interference, prevailed under the princes of the house of Stuart, and if we look to a still earlier period, we find that the same policy, of forcing the growth of corn, was attempted, by harsher expedients, during the reigns of the Tudors. Between the reign of Henry VIII. and the 39th of Elizabeth, numerous acts* of Parliament were passed, for the express purpose of encouraging tillage. Those laws proceeded upon the principle of compulsion, limiting, for instance, the number of sheep and live stock, prohibiting the conversion of arable into pasture, and enjoining the breaking up of pastures, which had at any previous period been arable, either under a pecuniary penalty, or a forfeiture of half the land, "until the offence be reformed"

These compulsory laws (all of which, it may be observed, preceded the introduction of that act which laid the foundation of the system of our poor laws,) appear to have been principally suggested by a wish to find employment for the population, and to relieve their misery, by enforcing an extension of cultivation beyond the wants of the country But, neither under those laws, nor under the subsequent attempt to augment the produce of our agriculture, by the creation of a fictitious foreign demand, excited by a large bounty on exportation, did the agriculture of this country make any advance, at all to be compared to that unparalleled prosperity, which began with the decline of that system, about the beginning of the last reign, and which, with some few temporary interruptions, has marked its progress up to the present time. In comparing the two periods, each of nearly equal duration, between the peace of Utrecht and the commencement of the seven years war,—and between the years 1773 and 1814, —and recollecting that the first period was one of almost uninterrupted peace, and that nearly thirty years of the latter have passed away in the exertions of two most expensive wars —that, during the former period, the market interest of money was generally much below, and, during the latter, frequently as much above, the rate fixed by law —that, during the former, the aim of the legislature was, by artificial means, to divert the application of capital from other employments to that of agriculture, as well by positive bounties which forced an export of grain to other countries, as by duties, which generally altogether precluded its import either from the continent or from Ireland —that, during the latter, agriculture has, in point of fact, been without either of those stimulants,—your Committee cannot look at these contrasted circumstances, coincident, during the first period, with a comparative stagnation of our agriculture, and, during the second, with its most rapid growth and improvement, without acknowledging that there was nothing in the system pursued up to 1773, which necessarily promoted this most essential branch of public industry and

* 1 Hen VII c 19 7 Hen VIII c 1 2 Hen VIII c 13 27 Hen VIII c 32 3 and 4 Edw VI c 5 5 Eliz c. 2 39 Eliz c 2

national wealth; and also, that there is nothing incompatible with the success of both these objects, in the system which has practically prevailed since that date If the quantity of wheat, the growth of Great Britain, was truly estimated, as it was estimated in 1773, at four millions of quarters, and if it cannot now be stated so low as at double that amount, it is evident that the change of system has been attended with no defalcation of produce. If, since that year, the number of cattle and sheep has been vastly augmented, their breeds improved, and, by those improvements, their size and aptness to fatten, and in sheep their fleeces, greatly increased; if, by this augmentation of live stock, a greater quantity of manure has been produced, if all the most important and expensive meliorations of modern husbandry have been introduced, if scientific drainages have been undertaken, and extensive wastes enclosed, to augment the produce of the land,—it cannot be said that there has been a want of encouragement to invest large and adequate capitals in this branch of national industry.

If, from agriculture, your Committee look to the permanent improvements, which have been made in the country itself within the same period, the bridges which have been built, the roads which have been formed, the rivers which have been rendered navigable, the canals which have been completed, the harbours which have been made and improved, the docks which have been created,—not by the public revenue, but by the capitals and enterprize of individuals, if they look, at the same time, to the unexampled growth of manufactures and commerce—in the contemplation of this augmentation of internal wealth, which defies all illustration from comparison with any former portion of our history, or of the history of any other state;—your Committee may entertain a doubt (a doubt, however, which they wish to state with that diffidence which a subject extensive naturally imposes upon their judgment,)—whether the only solid foundation of the flourishing state of agriculture is not laid in abstaining, as much as possible, from interference, either by protection or prohibition, with the application of capital, in any branch of industry;—whether all fears for the decline of agriculture, either from temporary vicissitudes, to which all speculations are liable, or from the extension of other pursuits of general industry, are not, in a great degree, imaginary,—whether commerce can expand, manufactures thrive, and great public works be undertaken, without furnishing to the skill and labour which the capitals thus employed put in motion, increased means of paying for the productions of the land,—whether the principal part of those productions which contribute to the gratification of the wants and desires of the different classes of the community, must not necessarily be drawn from our own soil, the demand increasing with the population, as the population must increase with the riches of the country,—whether a great part of the same capital which is employed in supporting the industry connected with manufactures, commerce, and public works, does not, passing by a very rapid course into the hands of the occupier of the soil, serve also as a capital for the encouragement of agriculture,—whether, in our own country in former times, and in other naturally fertile countries up to the present time, agriculture has not languished from the want of such a stimulus;—and whether, in those countries, the proprietors of the land are not themselves poor, and the people wretched, in proportion as, from want of capital, their labour is more exclusively confined to raising from their own soil, the means of their own scanty subsistence

If these questions should be answer-

ed in the affirmative, it follows, that the present solidity and future improvement of our national wealth depend on the continuance of that union by which our agricultural prosperity is so closely connected with the preservation of our manufacturing and commercial greatness

It will be for the House to appreciate this view of the subject, to watch the progress of events affecting any of the great branches of our industry, and, in its wisdom to determine, according to circumstances, how far, and by what arrangements, it can best reconcile those considerations of state policy which make it desirable that this country should not become too habitually or extensively dependent for the subsistence of its people on foreign supply, with the necessity of guarding, as much as possible, against creating, by artificial means, too great a difference between the cost of that subsistence here and in other countries,—not only in regard to the people themselves, but also from the risk which must be in proportion to that difference, of driving much of the capital, by which their industry and labour are supported, to seek employment in other countries. For there cannot be a doubt that this difference operates, in the same manner as taxation, to diminish the profits of capital in this country; and there can be as little doubt, that though capital may migrate, the unoccupied population will remain,—and remain to be maintained by the landed interest, upon whose resources, diminished in proportion to diminished demand, this additional burthen would principally fall

In some of the petitions referred to your Committee, the depression and distress of all those concerned in agriculture, are mainly ascribed to the extent of our public burthens coupled with their diminished means of bearing them.

The general influence of taxation upon the state of the country, is a subject too extensive to be entered upon by your Committee, without exceeding the bounds prescribed to them by the nature of the reference made to them by the House They lament its weight, because, however imposed, taxes must necessarily abridge the resources and comforts of those by whom they are ultimately paid. But the question for more immediate consideration is, whether, in the distribution of this unavoidable evil, the profits of farming capital have been heretofore, or can permanently be, more affected, than the profits of capital engaged in other branches of industry They cannot discover any grounds for believing that, during the war, when taxation, was carried to its greatest amount, the profit of farming capital was lowered in its relative proportion to the profit of other active capitals, and whatever may be the temporary effect of a casual derangement, it is obvious that this proportion must permanently be maintained, because the application of capital would otherwise be changed from one mode of employment to the other, until the proper level was restored

So far, therefore, as taxes fall upon the profits of the active capitals of the country, whatever may be the objects upon which they immediately attach, or the parties by whom they are, in the first instance, paid, they operate, in their ultimate effect, as an abatement of those profits, equally affecting the trading, the manufacturing, and the farming interests, by diminishing their means, either of enjoyment, or of accumulating further capital by savings from their annual incomes

The manner and extent in which other classes of the community and other sources of income may be affected by taxation, do not come directly within the scope of the present in-

quiry, but your Committee think it necessary to notice a doctrine which has prevailed in some quarters,—that the price of corn in this country, in order to remunerate the grower, must increase in the same ratio as the amount of our public revenue, so that if the latter be doubled, the price of corn must be doubled also. If this assumption were well founded, it would follow, that, exclusively of any change in the value of money, the remunerating price in 1821 would be nearly one-third lower than it was in 1814, taxes not much short of that proportion to the whole of our revenue having been taken off in Great Britain since that year. But, without denying that the price of corn may be in some degree affected by adding to our general taxation, and that any charges particularly paid by the farmer, such as tithes and poor-rates, must tend more directly to raise that price, it is obvious, from what has been already stated, that the cost of growing corn in any country is regulated by the amount of capital necessary to produce it upon lands paying no rent, and that it is the price of the portion of corn which is so raised that determines the price of all other corn, and that an increase of general taxes, affecting alike the profits of capital in all the different branches of industry, would not necessarily raise the price of the particular produce of any one. The price of corn, therefore, might fall in a country, notwithstanding additional taxation, if the quantity required for the consumption of that country could be raised, either by the cultivation of more fertile and productive soils, or by the application of a diminished capital to the same soil, in consequence of increased skill or improvements in husbandry.

In fact, no rise in the price of corn appears to have taken place during three of the wars in which this country was engaged during the last century, compared with the prices of the years preceding and succeeding those wars, and during the last of them, the American war, prices were lower than during the peace. This circumstance is the more to be remarked, as there never was perhaps a period at which the burthen of taxation appeared to press more heavily upon the resources of the country, and in which an annual increase of taxes, accompanied with an annual diminution of revenue, and a general stagnation of improvements, indicated more strongly that a part of these taxes must have been paid out of the capital, and not out of the income of the nation.

On the other hand, however immense the expenditure of the last war, it is impossible to review the vast private undertakings, begun and completed during that war, in every branch of industry, without feeling that those funds by which alone the productive powers of the country can be put in motion, must have been greatly increased, and that the accumulation of national capital, however impaired by loans, or retarded by taxes, has, upon the whole, been large and progressive during that period.

If in the same space of time the national capital of some other country has not increased, or has increased only in a much smaller proportion, the mere comparison of the nominal amount of the public revenue of that country with the public revenue of this country, as they stood at the commencement of the period, and as they now stand, might lead to an unfair inference in respect to the degree in which each country has been affected by increased taxation. If the weight of the public burthens of a country be considered in reference to its population only, then (with the exception of Holland perhaps) England is the most taxed portion of Europe, but if it be mea

sured by the aggregate of national capital, or income arising from capital, divided by the total number of people among whom that capital of income is distributed, it may then be doubted, whether, upon such an average, the proportion of tax to the income or capital of each individual, be not less in England than in several states of the continent, or even in Ireland, and whether it be materially greater now than at former periods, when both the capital, the population, and the public revenue of England, were far below what they now are But whatever might be the consolatory result of such a comparison, if the means of making it could be accurately ascertained, and however sanguine a hope your Committee may entertain that peace will afford increased facility and encouragement to further accumulation, it is not less the duty of government directly to aid that accumulation, by diminishing our expenditure, and thus both to improve the comforts, and to stimulate the skill and enterprize, of those classes, by whose industry and savings the capital of the whole kingdom is augmented This duty, important at all times, appears to your Committee to be still more so under the present circumstances of the country, for, whilst they are desirous of correcting the mistaken opinion, that the depression under which our agriculture now labours, is either exclusively or principally to be attributed to taxation, they cannot disguise from themselves, that the weight of the public burthens of the country, their nominal amount remaining the same, must be more severely felt, in proportion as the money-incomes derived from trading, farming, and manufacturing capital and industry, are diminished No exertion, therefore, should be omitted to endeavour to reduce those burthens, as nearly as circumstances will permit, in the degree in which such incomes may have been reduced; for, in considering this subject, it is important to bear in mind, that the general amount and real pressure of taxation have been positively increased in the proportion of the improved value of our currency.

Your Committee cannot conclude the observations which they have found it their duty to submit to the House, without observing, that most of the petitions referred to them, complain of the inadequate and injurious operation of the present corn law, and pray generally for protection, not for grain only, but for all the productions of our agriculture, equal to the protection given to the manufactures of this country.

Within this principle, the petitioners appear to be friendly to an open trade, but in the application of it, as expounded in some of the petitions, and illustrated in the examination of some of the witnesses, your Committee cannot but apprehend, that the duties which they contemplate, would be altogether prohibitory

It cannot be necessary to enter into any statements to shew, that, practically, this would be the result, in all but seasons of scarcity, of a fixed duty of 40*s* a quarter upon wheat. Your Committee will merely repeat what they have already stated, that when the trade in corn with the continent was open, subject to the scale of duties imposed by the acts of 1773, 1791, and 1804, and in force till 1815, there never was an importation of foreign corn to any amount during the short intervals when the high duties were demandable; and yet those duties at no part of the time exceeded 24*s* 3*d*. per quarter To this fact, they will only add, that what is proposed, in addition to the amount of the duty, namely, that it should be permanent, "whatever may be the price," is a proposition which your Committee are confident the legislature could never

entertain, nor any considerable portion of the community ever countenance.

The suggestions with respect to duties equally prohibitory on every other article the production of the soil of this country, all come under the same principle, and are open to the same objection The principle would, in fact, go far to annihilate commercial intercourse altogether, and is moreover founded, as it appears to your Committee, upon a mistaken statement, as well as an erroneous view of what is deemed protection to our manufactures.

In the first place, they feel the more warranted in affirming, that the argument of the petitioners rests in part upon a misconception of facts, as they observe, that one of the witnesses, in order to illustrate his ideas and the wishes of the petitioners, has furnished a table of the duties payable on foreign manufactured articles, of which several are subject to direct heavy duties of excise in this country, and upon which the importation duty, as for instance upon the article of glass, is imposed in a great measure to countervail the duty upon that article manufactured in this kingdom

But the main grounds upon which your Committee are disposed to think that the House will look with some mistrust to the soundness of this principle, is—first, that it may be well doubted, whether (with the exception of silk) any of our considerable manufactures derive benefit from this assumed protection in the markets of this country; for how could the foreign manufactures of cotton, of woollens, of hardware, compete with our own in this country, when it is notorious that we can afford to undersell them in the products of those great branches of our manufacturing industry, even in their own markets, notwithstanding that cotton and wool are subject to a direct duty on importation, not drawn back upon their export in a manufactured state, as well as to all the indirect taxation, which affects capital in these branches, in common with that capital which is employed in raising the productions of the soil? Secondly, that there exists this most essential difference between the effect of protection given to the manufacturer (even if he did not enjoy, from natural causes, a preference in the home market,) and the attempt at a similar protection and monopoly to the produce of the soil; —that in all employment of capital, either in trade or manufactures, profits are limited by competition. If, for any length of time, or from any circumstances, profits are increased, in any particular branch, above the accustomed average, additional capital seeks employment in that branch, and profits are again speedily reduced to their former level. This would equally be the case if the demand for that particular article were doubled, and it may further frequently happen, as we have witnessed of late years (in all goods, for instance, wrought of iron and cotton), that, owing to discoveries in mechanical and chemical science, and improvements in the manufacture, an immense increase of consumption may be concomitant with, and probably, in a great degree, the result of a great fall in price

The same principle, it is true, applies to the capital and business of the farmer; but with this important distinction, that the price of corn, taken for any series of years, is necessarily regulated by the expense of production upon the lands which, at that price, make no return beyond the charge of raising it, together with the ordinary profit of the capital employed upon those lands. The cultivator of such lands, for the time, is upon a footing with the merchant and manufac

turer; but if the demand for corn were doubled, it would force into cultivation poorer lands, requiring a larger capital to raise the same quantity of produce, the price of that produce would determine the price of the whole, or those poorer lands could not be maintained in cultivation; for there cannot permanently be two rates of profit in the same occupation It is sufficient for your Committee to point out this ground of difference, and to leave it to the judgment of the House, in connexion with the observations which they have already submitted in a former part of this report

Another wish expressed by some of the petitioners, and some of the witnesses, is for the repeal of that clause in the last act, which allows the warehousing in the united kingdom of foreign corn, when it cannot be taken out for home consumption

The grounds upon which this alteration of the law is suggested, for the relief of the British grower, are twofold 1st, That the foreign corn absorbs the capitals of the dealers which would otherwise be employed in speculating in corn of British growth, and, secondly, that it enables them to hold, in the warehouses of this country, a large stock of foreign wheat, the notoriety of which depresses the markets, from the dread of its being poured in so soon as it is set free by the prices rising above 80*s*

The first objection proceeds upon two assumptions, both of which appear to your Committee doubtful; 1st, that the capitals of the dealers are absorbed in this foreign speculation, and 2dly, that, if not so employed, they would speculate with them in British corn Your Committee conceive that there is no fixed amount of capital assigned to this trade, and that it is governed by the same principles which stimulate the application of capital in all other branches of foreign or domestic commerce The value of all the foreign corn now in this country, which cannot be sold for home consumption till the price shall, for some weeks, have exceeded 80*s* a quarter, is probably less than one million sterling. British corn, by the last return, was about 53*s* per quarter Can there be a doubt, if an impression prevailed generally, that it would rise to 79*s* before the next harvest, that abundant capital would be found for speculation? and is not the want of it, at this moment, rather to be received as evidence of an apprehension, that, in the event of another productive harvest, the present low prices would not be improved?

Upon the second objection, your Committee have only to remark, that it is unquestionably true, that the present accumulation of a great quantity of foreign corn, the surplus of the two or three last harvests on the continent, would have a considerable influence upon the prices here, in the event of the ports being opened in consequence of a deficient harvest But the question is, whether that influence would not be nearly, if not altogether, the same, under that contingency, if that accumulation were altogether at the shipping ports of Holland, or other parts of the continent, instead of being divided between them and the warehouses of this country? Should the prices here be fluctuating between 70*s*. and 80*s*, some small difference might, perhaps, be produced by the knowledge of the accumulation in our own warehouses, stimulating the British grower to bring his own corn to market, to keep down the price when it was approaching to the import rate, in order to shut out the foreign supply But in this respect, accurate information must be to him an advantage. The time might also be a little varied at

which a part of the foreign corn, upon the ports being opened, might find its way hither But this difference would not be considerable, the ports of Flanders and Holland being as convenient for the Thames, as most of our own ports from which corn is shipped for London

Having stated the grounds upon which your Committee are of opinion that the expectations which have been entertained of advantage from the repeal of this clause, are not likely to be realized, they conceive that the views in which it was introduced of making this country a deposit of foreign grain, from which either our own occasional wants, or those of other nations, might be supplied, are, independent of other considerations, too much in unison with our general warehousing system, from which this country derives such important commercial advantages, to be abandoned, without further proof of their prejudicial effects to our agriculture, than any which your Committee have been able to collect from the evidence

It is material to observe, also, that the warehousing of foreign corn in this country, has this great advantage, that it places the supply of our wants, to the extent of the quantity warehoused, out of the reach of foreign states, putting it out of their power, in a season of scarcity, to aggravate the pressure of those wants, either by prohibiting the export of corn, or by imposing a heavy duty upon that export The fact of upwards of 100,000 quarters of wheat having been recently sent from the warehouses of this country to the Mediterranean, further shews that this facility of deposit is not a matter of indifference to the commerce and navigation of this country.

An impression prevails in many quarters, that large quantities of corn, imported since February 1819, have recently been introduced into home consumption. This could only have occurred by a fraudulent evasion of the law Of the existence of this practice to a great extent, your Committee have received many intimations They appear, however, to rest upon vague rumours, which the parties, when called upon, have not come forward, or not been able, to substantiate, except in one instance, the particulars of which your Committee forbear to state, as it is understood that the persons concerned in the attempt, are now under prosecution. They will only observe, that the quantity stated to have been withdrawn was inconsiderable, and that it appears to them, if farther security be requisite against the recurrence of this fraud, that regulations for that purpose may easily be devised and introduced into the bill now before the House, for better ascertaining the averages.

Instead of expressing doubts with respect to the remedies which have been suggested by others, it would have been far more satisfactory to your Committee, to have been enabled to conclude their labours by pointing out some immediate measure of alleviation, which would have been efficacious at once to mitigate the distress, and to allay the alarm which prevail among the agricultural classes of the community

If such an expedient could have been found, even in a temporary departure from any sound and recognised principle of general policy on this subject, or in any modification of the existing law which could now be attempted, they might have been disposed to submit it to the favourable consideration of the House, but when, after a long and anxious inquiry, they have not been able to discover any means, which, in their estimation, are calculated immediately to remove the present pressure, they know too well

their own duty to the House, and feel too much respect for the manly character of that class of the community, whose difficulties have been the object of their investigation, either to attempt to disguise the view which they have taken of the origin and nature of those difficulties, or to recommend that specific plan of relief pointed out by the suffering parties, which, however sanctioned by the arguments and prayer of their petitions, appears to be founded in delusion, and likely, therefore, to lead only to disappointment.

So far as the present depression in the markets of agricultural produce is the effect of abundance from our own growth, the inconvenience arises from a cause which no legislative provision can alleviate; so far as it is the result of the increased value of our money, it is one not peculiar to the farmer, but which has been, and still is, experienced by many other classes of society. That result, however, is the more severely felt by the tenant, in consequence of its coincidence with an overstocked market, especially if he be farming with a borrowed capital, and under the engagements of a lease; and it has hitherto been farther aggravated by the comparative slowness with which prices generally, and particularly the price of labour, accommodate themselves to a change in the value of money.

From this circumstance, combined with other causes, the departure from our ancient standard, in proportion as it was prejudicial to all creditors of money, and persons dependent on fixed incomes, was a benefit to the active capitals of the country; and it cannot be denied that the restoration of that standard has, in its turn, been proportionally disadvantageous to many individuals belonging to the productive classes of the community, and especially to those who had engaged in speculative adventures, either of farming or trade.

That restoration must also be accompanied with embarrassment to the land-owner, in proportion as his estate is encumbered with mortgages, or other fixed payments, assigned upon it during the period when land and rents were raised to an artificial value, in reference to the impaired value of the money in which those encumbrances were contracted.

From the cessation of public loans, the probability of large accumulations of capital, and the constant operation of such a sinking fund, as, in the present state of our finances, may, henceforward during the continuance of peace, be regularly appropriated to the reduction of the public debt, your Committee trust that the rate of interest of money may, in a short time, be so far reduced below the legal *maximum*, as to make those encumbrances a lighter burden upon the landed interests of the kingdom It is an alleviation which former intervals of peace have produced, at periods in many respects less favourable to its attainment, and if, in the present instance, the want of that alleviation is become more urgent, your Committee venture to hope, that, from the greater accumulation of capital in the country, co-operating with the effects of a positive and steady reduction of the public debt, this salutary result will also be more speedily brought about They look forward to this mode of easing the encumbrances of the landlord with the more anxiety, as, amidst all the injury and injustice which an unsettled currency,—an evil, they trust, never again to be incurred,—has in succession cast upon the different ranks of society, the share of that evil which has now fallen upon the landed interest, is the only one which, without inflicting greater injury and greater

injustice, admits, (now that we are advanced in the system of a restored currency,) of no other relief. The difficulties, great as they unfortunately are, in which it has involved the farming, the manufacturing, and trading interests of the country, must diminish in proportion as contracts, prices, and labour, adjust themselves to the present value of money. That this change is now in progress, and has already taken place to a considerable degree, is in evidence before your Committee. They are satisfied that it will continue until that balance is restored, which will afford to labour its due remuneration, and to capital its fair return And although they deeply lament the derangement which the fluctuations of the last ten years, in the value of the currency, have occasioned in all the transactions of life, together with the individual loss and suffering unavoidably produced by the return to a fixed standard, they are satisfied that this was the only course which was in the power of Parliament to adopt,—well as to prevent the continuance of a derangement, leading, as it must have led, to the aggravation of those losses and sufferings, as to manifest to the world the inflexible determination of this country, rigidly to adhere to that good faith of which the moral character of the people is the sure guardian, and which, with that character, has placed our greatness and our power upon the foundation, hitherto unshaken amidst all our vicissitudes, of public credit and national honour

18*th June*, 1821.

Report of the Committee on the Poor Rates

The select Committee appointed to consider the several returns made to the orders of this House in 1819, 1820, and 1821, relative to the sums assessed, levied, and expended, on account of the poor in England and Wales, and to report an abstract of the same, together with their observations thereon, to the House, have, pursuant to the orders of the House, considered the matters to them referred, and agreed to the following Report.—

The returns referred to your Committee contain a statement of the total sum raised by assessment in each parish and township in England and Wales, in the five years ending on the 25th of March, 1816, 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820

The mode of obtaining, by order of the House of Commons addressed to the parish officers, information as to the amount of the assessments and expenditure on account of the poor, was suggested by the Committee appointed to consider of the poor laws, in the year 1818, and your Committee have the satisfaction of informing the House, that the returns so procured are very nearly complete The deficiencies are very few in number, and, with the exception of one parish in Middlesex, arise in inconsiderable parishes

This is the parish of St Matthew, Bethnal-green; and the deficiency appears to have arisen from litigation with respect to the custody of the books, and not from any wilful neglect on the part of the churchwardens or overseers Your Committee have directed the expenditure of this parish to be estimated in the abstract according to its amount in the preceding year

The returns for the first four of the years mentioned, were called for by an order of the House, dated 30th April, 1819, and those of the last of these years, by an order of the 9th of July, 1820.

It is necessary to make this distinction, because there is a slight variation in the wording of the two orders. That of 30th of April, 1819, which was carefully framed so as to require as little as possible of detail from the officers, required an account, "showing the total amount of the money assessed and levied upon each parish, township, or other place maintaining its own poor, distinguishing, in the said account, the amount of money paid out of such assessments for any other purpose than the relief of the poor." The remainder after deducting the latter of these amounts from the former, was taken as the amount expended on account of the poor

Before the order of 1820 was issued, it appeared that this mode of ascertaining the expenditure on account of the poor was not quite accurate, inasmuch as the sum "assessed and levied," and the sum "expended" for all purposes, do not always, in each particular year, correspond in amount The expenditure of any year may be defrayed in part, out of the balance of the assessment of the preceding year; or there may be a debt remaining at the end of the year, which in some returns may be included in the account of the sum expended, and in others excluded

Some of the parish officers appear to have supplied this defect in the order, by stating separately the sum expended on account of the poor, and it is owing to this circumstance, that in the abstract of the four years ordered to be printed on July 17, 1820, the second and third columns, which were intended jointly to state the total expenditure, do not exactly agree in amount with the first, which contains the amount assessed and levied The difference, however, is very inconsiderable, and your Committee are satisfied that the corrected account now given of "money expended solely on the poor," contains a sufficiently accurate statement of the expenditure for any purpose of comparison

The order calling for the returns of the year ending March 25, 1820, required, as before, an account of the sum assessed and levied, and also, "the total amount of money expended in that year," when from this latter sum the amount of the expenditure "for other purposes" is deducted, the remainder comes out accurately as the amount of the expenditure on account of the poor

There may possibly still be some difference between different parishes in the mode of making up the return, some officers may, perhaps, include in one column, and some in the other, moneys expended in litigation and other matters immediately connected with the poor, but not applicable to their relief The amount, however, of this mixed expenditure, though considerable in one point of view, does not bear so great a proportion to the whole expenditure, as to constitute a material objection to the accuracy of the returns.

The Committee have the further satisfaction of adding, that the returns under the late order have been made more promptly, and in a more regular form, than those called for in the preceding year.

It may be convenient here to observe, that in the order recently made by the House for returns for the year ending 25th March, 1821, a still further correction is made of the form. Instead of calling for the amount "assessed and levied," the requisition is now for the amount levied only. This alteration was certainly proper, as the whole sum assessed may not always be levied within the year

Your Committee having been instructed to report to the House an abstract of the late returns, together with their observations thereupon, con-

ceive that they cannot more usefully execute the duty assigned to them, than by connecting the returns of the five years referred to them, with those of former periods, which are to be found in the journals and papers of the house

Returns are already before Parliament, in different degrees of detail of the amount and expenditure of the poor rates in the years ending at Easter 1718, 1719, 1750 1776, 1783, 1784, 1785, 1803, and 1813, 1814, 1815, your Committee have, therefore, included in their abstract so much of the account of those former years as can be compared with the more recent accounts, so that the House has now before it a statement of the amount of the poor rates, at several periods, commencing in the middle of the last century, and reaching to the year preceding the last.

The first statement which your Committee submit to the House, shows, in gross sums, the amount of moneys assessed and levied in England and Wales, at each former period, and in each year comprised in the late returns, and the amount expended upon the poor, and for other purposes, with other distinctions to be found in some of the returns.

Your Committee present to the House, in the second place, an account of the sums expended in each county, for the relief of the poor only, in each of the eight years, ending on the 25th March, 1820, being the latest period for which there are the means of giving complete yearly accounts; of these eight years, the accounts of the first three are taken from the return of 1815, the others are from the returns referred to your Committee, these they have combined in order that the eight years may be viewed together

Your Committee have not thought it expedient to give the detailed account of each parish. The House having lately called for returns of the poor rates, for the year ending the 25th of March, 1821, it appears to your Committee more convenient that a parochial account, embracing nine years, should be prepared early in the next session of parliament, when the House will have the additional advantage of an opportunity of considering these returns in connexion with the result of the late numeration of the people.

They have at the same time the satisfaction of informing the House, that all the parochial returns, and correct abstracts in which each parish is distinguished, are carefully arranged, so as to facilitate reference by any member of the House to the return of any particular district.

The Committee lay before the House, thirdly, a statement in which the former returns, so far as they relate to the expenditure upon the poor only, are also distinguished by counties, and the eight later years are averaged in three periods; the first of three years, ending in March, 1815, being the period which was under the consideration of the Committee of 1817, and which reached to the first year of peace; the second, embracing a like period of three years, ending in March 1818; and the third, comprising only two years, to March 1820, which may be completed to a triennial period, when the returns recently ordered shall have been received

To this abstract, with the view of facilitating any comparisons which the members of the House may think it desirable to make, of the relative expenditure of the poor rates in each county, with its population, your Committee have also annexed a table of the number of people in each county, according to the enumeration taken in 1811

And they have brought from the abstract of 1815 the account of the property assessed in each county under schedule A.

They have also thought it useful to annex an account of the average price of corn in England and Wales, in such of the years ending on the 25th of March, included in their abstracts, as have occurred since the establishment of the office of receiver of corn returns The accounts of these averages already before the House are generally made up to a period of the year not corresponding with that of the poor-rate accounts, and as comparisons are sometimes made between the amount of the poor-rates and the price of wheat, they trust that this account of the prices may be acceptable to the House

Your Committee do not feel themselves at liberty to make any observations which are not suggested by the mere inspection of the several abstracts.

These observations, they trust, the House will permit them to commence, by the statement of a few results drawn from the returns of the earlier periods, which indeed have been formerly stated to the House, but which it may be useful to place here :—

The pecuniary amount of the levies, by way of poor's rates progressively, and very largely increased from 1789 to 1812:

The amount of the sums applied to the relief of the poor, increased within the same period progressively, and very largely:

The amount expended for other purposes increased progressively, and still more largely than the expenditure on account of the poor

In reference to comparisons with the year 1803, your Committee have to observe, that there is no account of any average of years between 1783-4-5, and 1813-14-15; nor any account of any single year between those periods, except that of the year 1803. The House will judge, whether there would have been any materially different result, if an average of 1801-2-3 had been taken, instead of the year 1803 only However this may be, it is clear, that in 1812-13 the expenditure, both for the poor and other purposes, greatly exceeded the amount in 1803 Since 1812, the total expenditure in both branches has still further increased, and the remark made upon the former statements, that the expenditure for other purposes rose more rapidly than the expenditure on the poor, is not applicable to the later years.

The subsequent remarks your Committee will confine to the amount of money expended upon the poor within the last eight years

It appears, on an inspection of the table of averages, that the expenditure has continued to increase from 1812 to 1820:

The first period averaging	L 6,122,844
The second	6,844,290
The third	7,430,622

But the annual abstract shews, that this increase has not been progressive, year by year, throughout the whole period, and that it is not now progressive

From the year 1812-13, the amount declined gradually in the two subsequent years, (which were years of war;) rose again in the next three years, so as to be in 1817 18 greater in pecuniary amount than at any former or subsequent period of which returns exist In each of the two succeeding years, forming the first and second of the third triennial period, the expenditure declined again, but not very considerably The returns

for the year 1820-21 recently required, will shew whether the amount has continued to decrease; and your Committee have been informed, that the greater number of the returns which have already been received, exhibit a more or less considerable diminution

These comparisons are taken from the total amount of England and Wales; your Committee have considered the county abstracts with the view of ascertaining the exceptions which are to be found in particular counties, to the results drawn from a general average

These exceptions are most numerous as to the first triennial period In the counties of Durham, Hertford, Kent, Middlesex, and Surrey, the amount was considerably greater in 1813-14, than in 1812-13, and in seven other counties of England, and in eight of Wales, there was also a slight excess. But there is no exception to the statement, that the year 1814-15 was below the average of the two earlier years, and below the year immediately preceding.

As to the second period, there are three exceptions to the gradual rise to the year 1817-18, and to the statement that that year was the highest which had at that time been known In the county of Nottingham, the year 1816-17 was the highest, and in Wiltshire and Berkshire the year 1812-13 exhibited an amount which has not since been equalled.

There are more numerous exceptions to the statement, that the year 1817-18 was higher than any subsequent year, for it appears, that in the counties of Devon and Surrey, there was an excess, not inconsiderable, in 1818-19 over the preceding year; and a slight excess in Bedford, Cumberland, Gloucester, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Middlesex, Northampton, Rutland, Westmoreland, and the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire In other counties of England there was scarcely a diminution; and in Wales, generally, an excess In Cumberland, Leicester, Lincoln, and the West Riding of Yorkshire, the year 1819-20 shews the greatest amount

The exceptions to the statement, that as to the two years of the third period, of which there are returns, there was a slight diminution in the second, arise in the counties of Chester, Cumberland, Derby, Durham, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Warwick, and the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Reverting to the averages, it is to be remarked, that there is no exception to the general excess of the second period over the first; and that Berkshire, Norfolk, and Salop, afford the only exceptions to the general excess of the third period over the second.

At the foot of the table of yearly amounts, the House will find a statement, in which the returns from towns are distinguished from all others The towns included in this distinction are those which, in the abstract of population in 1811, are set in Roman capitals

This separate account of the towns affords no exceptions to the general statements which are worthy of particular remark

It appears that select vestries, under the act 59 Geo. III c 12, have been appointed in 2006 parishes, and assistant overseers in 2257 The whole number of parishes, townships, or other sub-divisions, from which returns have been required, is about 14,700

Your Committee have not thought it necessary to make any selections from the "Observations," which, in conformity with the orders of the House, have in some instances been subjoined by the parish officers to the returns. Many of these are irrelevant;

some, such as the Committee must have noticed with reprobation; but there are others of a different character; and your Committee conceive, that much useful information would be obtained, if parish officers would, whenever their returns exhibit a remarkable variation, whether of excess or diminution, from the preceding year, give some explanation of the causes of the variation

And here your Committee cannot avoid observing, that returns, stating merely the gross amount of the expenditure, fall very short of what is necessary to enable the House to judge of the nature and causes of the variation in the amount. For that purpose it would be necessary to have accounts, shewing the different circumstances under which relief has been afforded, and the rate and principle of relief adopted in each district The able-bodied entirely out of employ; the able-bodied earning wages not sufficient for the maintenance of his family; the married, the single, the sick and impotent, the aged, the labourer in husbandry, and the manufacturer or mechanic, should all be distinguished. And it should be known whether the relief is afforded at the discretion of the parishes themselves, or by order of the justices of the peace

The Committee are not of opinion that returns in this detail could conveniently be called for by order of the House

It is for the House to consider whether overseers, in rendering their accounts under the act 50 Geo III c 49, should be required, by a new law, to state these or any other particulars, in a prescribed form, so that a more complete and useful account of the expenditure of the poor-rates than any which has hitherto appeared, might be rendered periodically to parliament.

July 10, 1821

Report of the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty to consider the Subject of Weights and Measures.

May it please your Majesty,

We, the commissioners appointed by your Majesty for the purpose of considering the subject of weights and measures, have now completed the examination of the standards which we have thought it necessary to compare. The measurements which we have lately performed upon the apparatus employed by the late Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn, have enabled us to determine with sufficient precision the weight of a given bulk of water, with a view to the fixing the magnitude of the standard of weight, that of length being already determined by the experiments related in our former reports, and we have found by the computations, which will be detailed in the Appendix, that the weight of a cubic inch of distilled water, at 62 deg of Fahrenheit, is 252.72 grains of the parliamentary standard pound of 1758, supposing it to be weighed in a vacuum

We beg leave, therefore, finally to recommend, with all humility, to your Majesty, the adoption of the regulations and modifications suggested in our former reports, which are principally these.

1. That the parliamentary standard yard, made by Bird in 1760, be henceforth considered as the authentic legal standard of the British empire, and that it be identified by declaring that 39 1393 inches of this standard, at the temperature of 62° of Fahrenheit, have been found equal to the length of a pendulum supposed to vibrate seconds in London, on the level of the sea, and in a vacuum.

2. That the parliamentary standard Troy pound, according to the two-pound weight made in 1758, remain unaltered, and that 7000 Troy grains be declared to constitute an avoirdupois pound; the cubic inch of distilled water being found to weigh at 62 deg in a vacuum, 252 72 parliamentary grains

3 That the ale and corn gallon be restored to their original equality, by making, for the statutable common gallon of the British empire, a mean value, such that a gallon of common water may weigh ten pounds avoirdupois in ordinary circumstances, its content being nearly 277 3 cubic inches; and that correct standards of this imperial gallon, and of the bushel, peck, quart, and pint, derived from it, and of their parts, be procured without delay for the exchequer, and for such other offices in your Majesty's dominions as may be judged most convenient for the ready use of your Majesty's subjects

4. Whether any further legislative enactments are required, for enforcing a uniformity of practice throughout the British empire, we do not feel ourselves competent to determine; but it appears to us that nothing would be more conducive to the attainment of this end, than to increase, as far as possible, the facility of a ready recurrence to the legal standards, which we apprehend to be in a great measure attainable by the means we have recommended. It would also, in all probability, be of advantage to give a greater degree of publicity to the appendix of our last report, containing a comparison of the customary measures employed throughout the country

5 We are not aware that any further services remain for us to perform, in the execution of the commands laid upon us by your Majesty's commission; but if any superintendence of the regulations to be adopted, were thought necessary, we should still be ready to undertake such inspections and examinations as might be required for the complete attainment of the objects in question.

(Signed) GEORGE CLERK.
DAVIES GILBERT.
W H. WOLLASTON.
THOMAS YOUNG.
HENRY KATER.

London, March 31, 1821

CIRCULAR DESPATCH TO HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTERS AT FOREIGN COURTS IN REGARD TO THE AFFAIRS OF NAPLES

Foreign Office, Jan. 19, 1821.

SIR,—I should not have felt it necessary to have made any communication to you, in the present state of the discussions begun at Troppau, and transferred to Laybach, had it not been for a circular communication which has been addressed by the Courts of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, to their several missions, and which his Majesty's government conceive, if not adverted to, might (however unintentionally) convey, upon the subject therein alluded to, very erroneous impressions of the past, as well as of the present, sentiments of the British government.

It has become, therefore, necessary to inform you, that the King has felt himself obliged to decline becoming a party to the measures in question.

These measures embrace two distinct objects —1st, The establishment of certain general principles for the regulation of the future political conduct of the allies in the cases therein described 2dly, The proposed mode of dealing, under these principles, with the existing affairs of Naples.

The system of measures proposed under the former head, if to be reciprocally acted upon, would be in direct repugnance to the fundamental laws of this country But, even if this decisive objection did not exist, the British government would nevertheless regard the principles on which these measures rest, to be such as could not be safely admitted as a system of international law. They are of opinion that their adoption would inevitably sanction, and, in the hands of less beneficent monarchs, might hereafter lead to, a much more frequent and extensive interference in the internal transactions of states, than they are persuaded is intended by the august parties from whom they proceed, or can be reconcilable either with the general interest, or with the efficient authority and dignity, of independent sovereigns They do not regard the alliance as entitled, under existing treaties, to assume, in their character as allies, any such general powers, nor do they conceive that such extraordinary powers could be assumed, in virtue of any fresh diplomatic transaction among the allied courts, without their either attributing to themselves a supremacy incompatible with the rights of other states, or, if to be acquired through the special accession of such states, without introducing a federative system in Europe not only unwieldy, and ineffectual to its object, but leading to many most serious inconveniences

With respect to the particular case of Naples, the British government, at the very earliest moment, did not hesitate to express their strongest disapprobation of the mode and circumstance under which that revolution was understood to have been effected, but they, at the same time, expressly declared to the several allied courts, that they should not consider themselves as either called upon, or justified, to advise an interference on the part of this country; they fully admitted, however, that other European states, and especially Austria and the Italian powers, might feel themselves differently circumstanced, and they professed that it was not their purpose to prejudge the question as it might affect them, or to interfere with the course which such states might think fit to adopt, with a view to their own security, provided only that they were ready to give every reasonable assurance that their views were not directed to purposes of aggrandizement, subversive of the territorial system of Europe, as established by the late treaties

Upon these principles, the conduct of his Majesty's government, with regard to the Neapolitan question, has been, from the first moment, uniformly regulated, and copies of the successive instructions sent to the British authorities at Naples for their guidance, have been from time to time transmitted for the information of the allied governments

With regard to the expectation which is expressed in the circular above alluded to, of the assent of the courts of London and Paris to the more general measures proposed for their adoption, founded, as it is alleged, upon existing treaties, in justification of its own consistency and good faith, the British government, in withholding such assent, must protest against any such interpretation being put upon the treaties in question, as is therein assumed.

They have never understood these treaties to impose any such obligations, and they have, on various occasions, both in parliament and in their intercourse with the allied governments, distinctly maintained the negative of such a proposition That they have acted with all possible explicitness upon this subject, would at once appear from reference to the deliberations at

Paris in 1815, previous to the conclusion of the treaty of alliance, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1818, and subsequently in certain discussions which took place in the course of the last year.

After having removed the misconception to which the passage of the circular in question, if passed over in silence, might give countenance, and having stated in general terms, without, however, entering into the argument, the dissent of his Majesty's government from the general principle upon which the circular in question is founded, it should be clearly understood that no government can be more prepared than the British government is, to uphold the right of any state or states to interfere where their own immediate security or essential interests are seriously endangered by the internal transactions of another state But as they regard the assumption of such right as only to be justified by the strongest necessity, and to be limited and regulated thereby, they cannot admit that this right can receive a general and indiscriminate application to all revolutionary movements, without reference to their immediate bearing upon some particular state or states, or be made prospectively the basis of an alliance. They regard its exercise as an exception to general principles, of the greatest value and importance, and as one that only properly grows out of the circumstances of the special case, but they, at the same time, consider, that exceptions of this description never can, without the utmost danger, be so far reduced to rule, as to be incorporated into the ordinary diplomacy of states, or into the institutes of the law of nations

As it appears that certain of the ministers of the three courts have already communicated this circular despatch to the courts to which they are accredited, I leave it to your discretion to make a corresponding communication on the part of your government, regulating your language in conformity to the principles laid down in the present despatch You will take care, however, in making such communications, to do justice, in the name of your government, to the purity of intention which has, no doubt, actuated these august courts in the adoption of the course of measures which they are pursuing The difference of sentiment which prevails between them and the court of London on this matter, you may declare, can make no alteration whatever in the cordiality and harmony of the alliance on any other subject, or abate their common zeal in giving the most complete effect to all their existing engagements.

I am, &c

CASTLEREAGH.

DOCUMENTS ISSUED AT THE BREAKING UP OF THE CONGRESS AT LAYBACH.

DECLARATION.

Europe is acquainted with the motives of the resolution taken by the allied sovereigns, to suppress conspiracies, and to terminate disorders, which menaced the existence of that general peace, the establishment of which had cost so many efforts, and so many sacrifices

At the very moment when their generous objects were accomplished in the kingdom of Naples, a rebellion of a still more odious character, if possible, burst forth in Piedmont

Neither the ties which had, for so many generations, united the reigning house of Savoy with the people, nor the benefits of an enlightened government, administered by a wise prince, and under paternal laws, nor the sad

prospect of calamities to which the country was exposed, could restrain the disaffected from their designs

The plan of a general subversion was prepared. In this combination against the repose of nations, the conspirators of Piedmont had their parts assigned them, they were eager to perform it.

The throne and the state were betrayed, oaths were violated, military honours tarnished; and the contempt of every duty soon produced the scourge of every disorder

Everywhere the pestilence exhibited the same character; everywhere one uniform spirit directed these fatal revolutions

Not being able to assign plausible motives in their justification, nor to obtain national support to maintain them, it was in false doctrines that these contrivers of anarchy sought an apology they founded upon criminal associations a still more criminal hope. In their eyes, the salutary supremacy of the laws, was a yoke which must be destroyed They renounced those sentiments which are inspired by a true love of one's country, and, substituting for known duties arbitrary and undefined pretences for a universal change in the constituent principles of society, they prepared endless disasters for the world.

The allied sovereigns saw the dangers of this conspiracy in all their full extent, but they had also discovered the real weakness of the conspirators, in spite of their veil of declamation and deceit Experience has verified their anticipations The resistance which legitimate authority has encountered, has been useless; and crime has disappeared at the sight of the sword of justice.

It is not to accidental causes—it is not even to the conduct of men who behaved so ill in the hour of battle, that this easy success should be attributed, it has resulted from a more consolatory principle—from one more worthy of attention

Providence struck with terror the consciences of men so guilty, and the censure of the public, whose fate was compromised by these artificers of mischief, caused the arms to fall from their hands.

Solely employed to contend with, and to put down, rebellion, the allied forces, far from pursuing any exclusive interests, have arrived to the aid of the people who were subjugated; and the people themselves have regarded the employment of those troops as a support in favour of their liberty, not as an aggression upon their independence From that moment the war ceased; from that moment the states which revolution had assailed, became the friendly states of those powers, which never wished anything but their tranquillity and their prosperity.

In the midst of these grave occurrences, and in a situation thus delicate, the allied sovereigns, in concert with the King of the Two Sicilies and the King of Sardinia, have judged it indispensable to adopt temporary measures of precaution, indicated by prudence, and called for by the general good The allied troops, whose presence was necessary for the restoration of order, have been placed in suitable positions, solely for the purpose of protecting the free exercise of legitimate authority, and to assist it in preparing, under this ægis, those benefits which may efface every vestige of such portentous misfortunes

The justice and disinterestedness which have prevailed in the deliberations of the allied monarchs, will always continue to regulate their policy. In future, as during the past, they will ever prescribe to themselves the preservation of the independence and of the rights of each state, such as they are recognized and defined by existing treaties The issue, even of such an

alarming crisis, will, under the auspices of Providence, become the consolidation of that peace which the enemies of the people attempted to destroy, and the stability of an order of things, which will secure to nations their repose and prosperity

Filled with these sentiments, the allied sovereigns, in terminating the conferences at Laybach, have wished to announce to the world the principles by which they have been animated. They are determined never to abandon them, and all the friends of order will constantly see and find in their union a sure safeguard against the enterprizes of anarchy.

It is for this purpose that their Imperial and Royal Majesties have ordered their ministers plenipotentiary to sign and publish the present declaration

Austria,	Metternich.
	The Baron Di Vincent
Prussia,	Krusemark
Russia,	Nesselrode
	Capo D'Istria
	Pozzo di Borgo.

Circular from Count Nesselrode

Sir,—It is now precisely a year since we found ourselves under the necessity of making known the principles which the Emperor had resolved to follow, with respect to states which, to the calamity of experiencing a criminal and violent revolution, should add that of sanctioning its fatal consequences.

Since that period, and from the date of the opening of the conferences at Troppau and Laybach, our successive communications must have demonstrated to all the ministers and agents of the Emperor at foreign courts, not only that the principles of his Imperial Majesty would not vary, but further, that our august master would be always ready to concur, by all the means in his power, in the success of the measures which he had agreed upon with his allies, in the general interest for the repose of Europe.

By our Circular of the 27th of February (11th March,) we informed you, that, in consequence of the determinations entered into upon this point by his Imperial Majesty, he had decided to prolong his stay near his Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, notwithstanding the close of the Congress at Laybach

Our despatches of the 8th (20th) March very soon shewed to you that the foresight of the Emperor had been but too completely justified, and that, faithful to his promises, Russia, at the request of Austria, and the legitimate sovereign of the kingdom of Sardinia, had marched an army of 100,000 men, in order to avert the calamities and too probable effects of the military revolt which had just broken out in Piedmont

Auspicious events have succeeded those which the artificers of trouble and of discord provoked. Everything authorizes us to hope that order will be effectually re-established in the states of his Sardinian Majesty The royal government there has availed itself of the proximity of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, and it is the temporary assistance of a corps of occupation, composed of Austrian troops, which it has required to restore to Piedmont the enjoyment of an internal, secure, and solid peace

All our wishes seek this great and salutary result, but as the measure of safety which it requires, and which the Sardinian government itself has solicited, is about to become the object of a direct arrangement between Sardinia and Austria, under the guarantee of the allied courts, and as the presence

of our troops would be henceforth useless, the order to retrograde has been already despatched to them 'On the other hand, the more the resolution to make them operative was energetic, the more salutary and useful has been the impression produced solely by the intelligence that they were in movement, and the more essential is it in the eyes of the Emperor, that all the cabinets of Europe should know and appreciate the serious considerations which induced his Imperial Majesty to have recourse to arms, and the noble and pure intentions which would always have directed the employment of them.

The experience of all ages and countries warns nations of the calamities which form the inevitable train of crime and rebellion But last year, these great and eternal lessons were contemned Catastrophes succeeded each other with an appalling rapidity Naples demonstrably evinced the dangers of pernicious example Become herself the theatre of revolution, and the centre of the activity of sects, this state menaced Italy with a general conflagration, and Austria, seeing a portion of her provinces exposed to imminent peril, claimed in the first place the moral support of her allies The sincere friend of his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty, and convinced, like that august monarch, of the evils which would once more inundate the world, if the disregard of all duties should obtain the apology of a lasting triumph, the Emperor espoused with sincerity a cause which his conscience told him was that of Europe, of laws, and of treaties He did more As an intimate union has been established, by solemn acts, between the European powers, the Emperor offered to his allies the aid of his arms, in case new commotions should excite the dread of new dangers We have already seen how the anticipations of his Imperial Majesty have been verified. Sectarians, acting in the darkness which they so much needed to veil their guilty projects, excited in Piedmont an insurrection, which might, by its consequences, retard the progress of good in the Two Sicilies, and, by compromising the army, which was then advancing upon Naples, encourage revolt throughout the whole peninsula Already alarming symptoms justified disquietude for other countries, and from that moment the Russian troops were bound to march They, in fact, did march—not to extend the power of Russia, or to make the slightest infringement upon the bounds of territorial possession, guaranteed to all the governments of Europe by the treaties concluded since 1814, but to succour the allies of the Emperor, and this, as we have said above, at the express solicitations of his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty, and of his Royal Highness the Duke de Genevois They marched, not to overthrow institutions which have emanated from legitimate authority, but to prevent insurrection from usurping a power which would be a universal scourge Finally, they marched, not to obstruct the development of public prosperity in any state whatever, but to further the re-establishment of order in countries where the workings of evil men had ultimately rendered the assistance of a foreign force indispensable

Such has been—such will always be, the sole intention of the Emperor, should he ever find himself again under the necessity of putting his armies in motion No burden would have resulted from their march, or from their temporary presence They would have traversed peaceably the immense space which separated them from Italy; and, as soon as the object was attained for which two monarchs solicited their aid, the Emperor would have issued his orders for them to return to their country.

We are justified, therefore, in repeating and affirming, that never did the love of war, never the ambitious thought of exercising an exclusive influence in the councils of other monarchs, or upon the destinies of people confided by Providence to their care, direct the policy of his Imperial Majesty.

Irrefragable facts now attest the sincerity of this language

Malevolence ascribed to Russia hostile views, with regard to the Porte. Disturbances manifested themselves in Walachia and Moldavia, and our conduct, as well as our declarations, has shewn that we are determined to observe the rights of nations and the faith of treaties in our relations with the Turkish government

They were pleased, afterwards, to insinuate, that we had abandoned our projects against Turkey, to invade the western territories of Europe A single contradiction has confounded the authors of these odious accusations, and the march of our armies, supported and maintained by all the strength of the empire, was stopped the moment we were certainly assured that the legitimate government had recovered the plenitude of its authority in the kingdom of Sardinia

Thus, sir, it is with the confidence of having fulfilled the duties of a friend and of an ally—it is with the determination of always fulfilling those duties, and the consoling persuasion of having contributed to the tranquillity of Italy and of Europe, that the Emperor is about to quit Laybach He will set off on the 1st (13th) May, and will proceed to St Petersburgh, by way of Warsaw, happy to lend his assistance to his allies, if it should become necessary—more happy still to enjoy for a long future the spectacle of a peace, the blessings of which Russia feels, and in the maintenance and consolidation of which she is interested as much as any other power.

The political system of our august master not being destined to undergo any change, all his ministers and agents will continue to follow and to execute the general instructions which they have hitherto received.

The present circular will regulate their language, with respect to the events of which it treats; and the Emperor even authorizes you, sir, to make known and deliver a copy of it to the government to which you are accredited; &c.

(Signed) NESSELRODE

Laybach, 28th of April,
(10*th May,*) 1821

CIRCULAR DESPATCH

LAYBACH, *May* 12

The assembling of the allied monarchs, and of their ministers, at Troppau, determined upon after the events which had overturned the legitimate government of Naples, was destined to fix the particular point of view which it became necessary to assume with respect to those fatal events, in order to concert a common course of proceeding, and to combine, in the spirit of justice, of preservation, and of moderation, the measures necessary for protecting Italy from a general insurrection, and the neighbouring states from the most imminent dangers. Thanks to the fortunate unanimity of sentiments and intentions which prevailed between the three august sovereigns, this first labour was soon accomplished Principles clearly laid down, and mutually adopted with the most perfect sincerity, led to analogous resolutions; and the bases which were esta

blished at the very first conferences have been invariably followed during the whole course of a meeting rendered memorable by the most remarkable results.

This meeting, transferred to Laybach, assumed a more decisive character by the presence and the co-operation of the King of the Two Sicilies, and by the unanimous concurrence with which the princes of Italy acceded to the system adopted by the allied cabinets. The monarchs were convinced that the governments most closely interested in the destinies of the Peninsula, rendered justice to the purity of their intentions, and that a sovereign, placed in a most painful situation by acts with which perfidy and violence had contrived to associate his name, yielded with entire confidence to measures which would at once terminate this state of moral captivity, and restore to his faithful subjects that repose and that well being of which they had been deprived by criminal factions

The effect of these measures soon manifested itself. The edifice which had been reared by revolt—fragile in its superstructure, and weak in its foundation, resting only on the cunning of some, and upon the momentary blindness of others, condemned by an immense majority of the nation, and odious even to the army which was enrolled to defend it—crumbled to dust at the first contact with the regular troops selected to destroy it, and who at once demonstrated its nothingness The legitimate authority is restored, the factious have been dispersed, the Neapolitan people are delivered from the tyranny of those impudent impostors, who, deluding them with the dreams of false liberty, in reality inflicted upon them the most bitter vexations, who imposed upon them enormous sacrifices, solely to gratify their own ambition and rapine, and who were rapidly accelerating the ruin of a country, of which they incessantly proclaimed themselves the regenerators

This important restoration has been completed, as far as it could, and as it ought to be, by the counsels and acts of the allied sovereigns Now, when the King of the Two Sicilies is again invested with the plenitude of his rights, the monarchs will confine themselves to the most ardent good wishes for the plans which this sovereign is about to adopt to re-construct his government upon a solid basis, and to secure, by laws and by wise institutions, the true interests of his subjects, and the constant prosperity of his kingdom

During the progress of these great transactions we saw burst forth, on more than one side, the effects of that vast conspiracy which has so long existed against all established power, and against all those rights consecrated by that social order under which Europe has enjoyed so many centuries of glory and happiness The existence of this conspiracy was not unknown to the monarchs, but in the midst of those agitations which Italy experienced after the catastrophe of 1820, and of those wild impulses which were hence communicated to every mind, it developed itself with increasing rapidity, and its true character stood revealed in open day. It is not, as might have been supposed at an earlier period—it is not against this or that form of government, more particularly exposed to their declamations, that the dark enterprizes of the authors of these plots, and the frantic wishes of their blind partisans, are directed. Those states which have admitted changes into their political system are no more secure from their attacks than those whose venerable institutions have survived the storms of time. Pure monarchies, li-

mited monarchies, federative constitutions, republics, all are comprehended, all are ingulfed, in the proscriptions of a sect who brand as an oligarchy everything, of whatever kind, that rises above the level of a chimerical equality. The leaders of this impious league, indifferent as to what may result from the general destruction they meditate, careless about all stable and permanent organization, aim merely at the fundamental bases of society To overthrow what exists, for the change of substituting whatever accident may suggest to their wild imaginations, or to their turbulent passions—this is the essence of their doctrines, the secret of all their machinations

The allied sovereigns could not fail to perceive that there was only one barrier to oppose to this devastating torrent. To preserve what is legally established—such was, as it ought to be, the invariable principle of their policy, the point of departure, and the final object of all their resolutions They were not to be deterred in their purpose by the vain clamours of ignorance or malice, accusing them of condemning humanity to a state of stagnation and torpor, incompatible with its natural and progressive march, and with the perfecting of social institutions Never have these monarchs manifested the least disposition to thwart real ameliorations, or the reform of abuses which creep into the best governments Very different views have constantly animated them, and if this repose, which governments and nations were justified in supposing secured by the pacification of Europe, has not operated all the good which might have been expected to result from it, it is because governments have been compelled to concentrate all their energies in the means of opposing bounds to the progress of a faction, which, disseminating everywhere error, discontent, and a fanaticism for innovation, would soon have rendered the existence of any public order whatever problematical. 'Useful or necessary changes in legislation, and in the administration of states, ought only to emanate from the free will and the intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power. All that deviates from this line necessarily leads to disorder, commotions, and evils far more insufferable than those which they pretend to remedy. Penetrated with this eternal truth, the sovereigns have not hesitated to proclaim it with frankness and vigour, they have declared that, in respecting the rights and independence of all legitimate power, they regarded as legally null, and as disavowed by the principles which constitute the public right of Europe, all pretended reform operated by revolt and open hostility. They have acted conformably to this declaration, in the events which have taken place at Naples, in those of Piedmont, and in those even which, under very different circumstances, though produced by combinations equally criminal, have recently made the eastern part of Europe a prey to incalculable convulsions

The monarchs are so much the more decided not to deviate from this system, because they consider the firmness with which they have maintained it in so critical an epoch, as the true cause of the success which has attended their efforts towards the re-establishment of order in Italy The governments of the Peninsula have acknowledged that they had nothing to fear, either for their political independence, the integrity of their territories, or the preservation of their rights, in claiming the assistance which was afforded to them upon the sole condition that it shall be made available only to the defence of their own existence. It is reciprocal confidence which has saved Italy, it is that which has extinguish-

ed, in the space of two months, a conflagration, which, had it not been for the intervention of the allied powers, would have ravaged and ruined the whole extent of that beautiful country, and long have menaced the rest of Europe

Nothing has more efficaciously demonstrated the strength of this moral agency, which united the salvation of Italy with the determination of the allied powers, than the prompt and auspicious termination of the revolt which had broken out in Piedmont. Conspirators, some of whom were foreigners, had planned this great crime, and had put in motion, to insure its success, the most detestable of all revolutionary means—that of exciting against authority the very armed force which is only created to obey it, and defend public order. The victim of a treason, inexplicable—if anything can be so, while political crimes find in Europe voices which dare to defend them—a sovereign, enjoying a just title to the respect and affection of his subjects, saw himself compelled to descend from a throne which he adorned by his virtues; a considerable portion of the troops were hurried into the revolutionary abyss by the example and intrigues of a small number of ambitious partisans, and the murderous cries of an anti-social faction resounded from the capital to the provinces The monarchs assembled at Laybach did not delay to meet this state of things Their union was one of those which acquires strength and energy from the magnitude of the danger. Their voice was heard. Instantly the faithful servants of the king, feeling that they were not abandoned, employed what resources remained to them to combat the enemies of the country and the national glory, the legitimate power, although limited and paralysed in its action, was not less active in sustaining its dignity and rights, and assistance arriving at the decisive moment of the crisis, the triumph of the good cause was very soon complete Piedmont was delivered in a few days; and of this revolution, calculated upon the overthrow of more than one government, there only remains the infamous remembrance by its guilty authors

It is thus, by following without deviation the established principles and the line of conduct traced at the first period of their union, that the allied monarchs have succeeded in the pacification of Italy Their direct object is attained Not one of the steps which have been taken in furtherance of this issue has belied the declarations that truth and good faith had dictated They will continue faithful to them in whatever new trials Providence may yet reserve for them Called more than ever, as well as all the other sovereigns and lawful powers of Italy, to watch over the maintenance of the peace of Europe—to protect it not only against the errors and passions which may compromise it in the intercourse between one power and another, but more particularly against those disastrous attempts which would spread the horrors of universal anarchy over the civilized world—they would consider it a profanation of so august an object, to be guided by the strict calculations of a vulgar policy. As all is simple, open, and frankly avowed, in the system which they have embraced, they submit it with confidence to the judgment of all enlightened governments

The Congress (*re-union*) which is about to close, will meet again in the course of the next year. Then will be taken into consideration the fixing of a term to the measures which, from the acknowledgment of the courts of Italy, and particularly of those of Naples and Turin, have been judged necessary to consolidate the tranquillity of the Peninsula The monarchs and

their cabinets will bring to the examination of this question the same mind which has hitherto directed them. Motives of incontestable weight, and fully justified by the results, determined the sovereigns to interfere in the affairs of Italy; but they are far from wishing to prolong this interference beyond the limits of strict necessity, desiring most sincerely that the circumstances which have imposed upon them this painful duty may never again occur.

We have thought it useful, at the moment that the sovereigns are about to separate, to recapitulate in the preceding exposition the principles which have guided them in the late transactions.

You are, in consequence, charged to make a communication of this despatch to the minister for foreign affairs of the court to which you are accredited

You will also herewith receive a declaration, conceived in the same spirit, which the cabinets have caused to be drawn up and printed, to convey to the knowledge of Europe the sentiments and principles with which the august sovereigns are animated, and which will constantly serve as the guide to their policy

Receive, &c

No. IV.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON.—1820–1821.

THE sittings of the Royal Society were resumed on the 4th of November, 1819, at which meeting the Croonian Lecture, consisting of a further investigation of the constituent parts of the blood, was read by Sir Everard Home.—On the 11th and 18th of the same month, Mr Brande read the Bakerian Lecture, "On the Composition and Analysis of the Inflammable Gaseous Compounds, resulting from the destructive Distillation of Coal and Oil; with Remarks on their relative heating and illuminating Powers," and in which he detailed a series of experiments, analytical and synthetic, which led him to infer, that, except *olefiant gas*, there exists no other definite compound of hydrogen and carbon; and that what has usually been termed light hydro carbonate, is merely a mixture of olefiant and hydrogen gases. The sulphureous odour frequently perceived during the combustion of coal gas, in which no sulphureted hydrogen has yet been detected, Mr Brande ascribed to the presence of sulphuret of carbon.—A paper, by Dr Carson, "On the Elasticity of the Lungs," was read on the 25th. After a number of introductory remarks, it proceeded to detail a number of experiments performed by the author for ascertaining the force of the elastic power of these organs. For this purpose he connected with the tracheæ of several animals a glass syphon, so placed as to admit of a column of water it contained exerting a pressure on the lungs. An opening was then made into the cavity of the chest on both sides, and the height of the column of water in the tube considered as equivalent to the pressure exerted by the elastic power of the lungs. In this way the resilience of the lungs of an ox was ascertained to be equal to a column of water, rather more than a foot and a half high, and in a still more satisfactory experiment made on the lungs of a dog, the column stood at ten inches.—On the 30th, being St Andrew's day, the Society met for the election of officers for the ensuing

year; but from having the proceedings of the Society for two years to compress into little more than the space usually allotted for one, we are under the necessity of omitting the list of names.

On the 13th of January, 1820, Mr Herschell's paper "On the Action of Crystallized Bodies on Homogeneous Light, and on the Causes of Deviation from Newton's Scale of Tints, which many of them develope on exposure to a polarized Ray," the reading of which had commenced at a previous sitting, was concluded When the work of Malus on this subject appeared, the number of doubly refracting crystals known to philosophers, was very limited, and as the most remarkable of these possessed only one axis of double refraction, Huygen's law, applicable to that one, was presumed to hold good in all But the discovery of crystals, with two axes of double refraction, has shewn the fallacy of this conclusion, and rendered new, and more accurate investigations necessary. There are two modes, the author observed, of conducting observations on double refraction and polarization; one founded on the immediate observation of the angular deviation of the extraordinary pencil; the other depending upon the separation of a polarized ray into complementary portions, by the action of crystallized laminæ. The author preferred the latter method, and, after pointing out its advantages, remarked, that to render observations on the tints developed by polarized light available, they must be capable of being compared with one another; and hence the importance of knowing the existence and tracing the laws observed by the causes which disturb their regularity. In the author's first inquiries into the subject of the polarization of light, he was struck by the great deviation from the succession of colours in their laminæ, which many crystals exhibited when cut into plates perpendicular to one of their axes, as observed by Newton; and finding this phenomenon unconnected with irregularities in their thickness and polish, and uniformly repeated in different and perfect specimens, he was induced to inquire into its cause, especially as it appeared to form an unanswerable objection to M. Biot's theory, which explains perfectly the tints in crystals with one axis In the several sections of this elaborate paper, the author gave a detailed description of the phenomena, which are all reducible to one general fact, namely, that the axes of double refraction differ in their position in the same crystal; for the differently coloured rays of the spectrum being dispersed in one plane, over an angle more or less considerable, according to the nature of the substance employed, a new element is thus developed, which must in future enter into all rigorous formulæ of double refraction; while, from the complete explanation this principle affords of the perplexing anomalies of the tints, the theory of oscillation is relieved from every difficulty, and may be considered as adequate to the representation of all the phenomena of the polarized rays, and entitled to rank with the fits of easy transmission and reflection, as a simple and general physical law.—At this meeting, also, a paper, by Dr Granville, was read, entitled, "An Account of a Case of Ovario-gestation," illustrated by beautiful drawings made by Mr Bauer.

On the 17th of February, Mr E. Davy's paper on some new combinations of platinum, part of which had been read at the meeting of the 20th of January, was concluded. The principal object of this paper was to describe a peculiar compound of platinum, obtained from the sulphate, by boiling it in alcohol

On the 24th, a paper, by Dr Wol-

laston, "On the Method of Cutting Rock Crystal for Micrometers," was read, in which the author described three modes of cutting wedges of rock crystal, so that the axes of crystallization should be differently situated in each In the first, or horizontal wedge, the axis is at right angles with the surface. In the second, or lateral wedge, the axis is in the first surface, and parallel to its acute edge In the third, or vertical wedge, the axis is also in the first surface, but at right angles to the acute edge. Through the first wedge, an object is seen, in the direction of the axis, and does not appear double, but, in both the others, the transmitted rays pass at right angles to the axis, and produce two images. By placing two of the wedges together, with their acute edges in opposite directions, there are plainly three modes in which they may be combined in pairs In the first two cases, the separation of the images will be the same, or about 17′; but the third produces a different effect; for, by reason of the transverse position of the axes of crystallization, the separation of the two images seems exactly doubled. The pencil ordinarily refracted by the first wedge, is extraordinarily refracted by the second, *et vice versa*; so that neither of the divided pencils returns to its true place, and since one falls as much short of the mean, as the other exceeds it, they are ultimately separated twice the usual distance, or 34′. He concluded with some further directions for cutting and arranging the prisms for the above purpose

On the 2d of March, there was read a paper, by Sir R Seppings, on a new principle of constructing ships for the mercantile navy. According to the present mode, only half the timbers are united, so as to constitute any part of an arch, every alternate couple only being connected together, and the two intermediate timbers being connected with, and resting upon, instead of supporting the outer planking The mode of joining the different pieces of the same rib, is also highly objectionable At present, this is effected by the introduction of the wedge pieces, by which the grain of the rib is much cut, and the general fabric weakened, to say nothing of the great expenditure of materials The object of these wedge pieces or *coaks*, as they are technically called, is to produce the necessary degree of curvature, when crooked timber is scarce, but the ingenious author shewed that this curvature might be equally obtained by a different arrangement, and with less consumption of materials He recommended that lengths of timber, shorter, and of less curvature, (which will have the additional advantage of being less grain-cut,) should be used, and that these pieces should be connected at their ends by *coaks* or *dowells*, instead of wedge pieces One great benefit resulting from this plan is, that smaller timber than usual may be employed in the construction of large ships, an object of the highest importance at present, when large timber has become so scarce

On the 9th, J. A. Rantome, Esq, read a paper on a peculiarity in the structure of the eye of the *Balæna Mysticetus*, and on the 16th, an abstract of a memoir by M Charles Dupin, so well known by his "*Voyages dans la Grande Bretagne*, &c" on the laws of the variation of the flexibility of Canadian fir, was read to the Society. The object of the author was to investigate the law of decrease in the resistance of timber against bending or breaking, from the root to the top of the tree, and for this purpose, he instituted, in 1816, a set of experiments upon prisms, fifty feet long, and one foot thick, in the dock-yards of Dunkirk These appear to have been conducted with great care; but the nature of the results, and the mathema-

tical reasoning founded upon them, do not admit of being detailed

On the 23d, after the reading of a paper, by Mr J Hood, "On the Means of supplying Muscles in a state of Paralysis with Nervous Power," by the application of nitrate of silver, the Society adjourned till after Easter.

On the 13th of April, the Society resumed its sittings, when a paper, by Sir E Home, on the milk teeth, and auricular organs of the Dugong was read. The skull, from which the description was taken, is the only perfect one in Europe, and was sent from Sumatra by Sir T S Raffles The auricular organs of this animal differ from those of all others, from which peculiar and remarkable construction, the author concluded, that the Dugong, more perhaps than any other animal, hears by means of vibrations conveyed through the bones of the skull to the canals and cochlea The grinding teeth of this animal are also quite peculiar, consisting of a double cone, the external crust of which is not enamel, and covers an internal harder coat, the bulk of the tooth being of soft ivory.—On the 20th, a paper, by Dr W Kitchener, "On an Improvement in the Eye-tubes of portable Achromatic Telescopes," and another, by T. A Knight, Esq, "On the different Qualities of the Alburnum of Spring and Winter felled Timber," were read to the Society Of neither of these have we room to present any analysis

The meeting, on the 4th of May was occupied by the reading of two papers, one on Diarrhœa Asthenica, by Mr Hood; and the other on the Mode of Formation of the Canal for containing the Spinal Marrow, and on the Form of the Fins (if they deserve that name) of the Proteosaurus, by Sir E Home These medical and anatomical disquisitions we, however, pass by, in order to notice a paper by Mr Bauer, read on the 11th, and entitled, "On the Fungi which constitute the colouring Matter of the Red Snow discovered in Baffin's Bay" The author stated, that, in the winter, he put a small quantity of the red globules composing the substance in question, into a phial filled with compressed snow, which was placed in the open air, in a north-west exposure A thaw coming on, the snow was found melted, and the water being poured off, more snow was added In two days, the mass of fungi was observed to be raised in little pyramids, which gradually increased in height, occupying the cells of the mass of ice A thaw now continued for some time, and the fungi fell to the bottom of the water in the phial, where they occupied a space about double that of their original bulk These fungi also appeared to be capable of vegetating in water, but, in this case, they produced green, instead of red globules. By exposure to excessive cold, the original fungi were killed, but their seeds still retained vitality, and when immersed in snow, reproduced new fungi, generally of a red colour The author supposes that snow is the proper soil of these fungi The paper was accompanied by beautiful drawings, illustrative of the different appearances described —On the 18th, a paper by his Excellency Governor Sir T S Raffles, was read, entitled, 'Some Account of the Dugong'

On the 8th of June, a paper by George Fisher, Esq, was read, entitled, "On the Errors in Longitude, as determined by Chronometers at Sea, arising from the action of the iron in the ships upon the Chronometers." The author commenced by stating, that the sudden alteration of the rates of the chronometers when taken on board of ship, had been frequently noticed, and generally ascribed to the ship's motion. But from what he had

observed respecting the action of the chronometers on board the Dorothea and Trent, in the late voyage to the North Pole, he had been induced to refer this change to other causes. Thus he found, that, in all cases, the gaining rates were increased, and the losing rates diminished, on board of ship; that this alteration took place when the ships were fast in the ice, or when at anchor, close on shore, and consequently when there was no motion; and, lastly, that it was independent of any change of temperature. The author then gave it as his opinion, that it depends upon the iron of the ship, which, by acquiring polarity, converts the whole ship, as it were, into a large magnet, having its south pole in the deck, and its north pole below; and that the outer rim of the balance being made of steel, is acted upon by this magnetic influence, and is itself also liable to become magnetic. This opinion was illustrated by experiments, in all of which it was found, that when magnets were made to act upon chronometers, their rate was accelerated, and is further confirmed, by the fact, that chronometers having balances, and balance-springs made of gold, keep time better than others.—On the 15th, a paper, by Sir E. Home, was read, giving an account of a new mode of performing the high operation for the stone; and, on the 22d, the Society met, but immediately adjourned, on account of the lamentable death of their venerable President, the right honourable Sir Joseph Banks.

The Society met again on the 29th, when, Dr Wollaston was chosen President *ad interim*. A paper by the same gentleman, entitled, "On Sounds inaudible by certain Ears," was then read; as also a paper by the reverend F. H. Wollaston, on the measurement of Snowdon by the Thermometrical Barometer. After some preliminary observations, the author of this last paper stated, that the height of this mountain, above the north-east end of Caernarvon Quay, as obtained by the thermometrical barometer, when the proper corrections were applied, was 3546.25 feet. By trigonometrical measurement, General Roy found it to be 3555 4, and, by barometrical, 3548.9 feet. The height of another mountain, as taken by the thermometrical barometer, was also compared with the height, as determined by the General, but in this case some discrepancies were found, which the author ascribed to the difficulty of ascertaining the stations from the indeterminate form of the hill.

The titles of a number of papers were then read, after which the Society adjourned till November.

After the long vacation, the meetings of this Society were resumed on Thursday, Nov. 9th, when a letter was read from M. Ampère of Paris to the President, on the subject of the magnetic effects produced by the Voltaic Electricity. At the same meeting, Sir E. Home communicated some observations on the effect of the *Rete Mucosum Nigrum*, or black substance in the skin of the negro, in preventing the scorching effects of the sun's rays, which, according to Sir Everard's experiments, are produced by the joint agency of light and heat, and not merely in virtue of the heating power of the rays alone. The face and hands, for example, may be exposed to a temperature of 100° or even 120°, without pain or injury, provided the light be excluded, but if the same, or even an inferior degree of heat, be produced by the direct rays of the sun, the parts become scorched, and blisters are produced. This effect, however, is completely prevented, by covering the hand or face with black crape, though the temperature of such part, when exposed to the direct influence

of the sun, greatly exceeds that produced upon the bare skin. The same purpose is accomplished by the black *rete mucosum* of the negro, and hence it appears that the deleterious effects of the sun's rays may be prevented by an artificial blackening of the surface of the skin, that the perspiration will become more copious, as is especially remarked in the negro, and, in short, that the conversion of the radiant matter of the sun into sensible heat (which is effected by the blackened surface) will tend to prevent the scorching effects, and to promote cuticular secretion

On the 16th, a letter from Sir H Davy to the President was read, on the magnetic effects produced by electricity In repeating Oersted's experiments, Sir H stated, that, with a voltaic battery of a hundred four-inch plates, the south pole of a magnetic needle, placed under the communicating wire of platinum, the positive end of the apparatus being on the right, was strongly attracted by the wire, which was shown to be itself magnetic by attracting steel filings, and was found to communicate permanent magnetism to steel bars attached to it transversely, while such bars, placed in a parallel position, were only magnetic during their connexion with the apparatus Actual contact, however, of the steel wires with the platinum, was found not to be necessary, for magnetism was imparted to a needle placed transversely to the connecting metal, but at some distance from it Sir H next shewed that the magnetic effect is proportional to the quantity of electricity passing through a given space, without any relation to the transmitting metal, and that the finer the wires, the stronger the magnetic effect, that an analogous effect was produced by passing the discharge of a Leyden battery of seventeen square feet, through a silver wire, with a steel bar of two inches in length, transversely attached to it, the latter becoming powerfully and permanently magnetic, and that this result was produced at a distance of five inches through air, water, and even through thick panes of glass When several wires, parallel to each other, formed part of the same circuit, each became similarly magnetic to the single wire, and the opposite ends of each wire were in different magnetic states, and consequently attracted each other When two voltaic batteries were placed parallel to each other, the positive end of the one being opposite to the negative end of the other, and transmitting their electricity through two wires, such wires repelled each other, because the opposite ends were in similar electrical states

The 30th being the usual day for the election of a President and officers for the ensuing year, and Dr Wollaston, who, in consequence of the death of Sir Joseph Banks, had been appointed interim President, having declared his decided intention of withdrawing, Sir Humphry Davy, Bart., was elected to that office At this meeting the President announced, that the council had determined to present the Copley medal to Professor J C. Oersted of Copenhagen, as a testimony of their approbation of his important electro-magnetical discoveries Dr Wollaston then, in a concise and luminous manner, stated to the Society the nature of Professor Oersted's investigations, and pointed out their probable influence upon the future progress of some of the most difficult branches of physical science.

On taking the chair at the meeting of December the 7th, Sir H Davy, in a short address, adverted to the objects the Royal Society embraced, with its relation to various other philosophical and scientific associations, institu-

ted for the prosecution of particular branches of inquiry. He then took a view of the present state of the sciences, noticing the valuable contributions for their extension and improvement made by Fellows of the Royal Society, and proceeded to enumerate the different branches of natural knowledge that called for farther and more accurate investigation The principal of these were, the new phenomena of polarization of light, the subject of heat, so nearly allied to that of light, the connexion between electricity and magnetism, a subject which the experiments and discoveries of M. Oersted has so auspiciously commenced, the nature of the combinations of that principle (fluorine) existing in fluor, or Derbyshire spar, the metallization of ammonia, the connexion between mechanical and chemical phenomena, in the action of voltaic electricity, the subject of crystallization, or regular forms of inorganic matter, together with various phenomena in animal and vegetable physiology Sir H. concluded by expressing his confidence, that the Fellows of the Royal Society, in all their future researches, would be guided by that spirit of philosophy, awakened by our great masters, Bacon and Newton, that sober and cautious method of inductive reasoning, which is the germ of truth, and permanency in all the sciences

The meetings of the 14th and 21st were occupied with the reading of a communication by Mr Faraday, describing the composition and properties of two new compounds of chlorine and carbon, and one of iodine, hydrogen, and carbon. The first, chloride of carbon, obtained by Mr F, was procured by acting upon chloric ether with chlorine. The muriatic acid gas, formed by their mutual action, when exposed to the sun's rays, being repeatedly expelled by the introduction of fresh chlorine, a substance was obtained, which is the perchloride of carbon. It is colourless, transparent, aromatic, easily pulverized, a non-conductor of electricity, it boils at 360°, is insoluble in water, not readily combustible in common circumstances, but burns in pure oxygen gas, and appears to be composed of three atoms of chlorine, = 100 5, and two atoms of carbon = 14 1 When passed through a red-hot tube, it is decomposed, chlorine is evolved, and the protochloride of carbon (specific gravity 1 5526) obtained The triple compound of iodine, carbon, and hydrogen, was procured by exposing iodine in olefiant gas to the solar rays. Crystals were gradually formed, no hydriodic acid appeared to exist in the vessel, and hence the olefiant gas had not been decomposed, but merely absorbed by the iodine This compound was purified by potash, which dissolved the uncombined iodine It is colourless, friable, a non-conductor of electricity, soluble in ether and alcohol, decomposed at between 300° and 400° in sulphuric acid (probably by the mere heat,) and, in some degree, analogous to chloric ether Mr F. proposes to call this substance hydro-carburet of iodine.

Nothing important occurs in the proceedings of the Society till the 1st of February 1821, when Captain Kater read the Bakerian Lecture, on the best kind of steel and form for a compass needle On the return of the expedition under the command of Captain Ross, which sailed in search of a North-West Passage, it appeared, that, in consequence of the vicinity of the magnetic pole, the compasses became nearly useless, from the diminution of directive force Some of the azimuth compasses then employed were of Captain Kater's invention; he was, therefore, naturally anxious, that the next expedition, (under the command of Lieutenant Parry,) should be furnished with instruments combining

as much sensibility as possible With this intention, our author undertook the experiments of which he now gave an account, and from which he draws the following inferences: "1 That the best material for compass needles is *clock-spring*; but care must be taken in forming the needle, to expose it as seldom as possible to heat, otherwise its capability of receiving magnetism will be much diminished 2. That the best form for a compass needle is the *pierced rhombus*, in the proportion of about five inches in length to two inches in width, this form being susceptible of the greatest directive force 3 That the best mode of tempering a compass needle, is first to harden it at a red heat, and then to soften it from the middle to about an inch from each extremity, by exposing it to a heat sufficient to cause the blue colour which arises again to disappear 4 That in the same plate of steel, of the size of a few square inches only, portions are found varying considerably in their capability of receiving magnetism, though not apparently differing in any other respect 5 That polishing the needle has no effect on its magnetism 6 That the best mode of communicating magnetism to a needle appears to be placing it in the magnetic meridian, joining the opposite poles of a pair of bar magnets, (the magnets being in the same line,) and laying the magnets so joined flat upon the needle, with their poles upon its centre, then, having elevated the distant extremities of the magnets, so that they may form an angle of about two or three degrees with the needle, they are to be drawn from the centre of the needle to the extremities, carefully preserving the same inclination, and having joined the poles of the magnets at a distance from the needle, the operation is to be repeated ten or twelve times on each surface 7 That in needles from five to eight inches in length, their height being equal, the directive forces are nearly as the lengths. 8 That the directive force does not depend upon extent of surface, but, in needles of nearly the same length and form, is as the mass. And, 9 That the deviation of a compass needle, occasioned by the attraction of soft iron, depends, as Mr Barlow has advanced, on extent of surface, and is wholly independent of the mass, except a certain thickness of the iron, amounting to about two-tenths of an inch, which is requisite for the complete developement of its attractive energy."

On the 22d, the reading of Dr Henry's paper on the Aeriform compounds of Charcoal and Hydrogen, (which had commenced at a previous meeting,) was concluded. The first object proposed by the author, was to ascertain whether there be a compound answering in its characters to light carbureted hydrogen gas. The result of his inquiries was, that such a chemical compound does exist, having uniformly the same composition and chemical properties, and the same specific gravity, (0 556,) and constituted of 100 parts, by weight, of charcoal, united with 34 40 of hydrogen, while olefiant gas consists of 100 of charcoal, combined with 16 70 of hydrogen His next experiments relate to the best method of analyzing mixtures of olefiant gas with hydrogen, carbureted hydrogen, and carbonic oxide; and of olefiant gas with all those three gases Chlorine, he shews, may be employed with perfect accuracy, provided certain precautions, which he points out, are observed The chief of these is complete exclusion of the light By these analytical processes, he proceeds to examine the composition of oil gas and coal gas, and the general result is, that oil gas (as he had formerly shewn with respect to coal gas) is very far from being uniform in composition, but differs greatly in specific gravity and combustibility, when prepared at dif-

ferent times, even from the same kind of oil, owing to variations of temperature, and other circumstances. Essentially, the gases derived from oil and coal are composed of the same ingredients, though in different proportions, viz. simple hydrogen, light carburetted hydrogen, and carbonic oxide gases, with the addition of variable proportions of an elastic fluid, which agrees with olefiant gas in being condensible by chlorine, but combines more oxygen, gives more carbonic acid by combustion, and has a higher specific gravity than olefiant gas, or even than common atmospheric air Whether this ingredient be strictly a gas, permanent at all temperatures, or a mixture of olefiant gas with some new gas, constituted of hydrogen and charcoal, in different proportions from what are found in the known compounds of those elements, or merely the vapour of a volatile oil, the author leaves to be determined by a future course of experiments.

The only paper of any interest read to the Society in the course of March, was one by the President, Sir H Davy, on the Papyri of Herculaneum. In this paper Sir H gives an account, 1 Of his first experiments, performed in England in 1818, upon several fragments of papyri, which induced him to hope that chemistry might afford some assistance towards unrolling these interesting relics. 2. Of the state of the MSS found at Herculaneum. 3 Of the chemical processes employed on the MSS in the Museum at Naples, and of the reasons which ultimately compelled him to abandon the attempt; together with some general observations on the MSS of the ancients The papyri in question appear to consist of leaves reduced to the state of cinder, cemented by a matter soluble in certain liquids, but especially in muriatic and nitric ether Now, as chlorine, while it has a strong attraction for hydrogen, exerts no action upon carbonaceous substances, and, as charcoal forms the basis of ancient writing-ink, it occurred to Sir H that gas might be usefully employed to destroy the adhesion of the layers; he, therefore, made trial both of it and of other agents possessed of analogous properties, and his attempts were, to a certain extent, successful. The state of the Neapolitan specimens, and the undecomposed vegetable matter generally found in them, suggest some curious remarks respecting the causes of the changes they have undergone, and which, by the *Svolgatori* of Naples, have uniformly been ascribed to the action of fire, more or less intense Sir H. has shewn that this opinion is entirely erroneous The part of Herculaneum in which they were found had not been inundated by lava, but covered by a bed of tufa, composed of sand, volcanic ashes, stones, and dust, cemented by the action of water, probably at the moment of its ebullition Nor is the action of fire necessary to produce the imperfect carbonization observed in the MSS; for, at Pompeii, a town which had been buried by a shower of ashes, (which must have been cold, as they fell at the distance of seven or eight miles from the crater of Vesuvius,) the wood in the houses has been uniformly converted into charcoal, the colours on the walls, which heat would have either destroyed or altered, continue perfectly fresh; and the papyri discovered have been in the form of white ashes, or burnt paper. Among the Neapolitan MSS there are some covered with a glossy substance, resembling varnish, arising, Sir H suggests, from the decomposition of the skin used to enfold them, and now converted into a brilliant animal charcoal, leaving porphate of lime when burned, but producing at the same time no inconsiderable quantity of ammonia. At Naples, one method only

has been adopted for unrolling the volumes of carbonized papyrus, and it is entirely mechanical. It is the invention of Piaggi, a native of the Roman States, and consists in applying a thin animal membrane, (gold-beaters' skin), by a solution of glue, to the back of the MS, and carefully elevating the layers when the glue is dry Alcohol and ether were found useful auxiliaries in this delicate operation, and great advantage was also derived from throwing heated air upon the surface of the leaves, precaution being taken that the temperature should not be too rapidly raised The different MSS, however, required very different treatment During the two months Sir H Davy was employed in these experiments at Naples, he succeeded, with the assistance of the persons attached to the Museum, in partially unrolling about 23 MSS, from which fragments of writing were obtained, and in examining about 120 others, which gave no hopes of success. "And I should gladly have gone on with the undertaking," he adds, "from the mere prospect of a possibility of discovering some better results, had not the labour, in itself difficult and unpleasant, been made more so by the conduct of the persons at the head of this department in the Museum. At first every disposition was shewn to promote my researches, for the papyri remaining unrolled were considered by them as incapable of affording any thing legible by the former methods, or, to use their own words, *disperati*, and the efficacy and use of the new processes were fully allowed by the *Svolgatori*, or unrollers of the Museum; and I was for some time permitted to choose and operate upon the specimens at my own pleasure When, however, the Rev. Peter Elmsley, whose zeal for the promotion of ancient literature brought him to Naples, for the purpose of assisting in the undertaking, began to examine the fragments unrolled, a jealousy, with regard to his assistance was immediately manifested, and obstacles, which the kind interference of Sir William A'Court was not always capable of removing, were soon opposed to the progress of our inquiries; and these obstacles were so multiplied, and made so vexatious, towards the end of February, that we conceived it would be both a waste of the public money, and a compromise of our own characters, to proceed."

The Roman MSS., existing in the Museum of Naples, consist, in general, of papyrus, of a texture considerably thicker than that of the Greek MSS.; the characters, though much less perfect in formation, are also larger, and the rolls more voluminous. From the intermixture of Greek characters in some fragments of Latin MSS, and from the state of decomposition in which they were found, Sir H thinks it extremely probable that some of them were of very ancient date. The ink with which they were written was a mixture of charcoal and glue; while the silence of Pliny as to ink composed of galls and iron renders it improbable that such a composition was used up to this period, and leads to the conclusion that parchment and our present writing ink were adopted together, "for a mixture of charcoal and solution of glue can scarcely be made to adhere to the skin, whereas the free acid of the chemical ink partly dissolves the gelatine of the MSS, and the whole substance adheres as a mordant"

The most ancient parchment MSS. are probably the *Palimpsesta*, or *Codices Rescripti*, lately discovered by M Angelo Mai, in the libraries of Milan and of Rome. Sir H. examined these curious and valuable MSS, particularly that which contains several books of Cicero's treatise *De Republicâ*, and which M Mai refers to the second or third century. In these, time

has destroyed the vegetable of the ink, but the peroxide of iron remains, and M. Mai successfully employed solution of galls to revive its blackness. Sir H made trial of different substances for restoring colour to the letters in ancient MSS · The triple prussiate of potash, used in the manner recommended by Sir Charles Blagden, with the alternation of acid, he found successful, but by making a weak solution of it with a small quantity of muriatic acid, and applying them to the letters, in their state of mixture, with a camel's hair pencil, the results were still better

After all, it is probable that we have sustained no great loss by the destruction of the Herculaneum MSS It is remarkable that no fragments of Greek, and very few of Latin poetry, have been found in the whole collection The sentences in which Mr Elmsley found a sufficient number of words to enable him to decypher their meaning, shew that the works of which these are the fragments, are of the same kind as those formerly examined, and belong to the schools of the Greek Epicurean philosophers and sophists Sir H concludes by remarking, that, should any new MSS be discovered at Herculaneum, it would be desirable to have them immediately removed from the action of the air, by placing them in vases filled with carbonic acid There can be no doubt, he thinks, that the more perfect specimens which have remained in the Museum, exposed, since the period of their discovery, about 60 years ago, to the action of the air, have undergone so great changes, as to render their entire unrollment nearly, if not altogether, impossible

On the 5th of April, a paper was read on the Separation of Iron from other Metals, by J F W Herschell, Esq The proposed basis of a rigorous separation of iron from the metals (manganese, cerium, nickel, cobalt,) not precipitated by sulphuriated hydrogen, is a peculiarity in the peroxide of iron, in virtue of which it is incapable of subsisting in a neutral solution at the boiling temperature If a solution of this peroxide be neutralized when cold, and then heated, a portion is deposited in the state of a subsalt, and the liquid becomes acid, if allowed to cool, and again neutralized, a fresh portion of the metallic contents separates on re-applying the heat, and so on till the quantity held in solution is no longer sensible to the most delicate re-agents. If, on the other hand, the neutralization be performed *while actually boiling*, we attain this limit at one operation Hence, Mr Herschell recommends the following process — Having peroxidized, by means of nitric acid, a solution containing iron, and any of the abovementioned metals, drop into it, *while boiling*, carbonate of ammonia, till the acid reaction is entirely destroyed, *even going a little beyond the point of exact neutralization.* The whole of the iron, to the last atom, is separated, while the liquid retains in solution the other metallic oxides, *as well as the minute portion of their carbonates due to a trifling excess of the alkaline precipitant* In the cases of cobalt and cerium, the alkaline carbonate may be added in considerable excess, without separating any of the metals, and their solution, so freed from iron, is then *a most delicate test* of the presence of the latter metal

On the 31st of May, the reading of Mr Herapath's paper on Absolute Zero, (which had been commenced at a previous meeting,) was concluded The object of Mr Herapath was to determine the law of temperature, and the point of absolute cold, or zero. For this purpose, he contrived an apparatus for obviating the effects of radiation, and having mixed equal weights of mercury at a very high and low temperature, he carefully ascertained the temperature of the mixture. In

seven experiments of his own, thus made, and two of M De Luc's, he found that the results followed a law, from which they differed, at a medium, not more than 1-10th of a degree This law is, that the square of the temperature of a given portion of gas, varies as the elasticity and volume conjointly, and, therefore, when either continues the same, the temperature is as the square root of the other Hence Mr H found, that the heat of boiling water is to that of melting ice, as the $\sqrt{11}$ to the $\sqrt{8}$, or as 1 1726 to 1 nearly; and the point of absolute cold he also determines in a manner independent of any theory of heat, from the principle of an air thermometer.

In June nothing of any particular interest was communicated to the Society; and in July, the only paper we shall notice, was communicated on the 12th, and entitled, "On a New Compound of Chlorine and Carbon," by Messrs Phillips and Faraday This compound was brought to England, and given to these gentlemen by M Julin, of Abo, in Finland It was formed during the distillation of green vitriol and nitre, for the production of nitric acid, is of a solid crystalline body, fusible and volatile by heat, without decomposition; is insoluble in water, but soluble in alcohol, ether, and essential oils, sinks in water, burns with a red flame, giving off much smoke, and fumes of muriatic acid gas, is not acted upon by acids, and gives out chlorine, and deposits charcoal, when its vapour is heated in a tube till decomposition takes place Potassium burnt with it, forms chloride of potassium, and liberates charcoal; its vapour, detonated with oxygen over mercury, forms carbonic acid, and chloride of mercury, passed over hot oxide of copper, it constitutes a chloride of copper and carbonic acid; and over hot lime, it occasions ignition, and produces chloride of calcium, and carbonic acid It is composed of chlorine and carbon, and, from the experiments detailed, two parts appear to be formed of

1 portion of chlorine	. 44 1 . .	33 5
2 portions of carbon	. . 15 0 . .	11 4

Hence it is a sub-chloride of carbon All attempts to form it by other means have hitherto failed

After hearing another paper, by C Bell, Esq, on the Structure and Functions of the Nerves, read, the Society adjourned till the usual period.

THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH, 1820-1.

After the usual adjournment, this Society resumed its sittings on the 15th of November, 1819, when a paper, by Dr Brewster, was read, on the subject of Circular Polarization, a name by which he proposed to distinguish the phenomena first discovered by M Arago, along the axis of rock crystal, afterwards analyzed by M. Biot, and subsequently discovered by MM Biot and Seebeck in several fluids M Biot had shewn, that, in some specimens of rock crystal, a certain succession of tints was produced, by turning the analyzing prism direct from right to left, while, in other specimens, the same succession was developed by turning the prism in a retrograde di-

rection, from left to right He detected a similar difference in fluids; and he concluded that the cause of the phenomena resided in the ultimate particles of silex and the fluid, and was entirely independent of their mode of aggregation. The principal object of Dr B's paper was to describe the co-existence of the direct and retrograde structure in the same mineral, and the entire extinction of the circular polarization in the stratum which intervened between the two opposite structures He discovered traces of circular polarization in crystals with two axes, and detected some new properties of this remarkable species of polarization Several arguments were adduced to shew, in opposition to the opinion of Biot, that, in the case of crystals, or of solid bodies dissolved in fluids, the property of circular polarization cannot belong to the ultimate particles

Office-bearers and counsellors for the ensuing year were elected on the 29th

On the 6th of December a paper was read, containing further particulars respecting the celebrated slide at Alpnach, with a notice of its recent demolition Referring, for full and satisfactory information, to Professor Playfair's interesting description of this remarkable work, which the reader will find in the recent edition of his works, we need only mention that this slide was formed upon the side of Mount Pilatus, in the canton of Unterwalden, by Mr John Rupp, engineer, for the purpose of bringing down the valuable timber, with which the mountain was covered, into the Lake of Lucerne, from which the conveyance to the German Ocean was easy and expeditious. It was constructed of about 25,000 large pine-trees, deprived of their bark, and united together in a very ingenious manner, without the aid of iron It occupied 160 workmen during 18 months, cost nearly 100,000 francs, or 4250*l.*, extended about three leagues, or 44,000 English feet, and terminated in the Lake of Lucerne. It had the form of a trough, about six feet broad, and from three to six feet deep, its bottom was formed of three trees, the middle one of which had a groove, cut longitudinally, for receiving small rills of water, conducted into it from various places, for the purpose of diminishing the friction, and the whole of the slide was sustained by about 2000 supports, and in many places attached, in a very ingenious manner, to the rugged precipices of granite The direction was sometimes straight, and sometimes zig-zag, with an inclination of from 10° to 18°, it was carried along the sides of hills, and the banks, and sometimes the summits, of precipitous rocks, in some places it passed under ground, and in others was conducted over deep gorges by scaffoldings 120 feet in height In the progress of the work the greatest difficulties were encountered and overcome by zeal and perseverance When finished, it was found to answer every purpose for which it had been intended Large pines, about 120 feet in length, and ten inches in thickness at their smaller extremity, darted through the space of three leagues in 2½ minutes, and, during their rapid descent, appeared to be only a few feet in length. In order to shew the enormous force acquired by the trees from the velocity of their descent, M Rupp made arrangements for causing some of them to spring from the slide They penetrated, by their thickest extremities, no less than from 18 to 24 feet into the earth, and one of them having by accident struck against the other, it instantly cleft it through its whole length, as if it had been struck by lightning After the trees had descended the slide, they were collected into rafts upon the Lake, and conduct-

ed to Lucerne From thence they descended the Reuss, then the Aar, to near Brugg, afterwards to Waldshut, by the Rhine, then to Basle, and, lastly, to the sea, when it was necessary. We regret to add, that this magnificent structure no longer exists, scarcely a trace of it being to be seen on the flanks of Mount Pilatus Political circumstances having destroyed the principal source of the demand for the timber, although large and of excellent quality, the operation of cutting and transporting the trees has necessarily ceased

On the 3d and 17th of January, 1820, Dr Ferguson, inspector of hospitals, read a very interesting paper on the Nature and History of Marsh Poison, as known under the titles of Marsh Miasmata and Malaria From a reference to the medical topography of various places in the south of Europe and the West Indies, the author endeavoured to prove, that the universally received opinions of aqueous and vegetable putrefaction, single or combined, being the sources of this poison, were unfounded, that putrefaction, under any form, had no effect in producing it, that it never emanates from water, however putrid, nor is necessarily an exhalation from marshes, but, on the contrary, some peculiar modification of the atmosphere by heat and moisture, being the product of a highly advanced stage of the drying process in absorbent soils, which had previously and recently been saturated by water In support of this opinion, the author stated the following among other remarkable facts —" In the course of the Peninsular War, during the autumnal campaign of 1808, our troops, after the battle of Vimeira, were comparatively healthy The soil of the province around Lisbon, where they were quartered, is a very healthy one—a slight covering of light and sandy soil, on a substratum of hard rock, which is almost always so bare, that water can seldom be absorbed into it to any depth, but is held up to speedy evaporation. The season was fully as hot a one as is ordinarily seen in that country, but dysentery was the prevailing disease Early in 1809 the army advanced to Oporto, for the expulsion of the French, under Marshal Soult, from Portugal; which, during a very cold and wet month of May, (for that country,) they effected, without suffering any diseases but the ordinary ones of the bivouac; and in June, advanced again towards Spain, in a healthy condition, during very hot weather The army was still healthy, certainly without endemic fever, and marching through a singularly dry rocky country, of considerable elevation, on the confines of Portugal The weather had been so hot for several weeks as to dry up the mountain-streams, and in some of the hilly ravines, that had lately been watercourses, several of the regiments took up their bivouac, for the sake of being near the stagnant pools of water that were still left among the rocks The staff officers who had served in the Mediterranean, pointed out the dangerous nature of such an encampment; but as its immediate site amongst dry rocks, appeared to be quite unexceptionable, and the pools of water in the neighbourhood perfectly pure, it was not changed. Several of the men were seized with violent remittent fever, before they could move from the bivouac the following morning, and that type of fever, the first that had been seen on the march, continued to affect that portion of the troops exclusively for a considerable time. Till then, it had always been believed amongst us, that vegetable putrefaction (the humid decay of vegetables) was essential to the production of pestiferous miasmata; but, in the instance of the half-dried ravine before us, from the stony bed

of which (as soil never could lie for the torrents) the very existence of vegetation was impossible; it proved as pestiferous as the bed of a fen. The army advanced to Talavera, through a very dry country, and, in the hottest weather, fought that celebrated battle, which was followed by a retreat into the plains of Estremadura, along the course of the Guadiana river, at a time when the country was so arid and dry, for want of rain, that the Guadiana itself, and all the smaller streams, had in fact *ceased to be streams*, and were no more than lines of *detached pools* in the courses that had formerly been rivers; and then they suffered from remittent fevers, of such destructive malignity, that the enemy and all Europe believed that the British host was extirpated, and the superstitious natives, though sickly themselves, unable to account for disease of such uncommon type among the strangers, declared they had all been poisoned by eating the mushrooms, (a species of food they hold in abhorrence,) which sprung up after the first autumnal rains, about the time the epidemic had attained its height. In all the subsequent campaigns of the Peninsula, the same results uniformly followed, whenever, during the hot seasons, any portion of the army was obliged to occupy the arid encampments of the level country, which, at all other times, were healthy, or at least unproductive of endemic fever"

Other properties of the marsh poison, such as its particular attraction for, and adherence to, lofty umbrageous trees and rising grounds in the neighbourhood of swamps, its concentration in ravines, hollows, or leeward localities; its absorption from passing over water, and rarefaction or dissipation by the sun's heat, and regular currents of wind, were also pointed out and illustrated by a detail of facts, observed by the author during his service in the Peninsula and the West Indies * In the course of the paper, and while treating of the effect of the marsh poison, the author was led to consider its extreme and most baleful product, the yellow fever of the tropics, the non-contagious nature of which was established by a series of facts and arguments that appear to be completely conclusive. The highest degree of susceptibility and excitement from solar heat, on the part of the *subject*, combined with the highest state of preparation from the same, on the part of the *agent*, appear to be essential in all situations to the production of the dreadful yellow fever, which, luckily for mankind, is incapable of being transported to any locality of lower temperature, or texture of soil different from that which gave it birth. In conclusion, the author made some observations on the mode in which the marsh poison is received into the human constitution, whether by the lungs, the stomach, or the skin, which last, the author seemed to think, was the most probable channel, and supported this opinion by some illustrations taken from the plague in the Levant, and the peculiar idiosyncracy of the African or Creole negroes, to whom the marsh miasmata are, in fact, no poison.

On the 7th of February, a paper by Dr Brewster was read, on the Mean Temperature of the Earth The object of this paper was to explain a new

* During the years 1815, 1816, and 1817, Dr Ferguson was employed to make a topographical health survey of all the West India colonies, which afforded him opportunities of the most favourable kind of improving the observations he had elsewhere made upon pestiferous miasmata.

and simple formula, for finding the mean temperature of any place in the western region of the Old World, in all latitudes, and to point out its remarkable accordance with the fine series of observations collected and arranged by M Humboldt The formula given by the Doctor was,

$$T = 81\ 5^{\circ} \text{ Cos } L$$

T being the temperature at the level of the sea, in degrees of Fahrenheit's scale, L the latitude of the place, and 81 5° the mean temperature of the equator, as deduced by Humboldt. This formula gives, to a remarkable degree of exactness, the mean temperature of the parallel of 78° in the Greenland seas, as ascertained from numerous observations by Mr Scoresby, and from its coincidence with observations at the equator, in the parallel of 45°, and in the Arctic regions, there can be little doubt that the mean temperature of the North Pole differs very little from 0° of Fahrenheit, in place of 32°, as assumed by Mayer and others The formula of Mayer errs no less than 9° in latitude 78° The paper was accompanied with a table of the ascertained mean temperature of thirty-one places, compared with the new formula, and with that of Mayer, the sum of the errors of the former being 76.73°, that of the latter only 26 41°

Nothing calling for particular notice in this place, occurred till the 15th of May, on which day, Dr Duncan, sen, read a Biographical Account of the late Dr Daniel Rutherford. Dr R. was born at Edinburgh on the 3d of November, 1749. He took his degree of M D in 1772, on which occasion the subject of his Thesis was *De Aere Fixo* In this dissertation he pointed out, for the first time, a new gaseous substance, since distinguished by the name of azote, or nitrogen He was admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, on the 6th of May 1777. In a paper on Nitre, read before the Philosophical Society in 1778, he described, under the name of vital air, what is now called oxygen gas, considering its basis as a necessary constituent of every acid, and even stating it as not improbable, that by this element *they were acid.* On the death of Dr John Hope, in 1786, he was elected Professor of Botany, and Keeper of the Botanic Garden; a duty which he discharged till the time of his death, which took place on the 15th of November, 1819, in the seventy-first year of his age

On the 1st of June, an Abstract of a Mathematical Paper, by Professor Wallace, was read In the year 1808, Mr Wallace communicated to the Royal Society, a paper on the Quadrature of the Conic Sections, and the Computation of Logarithms, which was published in the sixth volume of its Transactions In that paper, general expressions for the reciprocal of any elliptic or hyperbolic sector; likewise for the reciprocals of its second and third power, and analogous expressions were investigated for the reciprocals of the powers of the logarithm of a number These were found by principles at once simple and elementary, without any reference to the differential, or other equivalent calculus, and, unlike the ordinary series, which, in some cases, converge too slowly to be of any practical use, they are always applicable. In the paper to which this notice refers, the same elementary principles are applied to the investigation of new series, for the simple powers of the areas of elliptic and hyperbolic sectors, and for the logarithm of a number, and these are at once simple and symmetrical in their number, and universally applicable From the general expression for the area of the sector of any conic section, we derive the following for the arc of a circle

Let a denote any arc of which the rad $=1$.
Put v for $1-\cos a$
n for $1+\cos a+2\cos \frac{1}{2}a$
n' for $1+\cos \frac{1}{2}a+2\cos \frac{1}{4}a$
n'' for $1+\cos \frac{1}{4}a+2\cos \frac{1}{8}a$
n''' for $1+\cos \frac{1}{8}a+2\cos. \frac{1}{16}a$ And so on

$$\text{Then } a=\sin. a\left(1+\frac{v}{n}+\frac{v}{nn'}+\frac{v}{nn'n''}+\frac{v}{nn'n''n'''}+\text{ \&c}\right)$$

The expressions for elliptic, or hyperbolic areas, and for the logarithm of any number, are exactly of the same form The terms of this expression are found from the cosines of a series of arcs or sectors, which constitute a geometrical progression. In like manner, the terms of the expression for an elliptic or hyperbolic sector, are formed from a series of abscissæ corresponding to elliptic and hyperbolic sectors, each of which is one-half of that before it. These abscissæ are found by precisely the same formula in the two curves, and in the beginning of the paper, general theorems are investigated, which express the relation between the co ordinates corresponding to an elliptic and hyperbolic sector, and those which correspond to any multiple of that sector The theorems are deduced from a single property common to both curves, without employing any geometrical constructions, and without introducing impossible quantities

Two other papers, one, on a Petrifaction found near Edinburgh, and another, on the Effects of injecting a Solution of Opram into a Vein, in an anomalous Nervous Affection, were then read, after which the Society adjourned till November.

On the 6th of November, the Society resumed its sittings, and on the 27th, Sir Walter Scott, Bart, was elected President, in the room of Sir James Hall, Bart., who had resigned. At this meeting, the following resolution, moved by Dr Hope, and seconded by Sir George Mackenzie, Bart, was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be transmitted to Sir James Hall "The Royal Society having, in compliance with the wish of Sir James Hall, Bart, refrained from again placing him at their head, beg to avail themselves of this opportunity to offer him their best thanks, both for his long and zealous services as their President, and for the numerous valuable communications with which he has enriched their Transactions, and contributed materially to maintain the reputation of the Society"

At the meeting of the 4th of December, a notice by Dr Brewster was read, on the Distribution of Heat in the Arctic Regions The object of this notice, which may be considered a continuation of the Doctor's former paper, on the Mean Temperature of the Earth, was to point out the remarkable agreement between the formula which he had formerly given, and the observations of Captain Parry He shewed that the Pole of the earth was not the coldest point, but that there were two Poles of maximum cold, situated at a distance from the Pole, and in the meridians passing through North America and Siberia. The agreement of this view of the distribution of heat, with the series of observations reduced by Humboldt, was also pointed out;

and, by giving a position to the two Poles, and assuming their temperature, the author deduced a general formula for all meridians, and shewed, that the differences between the calculated and observed results were far within the limits of the errors of observation The form of the isothermal lines resembles, generally, that of the isochromatic curves which surround the resultant axes of crystals, with two axes of double refraction. In conclusion, the author pointed out the analogy between the magnetic and isothermal curves in the Polar regions, and, noticing their similarity of position, and conjecturing that these isothermal lines might have a motion of revolution round the Pole of the earth, he shewed how, upon such a supposition, the low temperature of ancient Europe might be explained, and how we might account for the remains of plants, and land and sea animals, being found in climates where they could not now exist.

On the 18th, three papers were read, but we shall only notice Major Rennell's Remarks on the Currents between the Parallels of Cape Finisterre and the Canary Islands The general result is, that navigators who depart from the parallel of the southern part of the Bay of Biscay, (or say 45°,) and sail in the usual track southward, will be assailed by a S.E current, and then by an *easterly* one, till they have passed the parallel of Cape Finisterre, when the current will again turn to the S. of E and gradually become a S E. current, till having passed Cape St Vincent, it becomes easterly again. This current is very general across the mouth of the Bay, between Cape St Vincent and Cape Cantin Beyond this Bay, the current again becomes S E, and continues as far as the parallel of 25°, and is felt beyond Madeira westward, that is at least 130 leagues from the coast of Africa The rate of this current varies considerably, that is, from 12 to 20, or more miles, in 24 hours Major Rennell thinks 16 miles rather below the mean rate. Hence, a ship sailing in the usual track to Madeira or the Canaries, will be carried to the S E at the rate of 16 miles per day, or from 150 to 160 miles in the course of her voyage, and on a S E by S course, from 80 to 90 miles to the E of her intended port If we suppose a S E. course, the error in easting will be no less than 109 miles, a distance which would carry a ship bound for Teneriffe to Allegranza, or Fortaventura, and one making for Allegranza to the Barbary Coast Vessels bound to the Canaries, or intending to sail between those islands and the mainland of Africa, if without chronometers, as that class of merchant ships generally are, should, therefore, to every day's reckoning, *add ten miles for easting* "It is this current," adds Major R. "that has furnished the roving Arabs of the desart with their victims from every nation, and the good Mr Willshire with objects of benevolence"

Of the papers read at the different meetings in January, the only one we shall notice here, is Mr Scoresby's Description of a Magnetimeter for Measuring the Dip of the Needle. This instrument, consisting of a small table of brass, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, and $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, having a plate of brass attached to it by hinges, and movable by means of a wheel and pinion, through an arch of 250° of a vertical circle. This plate has a small straight groove running from end to end, for the purpose of receiving bars of metal, the polarity of which is to be determined These bars are readily fixed to the plate, by being slipped through a circular aperture in the end of a spring, which, perforating the movable plate, and acting downward, firmly embraces any substance laid along the groove. The angular position of the movable

plate is marked by a graduated circle screwed upon the side of the table. On the brass table is placed a movable flat plate of brass, divided into rhumbs and degrees, and furnished with a magnetic needle, with an agate cap traversing on a brass or steel point. The needle can be changed according to the nature of the circumstances, a very light, and strongly magnetized one being used in delicate experiments The compass, or plate, carrying the needle, being movable, its distance from the bar resting on the movable plate, can be varied at pleasure The centre of the hinges is one tenth of an inch above the level of the table, the magnetized needle stands at the same elevation, and the bars in use being one-fourth of an inch in diameter, are sunk in the groove of the movable plate to such depth, that their axis, or centre, precisely corresponds with the centre of the hinges, hence the middle of the extremity of each bar is at the same elevation, and at the same distance from the needle, in every position of the movable limb To give firmness to the instrument, in making experiments, the table is fixed by the feet to a mass of lead, of seven or eight pounds weight. By means of this plate of lead, which has a screw at each corner, the whole apparatus is readily put into a horizontal position With this apparatus, Mr Scoresby made a series of experiments, which are fully detailed in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, vol IX p 243, to which we beg leave to refer.

At the meeting of the 5th of March, there were laid before the Society drawings, and a description of a 25 feet reflecting telescope, constructed by Mr John Ramage of Aberdeen. Excepting those of the celebrated Sir W. Herschell, this, we believe, is the largest telescope ever constructed, and does honour to Scotland, as well as its ingenious author. The speculum is 25 feet in focal length, and 15 inches in diameter The method of observing is by the front view, the power is from 50 to 1500; and the mechanism by which the observer and the instrument are moved, is so simple and well contrived, that it can be managed and directed to any point of the heavens as readily as a three feet achromatic telescope

On the 2d of April, there was read to the Society a letter from Sir David Milne, Bart, to Professor Russel, giving an account of the method of fishing for large corals in the Island of Bermuda They are found round the island in large abundance, in about three feet water at low tide, and are principally attached to the edge of the coral reefs, where the water deepens suddenly to 10 or 18 feet They are fixed to the reef by a kind of stalk, and seem of all sizes, from two inches to several feet in diameter, growing in clusters like mushrooms When first taken out of the water, they are of a light brown or snuff colour, but after a few weeks exposure to the sun, they become perfectly white

A great variety of papers, not calling for particular notice, were read betwixt this and the 18th of June, when the Society adjourned its meetings till November

ROYAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE

THE Royal Institute of France, as our readers may perhaps know, consists of four branches, called Academies, the Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, the Academy of Fine Arts, and the French Academy, each of which strictly confines itself to its own appropriate department of knowledge or of art. Of these different branches, however, by far the most distinguished, is the Academy of Sciences, which reckons among its members, the most eminent scientific characters of the age, and to the proceedings of which alone, the present abstract will, therefore, be entirely restricted. This determination has been rendered imperative on our part, both by the narrow limits to which we are confined, and the comparatively unimportant and uninteresting character of the proceedings of the other three academies, which, from the decided preference given to science, both during the revolution, and subsequently under the imperial government, have lost much of that reputation, (particularly the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres,) which they possessed under the ancient regime

The Academy of Sciences commenced its sittings for the year 1820, on the 3d of January, when M. Boue read a Memoir, entitled, "A Geological Essay on Scotland," which he has since published, in an enlarged form, thereby superseding the necessity of any particular notice in this place On the 17th, M Biot read a paper, entitled, "On a New Physical Property which Plates of Glass acquire, when they perform Longitudinal Vibrations" The property of which M. Biot speaks, is the power which glass acquires, while in a state of vibration to depolarize the light which traverses it Having prepared a larger *faisceau* of polarized light, he received it on a plate of black glass, so placed as to occasion no reflection, and the actual state of which he had examined before interposing it to the path of the light Some traces were now discovered, of colours corresponding to the tints of the primary rings of Newton's table, and bearing an evident analogy to those presented by longitudinal pieces of glass, which have been powerfully heated, and then rapidly cooled There was this peculiarity, however, that these traces were most sensible towards the middle of the piece of glass, whether viewed in front, or laterally, and that they rapidly diminished towards the two sides of this middle part, so as to disappear entirely at the extremities But when the plate of glass was interposed in the path of the ray, so that the ray might pass directly through its thickness, which was about seven millimetres, (.27559 inches,) a slight change was with difficulty perceived, in the languid reflection which took place on the blackened glass, prepared to absorb the polarized ray; but if one half of the plate of glass, taken by the middle, was rubbed with a moistened cloth, so as to excite longitudinal vibrations, while the other half was placed in the path of the faisceau of polarized light, at each time a sound was produced, a brilliant flash of white light shone on the surface of the absorbent glass, which proves that a change had taken place in the direc-

tion of the polarization; and the more the sound (its tone remaining the same) became full and intense, the brighter was the light thus perceived, while the moment it ceased, the absorbent glass resumed its original state, and the polarization its primitive direction. If, instead of transmitting the polarized faisceau across the thickness of the plate, which was seven millimetres, it was directed across its breadth, which was 30, (1 18110 inches,) immediately delicate lines of colour, analogous to the first order of rings, appeared in the direction of the length of the plate, modifying the primitive coloured striæ, and presenting, not only the bluish white of the first order, but descending even to the orange M Biot concluded the detail of these curious experiments, by some remarks on the ratio of the distribution of the light elicited by these vibratory motions in the particles of the plates of glass, and by a comparison of the results with some previous experiments by MM Savart and Chladny

At the same sitting, M Dumeril, in the name of a committee, made a report of a case in practical medicine, which had been communicated to the Academy by M Chomel A young woman, after having experienced several attacks of hysteria, was seized with a periodical cough, which commenced every day about two o'clock, and continued with extraordinary violence for seven or eight hours This periodical access of coughing had been transformed into real attacks of hysteria, and this conversion, provoked, or produced, by the administration of extract of *belladona,* (deadly nightshade,) was, in this particular case, the more fortunate, as the attacks of hysteria yielded easily to the administration of quinquina (Peruvian bark)

The proceedings of the Academy, in February, do not call for any particular notice. At the sitting of the 6th of March, M Cauchy made a report on a Note of M Lepely, relative to the summation of descending progressions. This Note contains the curious proposition, which, however, may be demonstrated by a simple comparison of triangles, that if, in a trapezium having three sides equal to one another, and smaller than the fourth, the two sides not parallel be produced till they meet, the lengths comprised under these two sides, between the point where they meet, and the base of the trapezium, will be numerically equal to the sum of the descending geometrical progression, which shall have for its ratio, the relation between the two parallel sides, and for its term, the smallest of these sides

On the 19th, M de Humboldt read a most ingenious memoir, " On the Nocturnal Increase in the Intensity of Sound " This phenomenon has been remarked from the remotest antiquity. Aristotle speaks of it in his *Problems,* (Sect. XI quæst 5 and 23,) and Plutarch in his *Dialogues,* (*Sympos* Lib. VIII cap 3. vol II p 720, Franck Edit. 1620,) and numerous attempts have at different times been made, to give a satisfactory solution of a fact, which every one must have observed. Prior to that proposed in the memoir of this celebrated traveller, we are not aware of any that deserve the name of scientific, or serve, even in an imperfect degree, to explain and connect the numerous facts which have been observed and recorded In this paper, the ingenious author considers only the increase of intensity in a tranquil state of the atmosphere, there being no difficulty as to that produced by the wind during the night, and which is modified by the relation subsisting between the direction of the wind and that of the *sonorous ray* Under the same zone, for example, between the tropics, the nocturnal increase of the

intensity of sound appeared to the author greater in the plains than on the back of the Andes, at the height of 3000 metres (9843 feet) above the level of the ocean, and more considerable in low regions in the midst of continents than in the open sea In these differences between the higher and lower regions of equinoctial America, the relations of intensity are considered under the same barometrical pressure, the object of the author being not to compare the absolute intensity at different heights, but the difference between the nocturnal and diurnal intensity on the plateaux and on the plains * The sound of the Grand Cataracts of the Oronoco, heard at the distance of more than a league, in the plain which surrounds the mission of Atures, creates a belief that one is in the vicinity of a coast studded with reefs and breakers, is three times louder in the night than during the day, and gives an inexpressible charm to these solitary regions What can be the cause of this increase of intensity in a desert where nothing exists to disturb the silence of nature? This, the author shews, cannot be owing to the diminished temperature during the night, which, instead of augmenting, rather retards the rapidity with which sound is propagated The same effect is produced by a current of wind opposed to the direction of the sound, and by the dilatation of the air, by which the density, and consequently the elasticity are diminished Nor, in regions uninhabited by man, can this remarkable phenomenon be accounted for by the cessation of the humming of insects, the chaunting of birds, or the rustling of leaves; for in the forests which border on the Oronoco, the air is constantly filled with innumerable multitudes of mosquitos, the humming of insects is much stronger during the night than during the day, and the breeze, if felt at all, does not blow till after sun-set. The author thinks that the presence of the sun acts on the propagation and intensity of sound, by the obstacles opposed by currents of air of different density, and the partial undulations of the atmosphere, caused by the unequal heating of different parts of the soil. In a tranquil state of the air, whether it be dry, or charged with humidity, the sonorous wave is propagated without difficulty, but when the atmosphere is traversed in all directions, by small currents of warmer air, the sonorous wave is divided into two parts, one of which returns upon the other, and retards the propagation of sound, in short, the cause is to be sought for in the want of homogeneity in the elastic medium. In order to give a precise idea of these currents of heated air which rise during the day from a soil unequally acted on by the sun's rays, the author relates several experiments which he made under the tropics In the *Llanos* or Steppes of Venezuela, he found the sand, at two o'clock in the day, at 52 5°, and sometimes even at 60° of the Centigrade thermometer, (126 5° and 110° Fahr) The temperature of the air in the shade of a Bombax, was 36 2° (97 16° F), in the sun, at 18 inches above the ground, 42 8° (109° F) In the night, the temperature of

* The variations of absolute intensity, observed at different elevations in the atmosphere, have long ago been explained by the mathematical theory of sound Al Poisson (*Journal de l'Ecole Polytechnique*, VII 328) has even arrived at the remarkable result, that the intensity of sound propagated upwards or downwards, vertically, or in oblique sonorous rays, depends only on the density of the stratum of air from which the sound issues

the sand was only 28° (82 5° F), it had lost more than 24° (43 2° F) Near the cataracts of the Oronoco, the soil being covered with a rich vegetation, is seldom heated, during the day, beyond 30°, (86° 1 ,) the air being 26° (79° F), while the immense masses of surrounding granite, are, at the same time, heated as high as 48° (118 1° F) If the cause of the nocturnal increase of sound, here pointed out, be true, it need surprise no one, that under the torrid zone, this increase should be greater in the interior of the continent than in the open sea, in the plains, than on the back of the Cordilleras The surface of the sea is uniformly heated, and never above 29° C, while the surface of the continents, unequally coloured, and composed of materials which radiate differently, acquires, near the equator, temperatures which vary from 30° C. to 52° C Under the tropics, the earth is generally, during the night, warmer than the air, in the temperate zone, during calm and serene nights, it becomes 4° or 5° C colder In a word, the phenomenon depends upon that want of homogeneity in the vertical columns of the atmosphere, which, according to M Arago, is also the true cause of the scintillation, more or less vivid, of the stars

At the same sitting M Dumeril read a report, in name of the Committee appointed to examine the Memoir, presented to the Academy, by M Deveze, and in which he discusses the important question, Whether the yellow fever be contagious? We are induced to notice this Memoir, because many of the opinions entertained by the author, on the subject of *contagion* and *infection*, differ entirely from those of which we have already had occasion to speak, in submitting to our readers, a condensed abstract of the facts and reasonings in Dr Ferguson's able paper, read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, (and since published in vol. IX of their Transactions) on the subject of Miasma. M Deveze thinks that the yellow fever is not *contagious*, and that its development and propogation are the result of *infection* *Infection*, according to this author, is a morbific mode by which a centre of putrefaction gives to an individual, subjected to its influence, the pre-disposition to contract a disease of a particular description, or, at least, occasions the determination of that disease, when the individual has been already pre disposed to contract it The constant characteristics of infectious diseases are, that they originate in all places under the influence of a centre of putrefaction, and never anywhere else, that a great number of persons may be attacked by them at the same moment, without any previous communication between them, &c *Contagion*, on the contrary, is a mode of a disease by which an individual seized with a morbific affection communicates it to another, by means of a virus attached to a solid body, or suspended in the atmosphere The facts upon which M Deveze grounds his opinions are these 1 In all countries where the yellow fever habitually prevails, there are places where it is never developed, except in the case of persons who have imported the germ of disease from the focus of infection 2 Under temperate climates, the malady never spreads in the plains, and the elevated quarters of cities are often exempt from this scourge, when it ravages those parts which are low and humid 3 In well regulated hospital, the yellow fever never shews itself except on those individuals who were affected with it when they entered 4 Eighteen individuals died at Alcala de los Paideros of the yellow fever, which they had contracted at Seville while no inhabi-

tant of Alcala was attacked by it And, 5 It has never, according to M Devèze, been found possible to propagate the yellow fever by inoculation

In the subsequent sittings of this month, the Academy was occupied in judging and awarding the prizes for treatises on various questions of science previously proposed as subjects for competition

The proceedings during the month of April require no particular notice. On the 1st of May, M. de la Place announced to the Academy, the recommencement of the important operation long since begun by the engineers of the *Depôt de la Guerre*, and which will be completed by the Sardinian astronomers, it consists in the measurement of the parallel comprized between Bordeaux and Fiume In order to complete the geodesical part, it is only necessary to construct a small number of triangles on the Alps On the 15th, M Chossat presented a Memoir on the Nervous System, upon Animal Heat This valuable paper, from the great multiplicity of the experiments and details, admits not of any intelligible abridgment, within the limits we can afford, and we therefore beg leave to refer the scientific reader to the *Journal de Physique*, vol XCI pp 5 and 92.

At the sitting of the 5th of June, a Memoir was read by M Benoiston de Chateauneuf, on the mortality produced by Affections of the Pulmonary System The examinations of the registers of deaths in the city of Paris, (said to be made with the greatest care) for the years 1816, 1817, and 1818, give 62,141 deaths in all, of which

604 have been caused by asthma,
1894 by pleurisy and peripneumony,
4259 by catarrhs,
6971 by phthisis

13,728

So that diseases of the pulmonary system cause more than the fifth part of all the deaths which take place in Paris, and the proportions in which these different diseases operate, are as follow.

Asthma carries off one in 100
Pleurisy and peripneumony one in 33
Catarrhs one in 15.
Phthisis one in 9

The autumn is generally supposed the period of the year most fatal to consumptive patients, the author of the Memoir has shewn that, in the instance of Paris at least, this opinion is not well founded The average of 1816, 1817, and 1818, gives the following comparative results, shewing the relative mortality occasioned by phthisis at different seasons of the year

Spring, 1892
Summer, 1621
Autumn, 1723
Winter, 1735

From which it appears that spring and winter are the seasons most fatal to consumptive patients in the French capital With regard to the female sex, M de Châteauneuf shews, that in Paris a third more women than of men die of consumption, while in the villages round Paris the mortality is nearly equal among the sexes, the proportion for the remainder of the country is one in eleven, instead of one in nine, as in the capital, and from ten to fifty is the period of life both in Paris and the country at which phthisis produces the greatest ravages

We shall conclude the proceedings of this year with a brief notice of the Lectures of M Ampère, read before the Academy of Sciences

28th September —M Ampere reduced the phenomena observed by M Oersted to two general facts He

shewed that the current in the pile acts upon the magnetic needle like that of the communicating wire He described the experiments by which he had established the attraction or repulsion of the whole of a magnetic needle by the communicating wire, as well as the instruments which he proposed to have constructed, and, among others, spirals and galvanic helices He stated, that in every case these last would produce the same effect as magnets He next entered into some details as to the manner in which he conceived magnets indebted for their properties solely to electrical currents in planes perpendicular to their axis, and upon the similar currents which he believed to exist in the terrestrial globe, so that he reduced all the phenomena of magnetism to effects purely electrical

Sept 25 —M Ampère more fully developed his theory, and announced the novel fact of the attraction and repulsion of two electrical currents, without the interposition of a magnet, a fact which he had observed in conductors of the spiral form

Oct 9 —M Ampère exhibited to the Academy the experiments which establish the identity of action between the communicating wire and the enclosed curves, and which he conceived similar to electrical currents in planes perpendicular to the line which connects the two poles of the magnets In the two rectilineal electrical currents, he pointed out the same effects which he had indicated at the former sitting in the currents of the spiral conductors. He then described the method he has since adopted for calculating the effects of electrical currents of a given length, after which he proceeded, by a comparison of the results of experiment and calculation respectively, to determine the law of the attractions and repulsions of two portions infinitely small of electrical currents He also dwelt upon those differences which establish not only a dissimilarity, but almost a complete opposition, between the attractions and repulsions of electrical currents and those of common electricity

Oct. 16 —M Ampère read a note relative to the fine experiments of M. Arrago, on the magnetizing of steel by means of the current produced by a voltaic pile The object of the note was to shew, that all the circumstances of this action of the electrical currents were conformable to what he had already announced on the identity of these currents and of those which he conceives to exist in magnets, and that they might be considered as completing the demonstration of that remarkable law

Oct 30 —M Ampère announced to the Academy, that, in conformity with his theory of the phenomena presented by electrical currents and by magnets, the action of the terrestrial globe brought, in a plane perpendicular to the direction of the dipping needle, the plane of a moveable portion of the conductor of a voltaic pile, arranged so as to form almost an entire circuit He described two forms of apparatus, the first of which had served to produce the movement of the communicating wire, in the direction of the needle of a compass in the horizontal plane, according to the line of declination, the second, that which corresponds to the direction of the dipping needle in the plane of the magnetic meridian At the same time, he exhibited an instrument by which a portion of an electrical current, the conductor of which is attached to a vertical pivot, may be deflected by the action of another current, by which means the two currents become parallel, and follow the same direction

Nov 6.—Having announced to the Academy a fact relative to the action of spiral conductors, which he had discovered before he was aware of its

cause, and which M Arago had equally observed, M. Ampère arrived at the following results —1 A very simple means of neutralizing the longitudinal effect of an electrical current in a conductor of a spiral form, and hence, of reducing the action of the transverse effect, then entirely identical with that of a magnet 2 A law, which the author had no farther verified than in relation to the action exercised by that species of currents, but which appears to be true in general of every one of those portions, infinitely small, of which, in order to calculate their effects, electrical currents must be considered as composed At the same sitting, he also exhibited an instrument, by which the effect of a current in a spiral conductor is neutralized in this manner by the prolongation of that conductor, which returns, in a straight line, into the axis of the spiral, from which it is separated by the sides of a glass tube. This instrument, suspended by a needle, like the needle of a compass, presents all the properties of one, when acted upon by a magnet, its extremities represent the poles, in the situation which, according to the theory, they ought to occupy

Nov 13 —At this sitting, M Ampère read a note upon the electro-chemical effects of a spiral iron wire, submitted solely to the action of the terrestrial globe. The action of the earth directing an electrical current, as well as it directs a magnet, our author thinks that this action, like that of a magnet in the experiment of M Fresnel, ought to have some influence on the oxydation of an iron wire in water M. Ampere caused to be immersed, under a small glass receiver, in a weak solution of chlorure of sodium, the two extremities of an iron wire, that made thirty revolutions round a cylinder of pasteboard, the axis of which was nearly parallel to the dipping needle The two wires soon appeared covered with several bubbles, which, agreeably to theory, were more numerous upon the wire which corresponded to the negative pole of the pile During three days that the apparatus continued in action, the author several times caused the bubbles which had been formed ascend to the top of the receiver, till no more remained on the wires Each time new ones were produced on the wire which had at first given out the greatest number, and which continued brilliant to the end of the experiment The other wire, after being oxidized, presented few or no bubbles The apparatus having been overturned by accident, M Ampère was prevented from discovering whether the bubble which rose to the upper part of the receiver contained hydrogen, or a greater proportion of azote than atmospheric air, or if it was air, such as is generally contained in water, and which would have been disengaged by the elevation of the temperature of the apartment In repeating the experiment with the same apparatus, M Ampere discovered only slight indications of electro-chemical action, so that, as to the existence of that peculiar species of action, doubts still remain, which future and more varied experiments can only remove

Dec 4 —The object of M Ampère, on the present occasion, was to find the analytical expression of the mutual action of the two electrical currents, from a general law, deduced from a multitude of facts and experiments previously developed, which law consists in this, that if we assume an infinitely small portion of an electrical current, and conceive, at the same point in space, other portions of electrical currents, also infinitely small, which may have the same relation to the first, in direction and intensity, which the elements of a force have in amount and direction, relatively to that

force, the combination of these portions of electrical currents corresponding to the constituent, will, in every case, exert precisely the same action as that which corresponds to their resultant. It is from this law that he has deduced the analytical expression of the mutual action of two small portions of electrical currents —first, in the case in which they are both perpendicular to the line which joins their point of bisection, and, secondly, in the general case, where they form with that line any angles whatever, as α and β In both cases, the analytical expression has been developed, but, as we have not room to set down the different steps, we must content ourselves, instead of merely giving the resulting formula, which would be unintelligible by itself, with referring the scientific reader to the *Journal de Physique*, xci 226, where he will find the subject treated in a very able and luminous manner

Dec 11 —At this sitting, M Ampère read a supplement to the foregoing Memoir, in which he gives an account of two experiments which tend to verify the formula he had previously deduced, and subjoined some observations on the analogy existing between this formula and that which expresses the effects of radiant heat, and likewise upon the consequences deduced from that formula, which agree perfectly with the facts observed by other philosophers

In the proceedings of 1821, nothing deserving particular mention was laid before the Academy, till the 12th of March, when M Halle read the report of the committee on a Memoir of M. Chomel, entitled, " Observations on the use of the Sulphates of Quinine and Cinchonine in Intermitting Fevers "—The object of the author was to ascertain if the substances known under the names of *quinine* and *cinchonine*, that is, the characteristic alkalis of the yellow and grey quinquina, combined in the state of sulphates, rendered more soluble by that combination, and preserving the pungency peculiar to the quinquinas from which they are extracted, possess the qualities of febrifuge in the same degree with the original bark. M Double, a physician of extensive practice and great experience, had already shewn the utility of these compounds in the treatment of tertian and double-tertian, quartan and double quartan fevers In his hands the administration of sulphate of quinine had been attended with immediate and complete success, and generally after the first doses, in the cases of six patients of different ages, among whom were an infant of nine years old, and a woman whose health was impaired by the irregularities of the critical age The number of observations recorded by M Chomel is fourteen, in six of which the cessation of the fever was owing to the sulphate of quinine, and took place either immediately after the first dose, or after the second The doses generally effectual consisted of from 6 to 12 grains, in only a single instance did they amount to 24, in one case, complete success followed the administration of a dose of 5 grains, in another of 8 and 12, although in the first of these instances the simple bark had been administered in half-ounce doses without any sensible effect, and in the other the extract in doses of a drachm each The sulphate of cinchonine was employed by M Chomel only in one instance, from 6 to 20, and from 20 to 21 grains were requisite to produce complete success In the thirteenth observation, the resinous matter of quinquina, in doses of one and two ounces, was first employed without any success, then the ligneous part in doses of one ounce, and thirdly, the sulphate prepared with the quinine extracted from

the Carthagina bark in doses of 24 grains, immediately after this last trial the sulphate of quinine extracted from yellow quinquina, given in doses of the same amount, definitively terminated the fever In three cases the salts of quinine failed, as well as the bark in its original state.

On the 30th of April, M Cuvier presented to the Academy the head of Descartes, which M Berzelius, Secretary of the Academy of Stockholm, had purchased, at a public sale, in Sweden, and which he had been eager to transmit to the native country of that truly great man He also read the letter, in which M Berzelius gives an account of the particulars, hitherto unknown, respecting the history of that head, and which tend to establish its genuineness At the same time, M Cuvier presented an engraved portrait of Descartes, remarking, that all the traits indicated by the osseous parts, are similar to the characters of the head presented by M Berzelius, which, according to M. Cuvier, completed the proof that this was in reality the head of Descartes.*

The remaining proceedings of the Academy for the year possess no manner of interest, either to the general or scientific reader, if we except a masterly Memoir by M de Laplace, on the Attraction of Spherical Bodies, and the Repulsion of Elastic Fluids, which was read on the 10th of September, and of which we will endeavour to give some account, in the view of the Improvements and Discoveries in Science during the years 1820, and 1821.

* Descartes died at Stockholm, whither he had repaired at the request of Queen Christina, on the 11th of February 1650, (in the 54th year of his age,) and his remains were interred in that capital, but eighteen years afterwards removed to Paris, where a magnificent monument was erected to him in the church of St Geneviève du Mont How, when the exhumation took place, the head of this great philosopher was left behind, neither M Berzelius nor the French Academicians have thought proper to inform us M. Delambre expressed his doubts as to the authenticity of the skull in question

No IV

REPORTS, &c

ON

DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF PUBLIC ECONOMY

I AGRICULTURAL REPORT

THE year 1821, like the two former, was upon the whole productive, and the fall in the prices of land produce, which commenced in 1819, has proceeded with little interruption ever since; and this, notwithstanding a marked improvement, in the course of the present year, in the condition of the great body of the consumers, other than the agricultural classes themselves, and with the ports of this country closed against the importation of foreign grain.

Yet the weather was not so steadily favourable, as in some former seasons The first two months of the year, indeed, were uncommonly mild and pleasant, but March and April were wet, and May, June, and the greater part of July, cold, with frequent hail-showers, hoar-frost, and the wind from the north About the end of July, when the prospect of the harvest was by no means encouraging, especially upon thin dry soils, some refreshing showers fell, after which the temperature became higher, and the weather, though still variable, continued friendly to the ripening and ingathering of the crops, till the whole were secured in good order, over the greater part of the United Kingdom This was particularly the case throughout the whole of Scotland and the north of England, but in the south of England and also in some parts of Ireland, a great deal of rain fell for about a month, from the last week of August, which injured the wheat and barley in some districts to such a degree, that the corn market rose very rapidly, wheat from 54s 7d, the weekly average on the 1st of September, to 70s. 7d. on the 29th of the same month, and apprehensions of scarcity became very prevalent But the decline of prices which occurred in October, proved that the damage was but partial, and that the alarm was unfounded The same variable weather continued to the end of the year. In November and December the rains were so copious, that many of the rivers overflowed their banks; but the greatest losses were

sustained at sea, the winds, having been remarkably violent during December, occasioned many shipwrecks on our coast

The following abstract from a Register kept near Perth, affords a general view of the weather, similar to what we have given in our former volumes The fair and rainy days, and the quantity of rain for January, were omitted, but have been supplied from the Register kept at the Calton Hill Observatory, near Edinburgh

	Fair Days	Rainy Days	Quantity of Rain	Mean Temperature
January	13	18	2 19	37 9
February	26	2	42	38 95
March	22	9	2 96	41 11
April	15	15	3 55	46 12
May	21	10	1 54	47 25
June	27	3	65	54 25
July	24	7	1 57	58 14
August	25	6	1 42	59 2
September	20	10	1 80	56
October	20	11	1 57	47 5
November	14	16	5 59	41 5
December	15	16	4 38	40 4
	212	123	27 91	47 36

Upon a comparison with 1820, there has been more rain in 1821 by about 6¼ inches, while the medium temperature was higher by 1 38

With the exception of the months of September and October, the corn market exhibited little fluctuation in prices, seldom ranging more than between 50s and 55s. for wheat, and most generally vegring round the latter rate, till near the end of the year, when this, and all other kinds of corn, experienced a considerable depression The price of bread, however, did not always correspond with that of wheat, owing, perhaps, to the partial injury which this grain had sustained in September, the quartern loaf, after the harvest, continued higher than in its usual proportion to wheat The most common rate in London, before September, was 9d, sometimes 10d., the highest in September was 12½d, and at the end of the year, though wheat had fallen 8s below the price at its commencement, the loaf still stood at 10d In Edinburgh, it was, as usual, about 1d lower than in London. Oatmeal, in the Edinburgh market, sold in retail, varied from 1s 1d to 1s. 4d per peck of 8¼lb avoirdupois, and potatoes from 8d to 10d per peck of 28lb

Live stock, both fat and lean, which had hitherto yielded slowly to the depression of the times, experienced, in the course of this year, as great, or a greater reduction, than corn, probably not less than 25 per cent, as compared with the prices of 1820. The state of the weather during the summer had been unfavourable to the graziers and the appearance of the turnip crop at the end of the grass season threatened a deficiency of food for fattening in the ensuing winter. The produce of the dairy, however, did not sink so much as corn and butcher meat, a circumstance which may be ascribed to the manufacturing classes having been generally in full employment. The price of wool, too, though somewhat lower

than in the preceding year, maintained a higher level than other kinds of raw produce

The prices of corn at the beginning and end of the year, taking the averages of England and Wales, and the highest and lowest prices, were as follows —

	Wheat		Rye		Barley		Oats		Beans		Peas	
	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d	s	d
For the week ending the 6th January, 1821	51	0	34	2	25	1	18	11	33	7	37	0
For the week ending the 29th December, 1821	46	2	21	11	19	7	16	8	22	8	26	8
These last are also the *lowest* prices of the year												
The *highest* prices were for the week ending the 29th September	70	7	31	6	33	1	23	4	36	8	35	10

The distress of the agricultural classes had now become so general, and was so fully admitted by all parties, that Parliament at last found it necessary to listen to the numerous petitions which were every day accumulating upon their table, but as their debates and proceedings belong to another department of this work, we shall only advert to the last in so far as they present any tangible result

In our last volume, we alluded to Mr Robinson's intention to bring in a bill for better ascertaining the averages which regulate importation, which was brought in accordingly, and passed without exciting much attention By this act, the returns are to be taken from about 150 towns in England and Wales, not of the prices only, but also the quantities, and these quantities and prices are to be combined in striking the general average It also contains some provisions in regard to bonded corn, which must now be measured as it comes from the warehouse, as well as when it is first lodged there This act, however, was clearly inapplicable as a remedy to the present state of things, how beneficial soever may be its operation hereafter, and a measure of a more general and effective character was loudly demanded by the great body of the landed interest on both sides of the House. With this view, a committee was appointed to consider and report upon the petitions of the agriculturists, without any such limitations on their powers as had been imposed on those of the committee in the former session A number of witnesses were accordingly examined by this committee, and many documents regarding the corn markets of other countries, as well as of the united kingdom, laid before them, the whole, as exhibited in the appendix to the report, forming indeed the most complete body of evidence on the subject of the Corn-trade that has ever appeared in this country. The Report itself was presented on the 21st June, too late in the Session to lead to any new enactment,—nor did the committee recommend any In the House itself, so great a difference of opinion prevailed, both as to the cause of the depression and the means of relief, and even as to the practicability of affording any relief at all, that all parties seem at last to have acquiesced in the expediency of waiting till it was seen what another year should bring forth The only other general measure affecting agriculture, which requires to be noticed here, was the repeal of the tax on horses employed in husbandry, to which we may add, though of a

more limited nature, an abatement of the duty on malt made from Scotch barley, which, by some inadvertency, had been raised in 1819, higher than in its due proportion to that imposed on malt made from English barley

A vigorous attempt was made to obtain a repeal of the new duty on the malt of both countries, but the bill was lost on the question for its second reading.

COMMERCIAL NOTICES.

THE commerce of this year presents little matter for observation The manufacturing interest had sensibly recovered out of that deep depression, which, in the preceding year, had caused so much distress and alarm It still afforded only slender profits to the master, and slender wages to the workman, but still such as to preserve the latter from total destitution The following report of the old national staple is favourable

Report of the Woollen Cloth Milled during the last year, viz from the 25th of March, 1820, to the 25th March, 1821, as delivered by the searchers to the Magistrates, May 2d

Narrow Cloths Milled

	Pieces	Yards
First Quarter,	34,765	
Second ditto,	32,862	
Third ditto,	32 317	
Fourth ditto,	29,335	
	129,279	5,225,791
Milled last year,	119,700	1,889,181
Increase,	9,579	6,610

Broad Cloths Milled

First Quarter,	68,308	
Second ditto,	77,399	
Third ditto,	71,207	
Fourth ditto,	69,806	
	286,720	9,186,223
Milled last year,	263,278	8,106,314
Increase,	23,413	779,909

Total Milled this year in yds 14,412,014
Total Milled last year in yds 13,295,195

Total increase this year in yds 1,116,519

— A chamber of commerce and manufactures has recently been established at Manchester One of its first acts has been to address a memorial to Lord Liverpool, requesting information relative to the political relations of Naples, as great quantities of British property are there, and large orders on hand, which, under the present circumstances, the merchants are afraid of shipping off.

— Mechanism has reached great perfection at Manchester At some of the cotton mills, yarn has been spun so fine as to require 350 hanks to weigh one pound avoirdupois The perimeter of the common reel being one yard and a half, 80 threads or revolutions would measure 120 yards, and one hank seven times as much, or 840 yards, which, multiplied by 350, gives 29,406 yards, or 167 miles and a fraction

— The rapid rise of the important station, Singapore, during the year that it has been a free port, is perhaps without its parallel When the British flag was hoisted, the population scarcely amounted to 200 souls, but in three months the number was not less than 3000, and it now exceeds 10,000, principally Chinese No less than 173 sail of vessels of different descriptions, principally native, ar-

rived and sailed in the course of the two first months, and it has already become a commercial port of importance If our object in the Eastern Seas and in China is commerce, there is no plan so easy of adoption, or so unobjectionable, as that of making our stations *free ports* In a few years, if the system is followed up, the whole of the Eastern Archipelago will be clothed from Great Britain, and Ava, Siam, Cochin China, and even a large portion of China, may follow the example

— Some inconvenience to the merchants of Canada appears likely to arise from the too limited period allowed for carrying into operation the new timber act, particularly as regards that portion of it relating to the transit of American timber through the province Property in timber to a great value from Lake Champlain was then in the Canada market, contracted and paid for on British account last year, and which arrived in Canada previous to the passing of the law Most of the surplus value of this timber was on account of the merchants of Lake Champlain and other places, and intended, in the usual way, as a remittance to pay their Canada debts Little doubt was, however, entertained by the commercial interest of Quebec, that on a proper representation of the case being made to the British ministry, those goods would be allowed to be taken to England on the same footing as American property actually deposited in Quebec previous to the 25th of March last The Quebec Gazette, in commenting on the possible disappointment of this expectation, observes, with a freedom rather remarkable for a paper under the immediate control of the government, that it would arise from there being "no accredited agent to Parliament to represent the interests of the country"

LOCAL IMPROVEMENTS AND ESTABLISHMENTS

LOCAL ACTS PASSED 1st GEO IV

1 Roads leading from Ferrybridge

2 Road from Knaresborough to Green Hammerton.

3 Road from Moot Hall, Wirksworth.

4 For regulating the sale of bread.

5. A Harbour in the Cove of Beer, &c

6 Poor in the Hundred of Blything, &c

7. Bridges in the county of Montgomery

8. For lighting Wolverhampton with Gas

9 Gas the borough of Derby.

10 Gloucester Gas Light Company

11 Gas the city of Norwich.

12 Improving the Saint Clement, Hastings.

13 For making and widening certain streets in Liverpool

14 For amending the road from Wigan to Golborn

15 Roads from Chester to Woodside

16. Road from Cheltenham to Painswick
17 Road from Hulme's Chapel to Chelford
18 Road from Kirby Kendal to Kirby Ireleth
19 Road from Cheadle to Quickshill Bank
20 From Lightpill Gate, Rodborough, to Bridlip
21. Road between Plymouth and Exeter, through Ashburton
22 Road from Wansford to Stamford and Bourn
23 Roads from Monk Bridge to New Malton and Scarborough.
24 Road from Weyhill to Lyde Way
25 Roads fron Henshall's Smithy to Altringham
26 Road from Greenhead, through Haltwhistle, Hexham, and Corbridge
27 Road from Stonehaven to Cobleheugh
28 Road from Stockport to Warrington
29 Road from Whiteburn to Kelso
30 Road from Gateshead to Ryton Lane Head
31 Roads from Gosport to Bishop's Waltham.
32 Malmesbury Turnpike Roads.
33 Roads from Ludlow.
34 Road from Ludlow to Monk's Bridge
35 Maintaining navigable the Ure.
36 Maintaining the Harbour of Goran Haven.
37 Corporation of the Trinity House of Leith
38. Roads from Butt Lane to Henshall's Smithy
39. Bridge within Weymouth and Melcombe Regis
40. Navigation of the Aire and Calder
41. Two new Churches in Newington.
42. Burying-Ground for Rotherhithe
43 Lighting, watching, and cleansing Huddersfield.
44 Roads from Milford, through Petworth
45 Road from Pool, through Oswestry
46 Road from Tenterden, through Woodchurch
47 Military Roads in Perth
48 Forth and Clyde Navigation
49 Bridge over Thames.
50 New Bridge over the River Earn.
51 Bridge over the River Wensum
52 Ballast Office in the Port of Cork
53 Fund for relief of Skippers and Keelmen upon the Tyne.
54 Branch Railway from Crabtree to Catdown
55. Lighting Dublin with Gas
56 Lighting with Gas Shrewsbury
57 Lighting Bolton with Gas.
58. Chapel of Ease, Pendleton
59 Uniting the Rectory and Vicarage of Saint Dunstan in the West.
60 For the Theatre-Royal, Drury Lane
61 For Paving, Lighting, &c. Bury Saint Edmund's
62 For lighting, &c Stockton
63 For improving Whitgift and Snaith.
64 For the road from North Shields
65 For the road from Selby to Leeds
66 Road from Rochester to Maidstone
67 Roads in Stirling, Dumbarton, Lanark, and Perth
68 Road from Wakefield to Austerlands
69 Roads from Devizes
70 Roads from Hertford to Broadwater
71 Road from Longhorsley Bar to Piercy's Cross.

72 Road from Swindon to Knighton

73 Road from Towcester to Western Gate

74 Roads in Dumfries and Roxburgh

75 Rates on Goods on the Itchin

76 Bridewell for Lanark and Glasgow

77 Sessions House and House of Correction at Ely

78 Removing the Markets within Exeter

79 Road from Chatteris Ferry to Saint Ives

80 Road from Market Harborough to Brampton

81 Road from Asthall to Buckland

82 Road from Witney to Swerford Heath

83 Roads in Renfrew, Lanark, and Ayr.

84 Roads and Bridges in Lanark and Dumbarton.

85 Road through Nairn and Auldcarn.

86 Rectories of Tilehurst

87 For supplying Peterhead with Water.

88 Statute Labour within Glasgow

89. Road from Dundalk to Bannbridge

CAMBRIDGE AND HUNTINGDON

The stupendous drainage of the Eau Brink extending over some hundreds of thousands of acres, is rapidly drawing towards its completion The Eau Brink Cut, about two miles and three quarters in length, is nearly completed, as is the new bridge across it, which is to be a draw-bridge for the admission of ships to pass and repass through it to Saint Germain's The new bridge is of timber, which is so combined as to produce strength and durability Its length is about 820 feet, the versed sine or spring of the arch is 9 feet 11¾ inches. On this canal and its appendices, there will probably, before the works are completed, be expended nearly half a million sterling

There are at present 352 men, six horses, and ten vessels employed on the suspension bridge over the Menai On the Anglesea side, the main pier rises 63 feet above the level of high water, and the piers are rapidly advancing On the Caernarvon side, the main pier is 33 feet above high water; first pier from it, 45, second ditto, 57

A new iron bridge is about to be placed over the river Weaver, near Nantwich It combines elegance and lightness, with strength and durability One peculiar excellence is, that the 24 massive braces which are placed diagonally, between the perpendicular bolts and the upper and lower ribs, equalize the pressure, on whatever part it rests —Architect, T Harrison, Esq

March 20 —The first stone of the Carlisle Canal Basin was laid in the presence of the committee, and a considerable number of spectators Mr William Halton mounted the stone, and, in a concise speech, expressed his hopes that the undertaking would prove beneficial to the subscribers, and of advantage to the neighbouring districts

NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM

May 16 —Commenced the building of a stone bridge over the Alne, near Alnwick Abbey The intention is to avoid a ford which is often dangerous in the winter" This useful work is undertaken at the expense of the Duke of Northumberland

CHESHIRE

The erection of a bridge across the Conway has been sanctioned by a grant of 40,000/ public money The

attainment of this object, with other projected improvements, will remove an obstacle which has hitherto operated against the Holyhead line of road through Chester

Plans are agreed upon for the erection of three new churches in Leeds, estimated expense of each 10,000*l*

In the intended erection of a new jail in Norwich, the Shire-House and inconvenient courts of justice, are to be removed from the present site into the gardens below the hill, near the eastern entrance A subterraneous passage for conveying prisoners from their cells to trial will be excavated Estimated expenditure, 26,000*l*.

Kent.

The Thames and Medway Canal, the progress of which was suspended for several years, is now in such forwardness, that there is every reason to expect it will be completed within two years.

A new bridge, completed in a substantial manner, has been erected over the stream near Abbots Mill, Canterbury The lanes leading in that direction are to be lighted with

Devonshire

Improvements in Exeter—The removal of the last remaining house on the eastern side of the entrance to North Street, the ancient statue at the entrance to be replaced, the green sward to be extended over the site of the Old Treasury House in the Cathedral Yard, Sun Lane to be widened, the projecting houses outside of Southgate taken down, and that part of the street widened, Broadgate to be taken down.

Isle of Wight

A building has been lately erected in the High Street of Newport, Isle of Wight, to be used for the purposes of the Isle of Wight Institution It contains a room for newspapers and periodial publications, a library, a room containing the museum belonging to the Philosophical Society, and a billiard room The estimated expense was 3000*l*, and it does great credit to the accuracy of the architect, Mr Mortimer, of this town, that it has not exceeded that sum The amount was raised in transferable shares of 25*l*. each, the proprietor of one share has free admission for himself, and the liberty of introducing a friend. Those who possess more than one, receive 25*s* per annum for each additional share, which is the sum fixed on as the annual subscription of persons who are not proprietors The sum paid on the admission of each member, is 1*l* 11*s* 6*d*, low as the charges appear, they have yet been found sufficient to enable the committee to furnish the rooms in a handsome manner, and to purchase a considerable number of books, which will soon become a respectable library

Edinburgh.

The celerity with which architectural works are undertaken and executed in this city is truly astonishing. But the most extraordinary instance of rapid building is that of the new Circus, which may be said to connect the village of Stock-Bridge with the New Town In the space of little more than twelve months, the whole Circus, with the exception of one house, has been begun and completed, and a considerable part of it is already inhabited. In addition to the buildings, the pavement of the street around the Circus is nearly completed, and the ground in the centre enclosed with an elegant railing, and tastefully planted

The Melville Monument is becoming a prominent feature in the outline of our romantic city, and already proves that the situation is the best that could have been chosen, as in that part of the New Town, with the exception of St Andrew's spire, there

is no architectural ornament higher than the houses

The College —It is very gratifying to observe the progress which has been made, in the course of the season, in building the College. The passage from the street to the interior of the quadrangle, upon the improved plan, has been completed, which, considering its stupendousness and magnificence, is itself a very considerable advance towards the completion of the building The north side has been proceeded in with so much activity, that the masonwork may be expected to be soon finished So much of its inner front as was previously built, has been pulled down and rebuilt, so as to accommodate it to the new plan, which provides the whole front with the noble ornament of Corinthian pillars As the south side will exactly correspond with it, a perfect idea may now be formed of the appearance which this grand building will present when finally completed This is an event to which the public have long looked forward with no little anxiety, and they must contemplate with much satisfaction the near prospect of its accomplishment Some time ago, as must be known to many of our readers, a range of old houses that stood on the west side of the Horse Wynd, immediately behind the College, was cleared away, and an open space formed, which has been planted with trees, and considerably improved, on that side, the effect of the building.

The Union Canal between Glasgow and Edinburgh was brought to a completion about the close of this year Commencing at the west side of Edinburgh, it joins the great canal at Lock No. 16, near Falkirk. The length is 31 miles Magnificent aqueduct bridges occur at Slateford and Muiravonside, and before its junction with the great canal, it is carried through a tunnel half a mile in length The estimate of the expense was upwards of 200,000*l*, and this amount, we believe, was exceeded

The iron bar bridge lately erected over the Tweed, near Paxton Ford, six miles above Berwick, proves so advantageous to the country, that the trustees have voted 1000 guineas to the builder, Captain Brown, above his estimate The captain has erected a suspension-pier, on a similar principle, west of Newhaven, near Edinburgh This extends 700 feet into the sea, and will admit of steam-vessels and other craft coming alongside at low water It was proved, by the weight of twenty-one tons being placed between the different points of suspension Although that was the extreme weight up to which Captain Brown, the contractor, was bound to prove it, such was the confidence of the contractor, as well as of the proprietors, in the strength and stability of the structure, that the passengers, by the various steam-vessels which frequent it, were allowed to pass without interruption, during the whole operation, so that at one time there was a weight equal to that of 500 persons on the arches at the same time.

A new pharos or light-house in the Shetland Isles was first set up January 15th last, and is intended to burn constantly from the close of day till next morning This light-house is at Sumburghhead, one extremity of the Isle of Mainland, the largest of the Shetland Islands, in 59° 52′ north latitude, and 1° 28′ west longitude It is about twenty miles SW from Hangcliff-Head, on the Isle of Noss The light will be visible to all ships sailing in the southern parts of the Shetland Islands, between Foula Island and Nosshead The flame will be fixed, but accompanied with reflector lamps, the elevation 300 feet above the mean level of the sea At the distance of six or seven leagues, it will appear like a star of the first magnitude.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS CHARITIES.—Receipts of the principal religious charities in London for the year ending Lady-Day, 1821.

British and Foreign Bible Society	£ 89,154
Society for promoting Christian Knowledge	53,100
Church Missionary Society	31,200
London	26,174
Methodist	22,500
Baptist	13,200
Society for Propagating the Gospel	13,000
Society for Converting the Jews	10,789
National Society for Education	8,000
Religious Tract Society	7 561
Hibernian Society	7,000
Moravian Missions	5,000
Naval and Military Bible Society	2,348
British and Foreign School	2,034
Prayer-Book and Homily	1,903
	£ 203,809

We have to announce to our clerical friends the following premiums, offered by the Church Union Society, in the Diocese of St David's, 1821.—1 A premium of 50l. (by benefaction) for the best Essay on "the Scripture Doctrines of Adultery and Divorce; and on the Criminal Character and Punishment of Adultery by the ancient laws of England and other countries"—2 A premium of 25l. for the best Essay on "the Influence of a Moral Life on our Judgment in matters of Faith"—*If any man will* DO *his will, he shall know of the* DOCTRINE, *whether it be of God* John, vii 17.—The Essays are to be sent directed to the Rev. W. Morgan, Vicarage, Abergwilly, near Caermarthen, on or before the last day of July, 1822, with the names of the writers in a sealed paper, inscribed with the motto of the Essay

The Society have adjudged to the Rev. S C Wilks, A.M, of Oxford, author of "Christian Essays," "Christian Missions," and "the St David's Prize Essay, for the Year 1811, on the Clerical Character," their premium of fifty pounds for the best Essay on "The Necessity of a Church Establishment in a Christian Country, for the Preservation of Christianity among the People of all Ranks and Denominations, and the Means of Exciting and Maintaining among its members a Spirit of Devotion, together with Zeal for the Honour, Stability and Influence of the Established Church"—[This Essay is preparing for the Press]

METHODISTS.—The next Conference of Wesleyan Methodists is to be held in London, on the last Wednesday in July, 1822. That in Ireland on the first Friday in the same month The following is the statement of the numbers this year in the Society —

In Great Britain	260,345
In Ireland	23,538
In Foreign Missions	28,678
Total under British and Irish Conferences	312,561
Ditto under the American Conferences	256,881
Total of Methodists throughout the world, exclusive of Travelling Preachers	569,442
Increase this year in Great Britain	9,137
In Missionary Stations	1,236
In America	15,957
	26,330
Decrease in Ireland	262
Total Increase	26,068

A religious society has just been established at Paris, with the concurrence of the government, which is, according to the penal code of 1810, necessary for every society of more

than twenty persons, whether they assemble for discussing political, literary, religious, or any other subjects The establishment alluded to, has assumed the name of the "*Société de la Morale Chretienne.*" The society is declared to be instituted for the purpose of applying the precepts of Christianity to the relations of social life A prospectus, containing the views of the founders, has been circulated, in which they say—"Persuaded that the greater part of the evils under which mankind suffer, is the deplorable fruit of the illusion under which they are with regard to what is necessary to constitute their happiness, some friends of humanity consider the present a favourable moment for the establishment of a society, which should endeavour to recal men to the only true source of happiness, *the precepts of Christianity* —precepts which are essentially the same as those which the Creator has engraven in the hearts of all men, and which Jesus Christ only developed and exhibited in a more attractive and luminous manner, and founded on more powerful motives, but which are unfortunately less known, less respected, and less practised, than they ought to be"

The object of the society is thus stated in the first article of their rules —"The object of this society is to explain, and constantly recal to the minds of men, the precepts of Christianity, in all their purity; to point out the important influence those precepts exercise on the happiness of mankind, and thus to endeavour to instil or revive those sentiments of charity and general benevolence which are calculated to establish peace on earth."

But the most remarkable circumstance connected with this society is, that it is established by the united efforts of distinguished Catholics and Protestants. It is, perhaps, the first time that the adherents of these hitherto hostile religions, have united for the purpose of diffusing the gospel of Christ, without reference to the success of their respective systems.

The prospectus is signed by the following names The letter C is placed after the Catholics, and P after the Protestants —The Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, president, C; Baron Degerando, C, M Delacroix, C; the Rev J. J Goep, P; Count Laborde, C; Count de Lasteyrie, C; Dr Spurzheim, C, Baron de Stael Holstein, P.; M. Stapfer, P.; Baron de Turkheim, P; M J G. Wurtz, P; M Willm, secretary, P; M Cocquerel, assistant secretary, P

A public meeting was held at the City of London Tavern, for the purpose of establishing a floating hospital on the Thames for seamen, and it was attended by a most numerous and respectable assemblage of ladies and gentlemen At one o'clock, the Lord Bishop of Chester was unanimously called to the chair, and briefly addressed the meeting on the object for which they were assembled

A series of resolutions was then proposed to the meeting, in furtherance of the objects of the society, in the moving and seconding of which, Earl Darnley, Mr Wilberforce, Lord Rocksavage, and other gentlemen, shortly advocated the utility of establishing a floating hospital on the River Thames Mr Rowcroft moved the thanks of the meeting to the Mendicity Society, for the protection they had afforded to seamen He observed, that upwards of sixty seamen were now receiving the attention of that society. This circumstance alone would shew the utility of the proposed measure.

SCHOOLS IN THE WEST INDIES.—The beneficial influence of Christian instruction on the slave population in the West Indies, is felt wherever it is fairly tried. Schools of moral and re-

ligious education are recommended and adopted, where the principles of Christianity are instilled regularly into the minds of the hitherto abused and neglected people of colour; and, by the natural operation of this paternal system, the necessity of corporal correction has been precluded in Dominica; so that, in a gang of 100 negroes, one instance only of formal punishment occurred during the whole period of their master's abode with them The same happy change might be effected in every other plantation in the West Indies, could their resident superiors be induced to adopt the principles and conduct of Mr Burnett

Mr Inwaites, the superintendent of the schools at Antigua, confirms this testimony He writes thus,—"It affords us no small degree of pleasure, to hear these good men declare, that the best effects are produced by the conscientious mode of government, which they now pursue with the slaves under their management; they deal with them as rational creatures, and have no cause to repent the adoption of such a plan" In mentioning the similar benefits at English Harbour, where he is himself resident, he adds, —"Numbers of young females, who, humanly judging, must have been carried away by the torrent of vice, are rescued from ruin, and have found an asylum from danger, and friends to cover their defenceless heads Some of them, of low and depraved connexions, have become not only useful teachers in the schools, but consistent professors of Christianity, and eligible for the honourable estate of matrimony; into which several have lately entered, and others are likely soon to follow their example"

The benefits of the institutions are more perceptible almost every day, especially in restraining the prevailing sin of the country It not only makes some persevere in the paths of virtue, amidst all their discouragements (for honour, ease, plenty, and perhaps liberty, are on the side of vice among this degraded people) but some who have erred, deeply penitent, have entreated, with tears, to be taken back into the school.

Some instances are stated of their prosperity owing entirely to their sense of duty and a regular life; and of others who have been tempted by freedom, splendour, and vanity, and, in the midst of their course, sighed for a dismissal. The education of the schools is rendered the more inviting to them by its moderation and freedom from personal discipline Their last numbers had increased to 1429 scholars; and three additional schools have been since formed in Antigua. Those in Barbadoes were well attended and supported, and had secured the influence and attention of the clergy.

The first anniversary of the Calcutta School Society was held in the Town Hall, Calcutta, the Honourable the Chief Justice in the chair Reports were read in Persian and in English From the latter we extract the following statement.

Indigenous (or native) schools in Calcutta.

	Schools.	Children.
Examined in January	84	2661
Received books only	22	464
Unconnected with the Society	82	1021
Total	188	4146

From this it will appear that the schools fully connected with the society, average thirty scholars each—those partially connected, twenty-one each—those totally unconnected, only twelve each

The exertions of the society extend to three departments, under three distinct committees: 1. Regular schools, wholly under the management of the society, and serving as models. 2. Indigenous schools (as above), and, 3.

Schools for English and higher branches of tuition, which of course are paid for by the parents, &c.

At the close of 1819, there were four schools in Madras, and nine in the adjacent country. The number of children on the books was 386, (thirty-nine Protestants, fifty-nine Catholics, and the rest heathen). The average attendance was about 300 daily. The number of children admitted from the beginning 1496

TRAVANCORE SCHOOLS.—The number of children admitted in these thirty-one schools, was 1387 at the close of 1819, in June following, 1623, classed as follows:—Protestant, 184; Catholic, 119, Brahmin and Soodra, 1266, Mahomedan, 54;—Total, 1623

BAPTIST MISSION

The following concise view of the translations of the Holy Scriptures, is extracted from the Seventh Memoir, dated Serampore, Dec. 1820

1. In *Bengalee*, the fifth edition of the New Testament, containing 5000 copies, which was printed off about three years ago, is nearly exhausted, and, of the different parts of the Old, scarcely a single copy has been left for some time past The continual demand for this version, therefore, has rendered it necessary to print a new edition of the whole Scriptures. This edition, which will form the *sixth* edition of the New Testament, and the *third* of the Psalms, and some other parts of the Old Testament, will consist of 4000 copies, and of the New Testament 2000 extra, the demand being so very great. By using a new fount of types, of a reduced size, and printing in double columns, on a large octavo page, the brethren hope to bring the whole five volumes into one volume of about 1300 pages, royal octavo, or two very moderate volumes, and the New Testament into a neat duodecimo of about 400 pages

2. In the *Sungskrit*, the last volume of the Old Testament was printed off about two years ago. The first edition of the New Testament is quite exhausted, and the numerous calls for the Scriptures in this language, by the literati of India, have induced the brethren to put to press a second edition of the whole Scriptures This will likewise be printed in double columns in the large octavo size, and the whole Scriptures will be comprised in one volume It will consist of 2000 copies, with an extra number of 2000 New Testaments

3 In the *Hindee*, also, the last volume of the Old Testament was published nearly two years ago. The edition of the New Testament being nearly exhausted, and Mr Chamberlain having prepared another version of the New Testament in this language, for which his long residence in the western provinces of India, and his intimate acquaintance with their popular dialects, eminently fit him, the brethren have resolved in this edition to print his version of the New Testament, instead of their own, as a comparison of independent versions, made by persons long and intimately acquainted with the language, will be of the utmost value in ultimately forming a correct, chaste, and perspicuous version in this widely extended language. Of this edition of the New Testament, which is more than half through the press, they are printing 2000 copies

4 In the *Orissa* language, the whole Scriptures have been long published. The first edition of the New Testament being exhausted, and the demand for this version still increasing, the brethren have prepared a second edition, which is now more than half through the press It consists of 4000 copies

5. The last volume of the Old Testament in the *Mahratta* language was published many months ago, so that a version of the whole Scriptures in that

language is now completed. Of the first edition of the New Testament not a single copy being left, they have put to press a second edition, in a duodecimo size

In these five languages, the whole of the Scriptures are now published and in circulation in the last four of them, *second* editions of the New Testament are in the press; and, in the first, the Bengalee, begun 26 years ago, the *sixth* edition of the New Testament. In the following ten languages, the New Testament is published, or nearly so, and, in some of them, the Pentateuch, and other parts of the Old Testament.

1 In the *Chinese* language, the translation of the Old Testament was completed several years ago In addition to the New Testament, the Pentateuch, the Hagiographa, and the prophetic books, are now printed off The historical books, which will complete the whole Scriptures, are in the press, and will probably be published before the end of the ensuing year.

2. In the *Shikh* language, besides the New Testament, the Pentateuch and the historical books are printed off, and the Hagiographa is advanced as far as the middle of the book of Job So strong, however, has been the desire of this nation for the new Testament, that the whole edition is nearly distributed, and a second edition will probably be called for before the Old Testament is wholly published Excepting the Mugs on the borders of Arracan, no one of the nations of India has discovered a stronger desire for the Scriptures than this hardy race, and the distribution of almost every copy has been accompanied with the pleasing hope of its being read and valued

3 In the *Pushtoo*, or Affghan language, the nation supposed by some to be descended from the ten tribes, the New Testament has been printed off The Pentateuch is also advanced at press as far as the book of Leviticus

4. In the *Telinga*, or *Teloogoo* language, the New Testament was published two years ago, and the Pentateuch is printed as far as the book of Leviticus. This translation, however, when the Pentateuch is finished, the brethren intend to resign to the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society.

5. In the *Kanikuna* language, the New Testament was completed above 18 months ago, and the Pentateuch is advanced at press as far the book of Numbers As this province comes immediately under the care of the Bombay Bible Society, it is intended, on the completion of the Pentateuch at press, to relinquish this translation to them.

6. In the *Wuch*, or *Mooltanee*, language, the New Testament has been printed off these 18 months, in its own character. But, as the opportunities for distributing this version have been exceedingly limited, and they have little prospect of establishing a mission in that province, they have dismissed the pundit, and discontinued the translation, till these circumstances, with those of a pecuniary nature, shall be more favourable

7 In the *Assam* language also, the New Testament has been printed off nearly two years, and, the vicinity of this country to Bengal rendering it highly desirable to proceed with the translation, an edition of the Old Testament has been put to press, in the large octavo size, in double columns, which will very considerably lessen the expense, the character being similar to the Bengalee, both in form and size.

8. In the *Gujuratee* language, the New Testament is now happily brought through the press, thirteen years after retaining the first pundit in this language It makes between 800 and 900 pages, and is printed in the Deva

Naguree character This translation the brethren intend to resign to their brethren from the London Missionary Society, who are now studying the language, that they may give their attention more fully to those in which no others are engaged

9. In the *Bikaneer* language, also, the New Testament is now finished at press. It contains 800 pages, and is printed in the Naguree character. This version was begun nearly seven years ago

10 To these we may add the New Testament in the *Kashmeer* language, which version has been in hand nearly eight years, and will be finished at press in about a month. It is printed in a neat type of its own, as mentioned in a former memoir. In these ten languages the New Testament may be considered as being published

Besides these fifteen, in which the New Testament is completed, there are six other languages in which it is brought more than half through the press These are the *Kurnata*, the *Nepal*, the *Harutee*, the *Marwar*, the *Bhughulkund*, and the *Oojein* versions About ten months more, they have reason to hope, will bring these through the press; and thus, in twenty-one of the languages of India, and these by far the most extensive and important, the New Testament will be published It is the intention of the brethren to relinquish the first of these, the Kurnata, to the Madras Bible Society, on the New Testament being completed, that they may be better able to attend to the remaining languages, in which no version is begun by any one besides

The remaining versions now in hand are the following ten, which are all in the press

The *Jumboo*, *Kanouj*, and *Khassee*, printed as far as John, the *Khoshul*, *Bhutuneer*, *Dogura*, and *Magudha*, to Mark; and the *Kumaoon*, *Gudwal*, and *Munipoora*, to Matthew.

In these ten versions, therefore, a sufficient progress is made to render the completion of them in no way difficult.

In comparing this memoir with the last, it will be seen that in several of the languages mentioned therein the translation has been discontinued. To this the brethren have been constrained, by the low state of the translation fund, arising principally from the heavy expenses occasioned by new editions of the Sungskrit, the Bengalee, the Hindee, and the Orissa Scriptures, now in the press. In discontinuing these, however, they have been guided by a due consideration of the importance and distinctness of the different languages in which they are engaged, as well as the ease with which pundits could be procured, should the public enable them to resume them again

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE

ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE

This Society is to consist of a President, Vice President, and Council; Fellows, Associates, and Honorary Members.

The objects of the Society are, to unite and extend the general interests of Literature; to reward literary merit by patronage; to excite literary talent by premiums; and to promote literary education by bestowing Exhibitions at the Universities and Public

Schools, in cases of distinguished desert.

§ 1. The Fellows constitute the principal body of the Society, and contribute to its support by subscriptions and benefactions.

§ 2. The Associates form that part of the Society to which its patronage is directed, and are to consist of two classes, viz. Associates under Patronage, whether of the King, or of the Society; and Honorary Associates; from which latter class the Associates under patronage will chiefly be elected.

The class of Associates under Patronage is to consist of persons of distinguished learning, authors of some creditable work of literature, and men of good moral character, ten to the Royal Endowment, of whom shall be natives of the United Kingdom, and foreigners; and an unlimited number on the funds of the Society, as soon and in proportion as the amount funded shall be sufficient for the purpose; the whole number, both on the Royal Endowment and on the funds of the Society, to be appointed by the Council of the Society

§ 3 The Honorary Members shall be such persons as are entitled to public respect on account of their literary characters, and are to consist of professors of Literature in the several Universities of the United Kingdom; Head Masters of the great Schools of royal foundation, and other great schools, eminent Literary Men in the United Kingdom; distinguished Female Writers; and also Foreigners celebrated for literary attainments

His Majesty has intrusted the formation of this Institution to the learned and eminent Dr Thomas Burgess, Bishop of St David's Other branches of the Royal Family have become subscribers; Ministers give their aid; many of the most distinguished among the Clergy concur in promoting the plan; and the leading members of both Universities are among its friends The funds are already considerable; and his Majesty may be considered as the *personal* as well as Royal Founder and Patron of the Society The first Prize Questions to be proposed, are as follows:

Premiums for the Years 1821 *and* 1822.

1. The King's Premium of *One Hundred Guineas*, for the best Dissertation on the Age, Writings, and Genius of Homer; and on the State of Religion, Society, Learning, and the Arts, during that period, collected from the writings of Homer

2. The Society's Premium of *Fifty Guineas*, for the best Poem on Dartmoor

3. The Society's Premium of *Twenty-five Guineas*, for the best Essay on the History of the Greek Language; of the present Language of Greece, especially in the Ionian Islands; and on the Difference between Ancient and Modern Greek

Reading Societies and Literary Institutions in the United Kingdom

It may be estimated that there exist at present not less than 6500 of these useful Institutions of various degrees, and for various purposes, in the United Kingdom; and that, owing to their convenience and proved utility, above 1000 new ones have been formed within the last three years

Some of them have permanent and accumulating libraries, and of these there are about 260, others circulate the books from member to member, and every two or three years sell them to augment their capital; of these there are not less than 500; while others, to the number of 750, are Magazine Societies, for the circulation of Magazines, Reviews, and periodical Journals. The 260 permanent libraries accommodate about 8000 fami-

lies with books and periodical works; the 600 book societies about 14,000 families; and the magazine societies about 9000 families; hence above 30,000 families become by these means more or less literary, at an individual expense, varying from half a guinea to two guineas per annum

The first book society appears to have been formed at Leicester about the year 1740, and among its members were the late Dr Pulteney, the Rev Mr Aikin, (father of Dr A. and Mrs Barbauld,) and other persons who have subsequently acquired celebrity The plan spread from that centre of the kingdom till it has been generally adopted

The first permanent library was the old library at Birmingham, which had once the honour to rank Dr Priestley and Mr Watt among its members, and was instituted about the year 1776

Besides, there also exist in every parish and hamlet of the empire, Newspaper Societies, in which seven, eight, or nine persons, club their sixpence, or even a penny a-week, to take in, and circulate from one to the other, a London, and one, two, or three provincial papers Of these there are not less than 5000 scattered through the empire, serving with mental food at least 50,000 families.

Circulating Libraries are a species of reading societies, but not under the direction of subscribers It is computed that there are in the united kingdom at least 1500 of them, supported on an average by 70 subscribers, and supplying with books at least 100,000 individuals regularly, and another 100,000 occasionally.

There exist likewise an infinite number of minor reading institutions, formed by sects and parties, to effect various purposes of zealots in church and state

Besides these institutions, whose objects are books and the use of the press, above 150 societies exist in Great Britain, provided with apparatus for Philosophical and Chemical experiments.

The societies in England are nearly in the proportion of ten, in Scotland four, in Ireland two, and in Wales one, —the population in millions being respectively at eleven, three, six, and two.

SCIENTIFIC PRIZE.—The trustees of the late Alexander Keith, Esq., of Dunottar, have communicated to the president and council of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, their suggestions relative to part of the sum of L 1000 left by that gentleman for the purpose of promoting the interests of science in Scotland, in a letter, of which the following is an extract: "As the Royal Society of Edinburgh is the principal scientific establishment in Scotland, we hereby offer to its president and council, the sum of L 600, the principal of which shall on no account be encroached upon, while the interest shall form a biennial prize, for the most important discoveries in science, made in any part of the world, but communicated by their author to the Royal Society, and published for the first time in their Transactions

"With regard to the form in which this prize is to be adjudged, we beg leave to suggest, that it may be given in a gold medal, not exceeding fifteen guineas in value, together with a sum of money, or a piece of plate bearing the devices and inscriptions upon the medal"

EDINBURGH SCHOOL OF ARTS—An association has been formed in this city, (under the auspices of the gentlemen whose names are subjoined,) for the purpose of enabling industrious tradesmen to become acquainted with such of the principles of mechanics, chemistry, and other branches of science, as are of practical application in their several trades, that they may possess a more thorough knowledge of

their business, acquire a greater degree of skill in the practice of it, and be led to improvement with a greater security of success.

The expense of small schools, and of private instruction, is necessarily greater than a working mechanic can afford; but it is calculated, if the tradesmen of Edinburgh are desirous of a better education, and are willing to lay aside, for that purpose, such a portion of their earnings as they can reasonably spare, that it is quite practicable to adopt such a system as will place within their means all the scientific instruction that would be useful to them, and there is every reason to believe that they will find the more opulent classes of Edinburgh quite ready to come forward in support of so laudable and beneficial a scheme; nor is there any way in which it can be so effectually promoted as with the advice and co operation of the better educated part of the community

Such is the object with which we understand this excellent institution has been formed, and the following is an outline of its plan

It is intended that there shall be lectures upon Practical Mechanics, and Practical Chemistry, to be delivered twice a week, from eight to nine o'clock in the evening, from October to April

It is also intended that there shall be a collection of medals and instruments, and a library of books on mechanics and chemistry, and their application to the Arts, and on all branches of natural and physical science, which shall circulate among those who attend the lectures, and be lent out throughout the whole year.

It would be desirable that instructions should be given in mechanical and architectural drawing; but these are points that cannot be decided, until it is ascertained whether there will be a sufficient fund for the purpose; but, as an experiment for the first year, it is intended that every person who pays the small subscription of 15*s*., either at one time, or in two successive quarterly payments, shall have access to the library, and admission to the lectures for the whole year.

The following gentlemen have formed themselves into a committee for the management of the Society's affairs —

David Brewster, LL.D Sec. R S E., Professor Pillans, F R S E.; James Skene, Esq, of Rubislaw, F.R. S.E, John A Murray, Esq, Advocate; George Forbes, Esq, F R S E., *Treasurer*, Leonard Horner, Esq. F.R S of L. and E, James Jardine, Esq, F R.S.E, Civil Engineer, William Playfair, Esq Architect, the Deacon of the Incorporation of Hammermen; the Deacon of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths; the Deacons of the Incorporations of Mary's Chapel; Mr James Milne, brassfounder; Mr Robert Bryson, watchmaker, Mr John Ruthven, engineer and printer.

ROXBURGHE CLUB —On the 18th of June this distinguished Society held its Anniversary at the Clarendon Hotel, the usual day falling on the Sabbath. Twenty-one members were present, including the president, Lord Spencer, who is uniform in his attendance The circle of the club, for giving a reprint of some neglected work, being nearly completed, the only distribution was *Magnyfycence, a goodly Interlude, and a mery deuysed, and made by Mayster Skelton, poet laureate, late deceasyd.* By Mr J. Littledale. A print, from a plate engraved at Florence, of a regretted absent member, Sir Egerton Brydges, Bart., was given; and Mr Townley announced his intention of having a work ready, and to be delivered during the present season. Lord Morpeth promised for next year. After Mr Jaquier's excellent dinner, the toasts passed gaily —Among them,

Valdarfer for *Boccaccio*; *Bruxella* for *Horace*; *Caxton* and Black Letter; while other praiseworthy typographers in memory followed, down to *Baskerville* and Blue Letter. After the brisk skirmish of water marks, there was impressively given the heroes of the battle of Waterloo Nor was there forgot the light emanating from this torch, and now blazing at Paris, under the name of *Les Bibliophiles*. Then followed the *Auchinleck Press*, &c &c. As the evening advanced, on the secession of the noble president, Mr Heber was voted to the chair by acclamation, and, as usual, maintained the spirit and hilarity of the meeting. Toasts continued with some labourers in the vineyard A well-timed compliment was paid to the vice-president, the Reverend T F. Dibdin, upon his entertaining and highly embellished *Tour* A Lucinean toast was pledged to the long-desired *Shakespeare* and Mr Boswell To Mr Haslewood was wished a speedy call for *Barnabee's Itinerary*, which occasioned a repetition of the engagement, that the Facsimile edition would never be reprinted. Such a burst of intellectual communication and animated conversation continued through the whole meeting, as satisfactorily evinced the members met too seldom.

At the sale of Mr Kemble's library, there were rare articles in Old English poetry, which called forth the enthusiasm of collectors.

Syr Degore, a Poetical Romance, of excessive rarity, consisting of eighteen leaves, printed by Wynkyn de Worde; 36*l* 10*s*

Here begynneth a lyall Treatyse of the Byrth and Prophecye of Martin, a Poem, printed by Wynkyn de Worde; 26*l*. 15*s*. 6*d*

Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, a Manuscript of the 14th or 15th century; 21*l* 10*s* 6*d*.*

An extraordinary collection of Drury Lane and Covent Garden play-bills, from the year 1751 to the present time The early volumes contain some curious MS. notes by Mr Kemble, many relating to Garrick, from the unpublished Diary of Hopkin's, the prompter, father of Mrs Kemble.—Purchased, by Sir Gregory Page Turner, for 189*l*

A Collection of early printed Spanish Comedies, was bought, by Mr Heber, for 37*l* 5*s* 6*d*

Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, first edition, inlaid throughout, not a very superb copy, was bought by Mr Boswell, at the enormous sum of 112*l* 7*s*.

The following is a summary of the returns of education by endowment or subscription, in the several counties of England. These returns have been made under an act of Parliament, by the clergy of several parishes, and, therefore, it might have been hoped, would have been correct, but it appears, that, in too many cases, the dissenting and methodist establishments have been overlooked, and hence the returns are considered as imperfect Thus it appears by *Sutton's Nottingham Review*, that the returns in that town gave but 4131, whereas, by an accurate investigation, made by some public-spirited individuals, the actual numbers thus educated are no less than 9088, or more than double the number returned to Parliament! The picture is a fine one, and we shall return to its analysis from time to time, remembering for the present, that the nation is under the deepest obligations to the public and intelligent spirit of Mr Brougham, for instituting the inquiry, and for the pains he has taken, and will, we trust, continue to take, till the desirable object is effected, that every subject of this realm shall be able to read the laws of God and man, to which he is held accountable.

COUNTIES	Endowment. Children.	Endowment. £	Charity Day Schools	Sunday Schools.
Bedfordshire	2,066	1,856	1,914	4,736
Berkshire	2,281	3,492	7,599	4,860
Buckinghamshire	1,745	1,819	5,454	8,302
Cambridgeshire	2,134	2,283	6,982	3,657
Cheshire	3,329	3,094	12,184	12,078
Cornwall	1,370	771	12,131	10,526
Cumberland	3,444	1,934	9,177	4,578
Derbyshire	3,694	5,767	10,214	10,688
Devonshire	5,945	5,594	22,713	9,392
Dorsetshire	1,156	2,554	7,318	8,022
Durham	3,111	1,673	12,704	7,235
Essex	5,225	6,061	9,219	11,079
Gloucestershire	4,828	10,760	8,400	14,707
Herefordshire	1,595	2,147	3,194	2,521
Hertfordshire	1,600	2,119	5,578	4,532
Huntingdonshire	990	1,086	2,218	1,155
Kent	6,974	9,014	15,337	8,190
Lancashire	11,686	15,631	22,239	44,739
Leicestershire	2,837	3,843	5,597	10,100
Lincolnshire	4,990	8,654	12,225	4,968
Middlesex	15,577	83,686	18,485	14,637
Monmouthshire	498	1,288	2,842	423
Norfolk	3,515	4,852	14,354	8,457
Northamptonshire	4,167	3,657	5,997	11,107
Northumberland	2,145	2,233	11,419	3,325
Nottinghamshire	2,487	3,645	8,768	9,425
Oxfordshire	2,275	1,849	5,314	5,253
Rutlandshire	315	1,015	1,193	848
Salop	3,986	3,802	8,321	6,222
Somersetshire	2,861	4,715	11,748	16,262
Southampton	3,285	16,998	13,049	8,706
Staffordshire	5,198	6,270	10,367	16,318
Suffolk	3,392	3,737	11,487	13,949
Surrey	6,070	6,627	11,328	8,600
Sussex	2,437	2,451	13,076	5,594
Warwickshire	4,940	7,712	8,661	11,591
Westmoreland	3,239	1,980	2,764	1,178
Wiltshire	2,482	2,234	6,700	12,998
Worcestershire	3,895	6,183	5,120	8,732
Yorkshire, E R	3,116	4,247	11,335	6,283
——— N R	3,596	2,922	12,734	2,261
——— W. R	9,107	13,133	28,192	42,851
Total for England	159,583	275,387	415,651	401,087

Hence it appears, that out of public or charitable funds, by these numbers, no less than 976,321 children of both sexes receive education, being ONE-TENTH of the population, and the imperfect and omitted returns probably amount to half as many more, or one-seventh of the whole population—an extraordinary social phenomenon. In the endowed schools, the cost is about 36s. per ann per pupil, and the others probably do not cost 10s. each, forming a total cost of little more than half a million for a million and a half of children

OXFORD, *Dec.* 30.—The following subjects are proposed for the Chancellor's prizes for the ensuing year, viz:—For Latin verses, "Eleusis;" for an English essay, "The Study of Modern History;" for a Latin essay, "De Augurus et Auspicus apud Antiquos." The first of the above subjects is intended for those gentlemen of the University who have not exceeded four years from the time of their matriculation; and the other two for such as have exceeded four, but not completed seven years

Sir Roger Newdigate's prize for the best composition in English verse, not containing either more or fewer than fifty lines, by any under graduate who has not exceeded four years from the time of his matriculation—"Pæstum"

WELSH LITERATURE.—The members of Jesus College, Oxford, have offered the undermentioned prizes for compositions on the following subjects For the best essay in the Welsh language, on "the Advantages likely to accrue to the Principality from a National Biography," 20*l*; for the best translation into the Welsh language of the first of the sermons on the Sacrament, by the Reverend John Jones, M A, of Jesus College, Archdeacon of Merioneth, Bampton Lecturer for the present year, 10*l*, for the best six Englynion on the words of Taliesin, "Cymru fu, Cymru fydd," 2*l*, to the best Welsh reader in Jesus College Chapel, 6*l*, to the second best Welsh reader, 4*l*

CAMBRIDGE, *Jan* 5.—The Norrisian prize is adjudged to Mr Kenelm Digby, B A, of Trinity College, for an essay, shewing, from a review of the civil, moral, and religious state of mankind at the time when Christ came into the world, how far the reception which his religion met with, is a proof of its divine origin.

The Hulsean prize is adjudged to the Reverend Robert Brough, B. A, of Benett College, for a dissertation on "The importance of Natural Religion." The subject of the Hulsean prize dissertation for the present year is, "The expedients to which the Gentile Philosophers resorted, in opposing the progress of the Gospel, described, and applied in illustration of the truth of the Christian Religion" The Reverend C Benson, M. A, Fellow of Magdalen College, is continued Hulsean lecturer for the present year.

Jan 11.—Sir William Browne's Medals.—Subjects for the present year.

For the Greek ode, Ὠκεανος ὁ Ὑπερβορεος

For the Latin ode, *Maria Scotorum Regina*

For the epigrams, Ἐπαιζειν ἁμα σπουδαζων

PORSON PRIZE.—The passage fixed upon for the present year, is from Shakespeare's Othello, Act 1, Scene III Othello's apology, beginning with,

"And till she comes, as truly as to heaven"

And ending with,

"Here comes the lady, let her witness it"

The metre to be *Tragicum Iambicum Trimetrum Acatalecticum*

FRANCE.—Among other periodical publications, there is one at Paris, bearing the name of Bibliography of France. About 50 numbers appear annually, composing a volume of from 800 to 1000 pages. This work exhibits a list of all the printed works and re-impressions throughout the French territory. Once a-week, there appears a number of 16 pages, more or less. Every publication, whether printed at Paris, or in the departments, is noticed instantly after its appearance. Works of minor, as well as of the greatest importance, are announced alike The number of bookselling articles announced in 1820, was near 5000

FRENCH ASIATIC SOCIETY.—A number of learned men have united to form at Paris an Asiatic Society, the object of which is, to encourage in France the study of the principal languages of Asia. It is their intention to procure oriental MSS, to circulate them either by means of printing or lithography, to have extracts or translations made of them, and to join in the publication of grammars and dictionaries This new Institution will correspond with other societies, which devote themselves to the same object, and with learned men who apply to the study of the oriental languages.—25 francs per annum is to be the subscription, many learned men are enrolled

The French *literati* are occupied in a work of some importance, preparing translations of Plutarch, Sallust, Tacitus, Aristotle, Hippocrates, &c from the Arabic MSS., into which language, many, or all the best Greek and Roman authors, are known to have been translated.

The Royal and Special School of Living Oriental Languages in Paris, is to have its establishment completed by the creation of a professorship for modern Greek, and another for the vulgar Arabic. These two languages are of no less importance in commercial and political transactions than in literary labours The individuals promoted to these newly created chairs, are entitled, from their known talents, and from the facility with which they speak the respective tongues, to the honourable appointments they have received from his Majesty. One is M Hase, professor of modern Greek, and the other Boether, professor of the vulgar Arabic.

MODERN GREEK —M Jules David, son of the celebrated French painter, after diligently studying the modern language of Greece, during his residence in that country, has published the results of four years' application and observation, in a treatise, entitled *Paralelle des Langues Grecques, Ancienne et Moderne*, in which he labours to prove, that an acquaintance with the modern idiom is indispensable to those who would fully comprehend all the force and beauty of Homer, with other ancient writers. He has compared the ancient and modern idiom in a very ingenious manner, and elucidates many things in the former that had been before negligently and superficially treated of, or even not at all noticed. Among these, are the theory of the *Syntelic* and the *Paratasis*, the collocation of words, and the structure of hypothetical sentences; on all which questions he has succeeded in throwing considerable light.

In literature much business was done by the Germans, and, notwithstanding the restrictions laid by the Congress on the liberty of the press, and the general complaint of there being little demand for books, owing to the general depression on the minds of the people, from the circumstances which always succeed a long war, we learn by the Leipsic half-yearly Universal Catalogue, that 393 German booksellers have delivered no less than 3322 new articles. This far exceeds the publication of former years, a sign that human learning, in spite of various hindrances, stands higher and higher in the scale of perfection, and reflects great honour on the author, publisher, printer, and engraver, whose industry must produce the happiest effects on the public mind in the civilized parts of the world. Among these publications are —

704 Pedagogical Books of Instruction; 172 Children's, Juvenile, and School Books; 11 Introductions to Writing, and Specimens of Penmanship; 204 Philological and Universal Gram-

mar; 21 Antiquities; 35 on Perfection in the German Language; 350 on Learning Modern Languages; 42 on Arithmetic; 32 on Mathematics; 7 on Astronomy; 136 on Geography and Statistics; 73 Charts; 10 Atlases; 8 on Universal History of Nature; 235 on Medicine and Surgery for Men and Animals. From the Muses, 74 Poems—single and collections; with 58 Plays to cheer the mind and heart; 252 Miscellaneous Works, to employ and misemploy the time, among which are 157 Romances and Novels; 18 of Play and Gaming Treatises, for small and great children; 255 on Theology, Religious Instruction, Dogmatic, Catholic, and Israelitish, for the cultivation of the mind and heart, and to give us a more perfect idea of the invisible power and wisdom of God; with 45 on the Art and Science of War The number of Works of Pulpit Eloquence appear to be on the decline.

LITHOGRAPHY —A society has been formed at Munich for the imitation of Oriental MSS. The object is, by means of Lithography, to multiply copies of the best works, which are extant in the Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Tartar tongues; and to dispose of them in the east, by the port of Trieste. The cabals of those, whose business it is to write MSS, and the different ornaments with which the Turks and Arabs adorn their writings, have been obstacles to this design hitherto, but, by the aid of lithography, the difficulty, it is thought, may be overcome. Thus the cheapness of that mode of engraving will contribute to spread, to an unlimited extent, the treasures of the best writers of the East.

ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS —M Maio has made some new discoveries of lost works of ancient writers, among which are several parts of the mutilated and lost books of Polybius, of Diodorus, of Dion Cassius, some fragments of Aristotle, of Ephorus, of Timeus, of Hyperides, of Demetrius of Phalaris, &c. some parts of the unknown writings of Eunapius, of Menander of Byzantium, of Priscus, and of Peter the Protector. Among the unedited works of Polybius are prologues of the lost books, and the entire conclusion of the 39th, in which the author takes a review of his history, and devotes his 40th book to chronology The fragments of Diodorus and of Dion are numerous and most precious Among them is a rapid recital of many of the wars of Rome; a narrative of the Civil, Punic, Social or Italic, and Macedonian wars; those of Epirus, Syria, Gaul, Spain, Portugal, and Persia Parts of the history of the Greeks and other nations, and that of the successors of Alexander, &c. are among these. These were discovered in a MS. containing the Harangues of the rhetorician Aristides, from a large collection of ancient writings, made by order of Constantinus Porphyrogenetes, of which only a small part are known to be extant. The writing appears to be of the 11th century. M. Maio has also met with an unedited Latin grammarian, who cites a number of lost writers, and a Latin rhetorician now unknown, also a Greek collection, containing fragments of the lost works of Philo. He has also found writings of the Greek and Latin fathers prior to St Jerome, with other valuable works

GREEK LITERATURE.—The great College at Chios, which has increased so as to become a kind of European university, continues to flourish in spite of all obstacles The number of students amounts to 476, a considerable number of whom are natives of the Peloponnesus, Cephalonia, and the islands of the Archipelago It is remarkable that two youths from the

interior of North America have come to Chios, to study the language of Homer. Mr Varvoti, one of the richest Greek merchants, has presented 30,000 francs to the College, together with a number of books purchased at Paris.

A quite new and very useful establishment at Constantinople, is a philanthropic fund for the support of indigent students It is under the immediate direction of three Greek archbishops, and several merchants The celebrated Patriarch Gregory constantly shews himself a zealous friend and protector of public instruction, and courageously opposes the rapacity and machiavelism of the greater part of the Phanariots, *i e.* the Greeks who are in the service of the Sultan.

The Abbé Amadeus Peyron, Professor of oriental languages in the university of Turin, has discovered some fragments of Cicero, in a MS from the monastery of St Colomban di Bobbio, a town on the Trebia, in the King of Sardinia's dominions This MS contains important new readings of orations already known, and confirms the identity of several texts which have been tortured by indiscreet critics It contains, besides, fragments of the orations, *pro Scauro, pro M. Tullio, in Clodium,* which are unfortunately lost. Some of those fragments have been already published by M Maio, after a MS. of the same library at Colomban, preserved in the Ambrosian library at Milan

Russia.—According to the latest estimation, there are 350 living authors in this country, about one-eighth part of whom are ecclesiastics, but the far greater proportion consists of persons of rank. Backmeister, in his Russian Library, computed, that, previously to 1817, there existed about 4000 different works in that language. In the extensive collection of national literature belonging to the Academy of Sciences of St Petersburg, there were, in 1800, 3000 works printed in the Russian tongue; among which, only 105 belonged to the class of novels and romances. Since this period, authorship has increased so much, that last year no fewer than 8000 volumes were printed in this language. Translations are very numerous, particularly of dramas, novels, works of imagination, and the Belles Lettres. There are newspapers and journals, both German and Russian, published at St Petersburg, Moscow, Riga, Revel, Abo, and other principal cities. At the first of these places there are fifteen printing-houses, and ten at Moscow

New South Wales.—On the 23d of March, 1820, Governor Macquarie, (New South Wales) laid the first stone of a school for the education of poor children. It is to contain 500, and adopt Lancaster s method. There is another school in the colony for orphans, (male,) another for ditto, (female,) and a third for indigent children of both sexes In these are taught, the elements of the Christian religion, reading, writing, and arithmetic, the principles of drawing and practical agriculture Their progress, as reported, is very satisfactory Civilization is making advances among the savages, many of their children being in these schools. The ulterior intention is to intermarry the young persons, when of age, and to grant them farms, cattle, ploughing implements, &c. On the 1st of Dec, 1820, Governor Macquarie laid the foundation of a new town, to be called Campbeltown. The situation is in the district of Aird, within a large level territory of the same name. This will make the seventh town erected in that part of the world The others are Sidney, Paramatta, Windsor (late Hawksbury,) Liverpool, Newcastle, and Bathurst

In 1818, a printing press was set up in Hobart's Town, Van Dieman's

Land, New Holland. The first book from this press is the History of a fugitive exile, named Michael Howe, who, at the head of twenty-eight other run-aways, disturbed the tranquillity of the colony for six years The work derives importance from the singularity of the circumstances, and from the story

NOTICES RELATING TO THE FINE ARTS.

During the two years, 1820 and 1821, which we are now to survey, the Fine Arts sustained a severe loss in the death of Benjamin West, President of the Royal Academy, and the first of British historical painters In the course of it, however, two new artists rose to high distinction. Mr *Haydon* exhibited his pictures of "Christ's Entry into Jerusalem," and the "Agony in the Garden," performances which bore the stamp of genius; vigorously conceived, and richly coloured, yet the beautiful figures of which were allayed by the mixture of others injudiciously introduced, and characterized by a strained and often false expression Mr *Martin* also produced his "Belshazzar's Feast," and "Joshua," pictures holding a sort of intermediate place between landscape and history, and, if they cannot reach the dignity of the latter, displaying at least very brilliant tints, powerful perspective, and a high vein of poetical feeling

In the exhibition at the Royal Academy, Sir Thomas Laurence's portraits were considered as the most splendid. The subjects were, the Marquis of Londonderry—Mrs H Baring and children—Sir Humphrey Davy—Lady Louisa Lambton—President West—Viscountess Pollington and child—James Palmer, Esq. Raeburn had a fine portrait of Lord Bute; Phillips excellent ones of Sir Wm. Grant and D. Ricardo, Esq; several also by Lane and Lonsdale were deemed well worthy of notice.

Fusali and Northcote had several historical pictures, among which were, by the latter, "The Burial of Edward V and his brother, the Duke of York," and "The Marriage of the Duke of York to Lady Anne Mowbray" Mr William Allan of Edinburgh exhibited the "Murder of Archbishop Sharp," which fully supported the high reputation he had gained by his "Circassian Captives." Geddes's "Discovery of the Regalia of Scotland," Cooper's "Heroic conduct of Cromwell at Marston Moor," and Etty's "Cleopatra's Arrival in Cilicia," were also noticed A number of other subjects of minor importance displayed the talents of British artists

Besides this exhibition at the Royal Academy, another was made in the rooms of the Royal Institution; another by the Society of Painters in Water-colours. On the removal of the pictures of British artists from the apartment of the Institution, their place was supplied by a collection of the works of the old masters, furnished from several of the principal galleries in the kingdom, and containing many works of distinguished merit.

Mr Holland and Mr Glover made particular exhibitions of their own pictures. Signor Revelli produced a

large picture of the Queen's Trial. An exhibition of the works of British engravers was made in Soho Square

In Edinburgh, also, an exhibition this year took place, which was in no little degree honourable to Scottish art Raeburn, in his portrait of Lord Hopetoun, to mention no other, rivalled anything which the sister kingdom could boast Watson displayed his usual truth and nature, and his nephew, John Watson, that elegance and delicacy which, for female subjects, and others requiring these qualities, place him perhaps above any other Scottish artist. The portrait of Mr Oswald, by Geddes, was also considered a masterpiece The miniatures of Mr J. Thomson possessed their usual excellence

In landscape, the exhibition was very powerful. Nasmyth, in his pictures of Glenco and the Pass of the Cows, gave excellent specimens of his peculiar style Peter Nasmyth had also landscapes of great merit, though in a mannered style Andrew Wilson drew peculiar admiration by a sea-port, tinted with the finest hues of Italy. The Rev J Thomson, who used to be chiefly admired for the richness of his wooded scenery, displayed, in his "Aberlady Bay," that power of marine painting which he has carried to such perfection Peter Gibson produced several landscapes, marked by classic dignity and taste There were also meritorious pieces by J F. Williams, John Wilson of London, and others

This exhibition displayed a degree of merit in sculpture, to which Scotland had hitherto been a stranger Besides two busts by Chantrey, it contained pieces by Joseph and Scoular, two young artists of great promise

The following detached notices may gratify those who take an interest in the Fine Arts —

Sale of the late Marchioness of Thomond's pictures, by Mr Christie The pictures of Sir Joshua Reynolds, which belonged to this lady, who was his niece, and well known at her uncle's parties as Miss Palmer, produced unusual and even unexpected prices Among them we produce the following as an example

The "Charity" sold for 1500 guineas, a larger sum than has ever been given before for a single picture produced by an Englishman, with the exception of "Christ Healing the Sick," painted by the late Mr West for the British Institution

The following eleven pictures are the original designs for the compartments of the window of New College, Oxford, which were copied on stained glass by Jarvis; that picture which forms the centre of the window, the subject of which is the Nativity, was the property of the Duke of Rutland, and destroyed by fire at Belvoir Castle

Charity, purchased by Lord Normanton, for 1500 guineas.

Faith, by ditto, for 400 guineas

Hope, by ditto, for 650 guineas

Temperance, by ditto, for 600 guineas

Justice, by ditto, for 1100 guineas.

Fortitude, by ditto, for 700 guineas

Prudence, by ditto, for 350 guineas

Portraits of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Jarvis, as Shepherds at the Nativity, by Earl Fitzwilliam, for 410 guineas.

A Shepherd Boy and Dog, by ditto, for 600 guineas

Young St John and the Lamb, by Mr Danby, for 175 guineas.

A Nymph and Cupid, the admirable fancy subject usually termed the Snake in the Grass; was purchased by Mr Soane, the architect, for 510 guineas, who also bought Sir Jo-

shua's copy of the Marlborough Gems for 77 guineas.

Dido on a Funeral Pile, bought by Sir C Long for the British Institution, for 700 guineas

Hope nursing Love, by Mr Morrell, of Portland Place, for 215 guineas

A Young Shepherdess, by Colonel Howard, of Grovesnor Square, for 210 guineas

Portrait of Lady Spenser, by M Wansey, for 55 guineas.

A whole-length Portrait of the late Earl of Dunmore, for 145 guineas

Portrait of Admiral Lord Rodney, for 115 guineas.

Portrait of the Dutchess of Marlborough, for 90 guineas

A Girl's Head, with a string of pearls interwoven in her hair, by Lord De Dunstanville, for 42 guineas

A bold Landscape and Figure, by Mr Cunchffe, for 400 guineas

Stuart Wortley purchased the Portrait of Mrs Robinson, in the first day's sale, at a large price.

There were a few bronzes and pictures of the first class by the Old Masters, but as the productions of Sir Joshua's pencil were evidently the great point of attraction, these were considered to obtain but indifferent prices

The Marriage of St Catherine, painted by Coreggio, to the eloquent and elaborate description of which Mr Christie has devoted two entire pages of his catalogue, and which formerly was valued at 2000l., was purchased for the Duke of Northumberland, for 215 guineas

An original Bust of Sir Joshua Reynolds, in marble, by an Italian artist, and from which Sir Joshua seems to have taken all the portraits of himself, painted late in life, was purchased by Mr Geo Watson Taylor, for 160 guineas

A noble group of Nessus and Deganira, in bronze, was purchased by Lord Yarmouth for the King, at 75 guineas

A fine equestrian figure of Marcus Aurelius, in bronze, sold for 35 guineas

A Sleeping Cupid, by Guido, bought by Mr Danby, for 85 guineas

The Enchantress, by Teniers, sold for 160 guineas

Cleopatra Dissolving the Pearl, painted by J Steen, sold for 70 guineas.

A fine plaster Bust of Dr Johnson, much esteemed by Sir Joshua Reynolds, was purchased by Mr James Boswell, for 10 guineas.

The amount of the second day's sale exceeded 15,000*l*, which is 5000*l*. more than the highest and most sanguine estimate previously made of their value

At a meeting held pursuant to advertisment at the public office, in Birmingham, on the 7th of February, 1821, to take into consideration the propriety of forming a society for promoting the cultivation of the fine arts, Samuel Galton, Esq in the chair,

It was resolved, 1st, That an institution be now established in Birmingham, for the encouragement of Arts and Manufactures, and that it be called "The Birmingham Society of Arts"

2d, That a Museum be formed for the reception of casts and models of the most approved specimens of sculpture, and of all such other works, illustrative of the different branches of art, as the society may have the means of procuring

3d, That suitable accommodation be provided for students in the fine arts

4th, That if at any time it shall be deemed expedient, the committee have the power of making arrangements for public exhibitions of the works of art

Fifteen gentlemen instantly subscribed 100*l* and 50*l* each, and about forty others subscribed 2*l* 2*s* as annual subscribers Sir Robert Lawley agreed to present an extensive collection of casts.

An institution having been formed in Glasgow, for the purpose of promoting the Arts of Drawing, Painting, Sculpture, &c, an Exhibition was opened on Monday, the 6th of August, in which artists resident in the united kingdom may be exhibitors, and works of deceased British artists were also received for exhibition and sale

The art of *engraving on wood* has lately been carried into practice with surprising success, and by their lasting means, popular books have received embellishments at a low price, which they must otherwise have been without, except at treble their cost

MONUMENT TO COMMEMORATE THE VICTORIES OF THE BRITISH ARMS IN THE PENINSULA.

This stupendous work of art is now completed, and will shortly be erected in St James's Park, immediately opposite the Horse Guards, where the royal mortar formerly stood

The colossus is 18 feet high, and is cast in metal from the cannon taken during the war, it is to be placed upon a pedestal of Aberdeen granite, of the height of 12 feet, on which will be engraved an appropriate inscription The original of this figure is on the Monte Cavallo, one of the seven hills on which Rome was built, it is executed in marble, and supposed to be the work of the celebrated Phidias, the analogy between this and the Elgin marbles certainly justifies the supposition. The figure is in an attitude of defiance, not unlike the Gladiator, in the right hand is a Roman sword, and on the left arm an orbicular shield; a very massive fold of drapery falls over the left arm, and behind the body of the statue, on the right side, is placed the cuirass armour, about seven feet high, which is most judiciously introduced for the purpose of balancing the great height of the figure, which is not so muscular as the Hercules of Praxiteles, but it has the fulness of youth and energy. The usual fault in all the Greek statues is also visible herein—the shortness of the neck, but this we know was with the Greek sculptors considered indicative of strength The muscle on the body is finely heroic. The horse is not introduced, as it has always been considered very inferior to the figure, and from its not being equally colossal, detracts from the merit of the performance The statue weighs three tons, and is the boldest attempt to rival the ancients in bronze that has yet been made

The present state of the fine arts in Spain is not so deplorable and degraded as may be thought, there are departments which demand applause, and which, if distinguished in the true point of light, would appear to great advantage There are painters in that country who display eminent abilities, the names of the following may be given as a partial specimen — Gorga, Lopez, Velasquez, Aparicio, Madrazo, Rivera, for history, Montalvo and Sanchez, for landscapes and sea pieces, Parra and Lacoma, for flowers; Rivellez, Galves, &c. for decorations

Connoisseurs may well appreciate the knowledge and taste displayed by Gines, Agreda, and Alvarez, in sculpture, each of whom has been in Rome for the sake of instruction and diligent imitation

In architecture, Spain possesses men of considerable intellectual endowments; such are Perez, Agnado, Velasquez, and Moreno: In the line of engraving, Carmona, Esteve, Amul-

leer, and Blanco, deserve particular attention. A degree of concomitant merit may be fairly assigned to Sepulveda and Sagan, as engravers in coins and medals One individual, Cardano, has recently established a lithographical press, and in his engraving appears to have exhibited several correct copies of hydrographical charts.

Schools of design are met with in all the principal cities, where patriotic societies have been organized. In Madrid there existed one attached to the Academy of Fine Arts, and known by the name of San Fernando To the praise of extensive usefulness, this has no legitimate claim, being confined, at present, to the imitating of antique models with plaster, to copying models from nature, to preparing colours, and selecting such as the different subjects may require There is much, however, to commend in the two establishments recently founded by the Academy, and superintended by its directors These have been justly considered as vehicles of instruction to a number of young students, male and female, to whom ingenious and excellent lessons are delivered alternately, (by professors highly qualified for the task,) in design, in the elements of geometry as applied to design, in perspective and ornamental drawing.

To facilitate the study of painting, government has provided a museum near the promenade of Prado, open to the public once a-week This valuable acquisition has already received 332 paintings by fifty-five Spanish masters of eminence and authority, from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the present time It will soon possess a rich and original addition, from a recent order of the King, that all the Spanish originals in the royal palaces of Madrid, Aranjuez, Retiro, and some from royal country houses, should be removed to the Royal Museum. The law which suppressed the convents, has appropriated to the same depot, a number of fine paintings, belonging to monks of the first class, Benedictines, Bernardines, Hieronymites, Chartreux, Basilians, Premonstratensians, and Trappists. Philip II. had compressed, within many of those convents, and especially in that of the Escurial, many paintings, affording the best models; and his successors built on his substratum, by accumulating, with due discrimination, all the best pieces of the ancient Italian, Flemish, and Spanish schools.

At the head of this museum appears M. Ensevi, painter in miniature to the King, and duly capable of being a guardian of the arts in this asylum. His mind has been expanded by ideas acquired (with his superior abilities) in tours through France, Italy, England, and other countries, where his capacity and industry fitted him for a thorough acquaintance with the ancient schools, and the distinctive characters of each master.

A descriptive catalogue has been printed at Madrid, of the paintings contained in this museum A little time and experience will evince the efficiency of the plan, and Spain will possess such a property in the arts as could scarcely be expected in the present state of her public affairs.

Europe cannot shew, in any other public establishment, so remarkable a selection as has been already formed and incorporated in this new arrangement, forty-three by the celebrated Murillo, whose works are now so scarce, forty-four by Velasquez; forty-two by Melendez, twenty-eight by Ribera, surnamed L'Espagnoleto; fifteen by Johannes, and eight by Cano, with those of several other painters of the old Spanish school

Twenty-four modern paintings me-

rit the compliment paid to them, of being inserted here, and of being contemplated with a species of congenial veneration, they are by Bayen, Paret, Goya, Aparicio, Madrazo, Maella, Sanchez, and Montalvo

The inventive talents of Spanish painters have been of less value, comparatively, from their being more especially occupied on subjects of religion, the museum possesses, however, more than a third unconnected with this subject, fourteen represent battles, fifteen history or fiction, twenty-eight views of towns, harbours, gardens, and other landscapes, thirteen of flowers, eight of fruits, forty-two of hotels and inns, fifty-two portraits of well-known characters, and twenty-one of imaginary persons, half of whom are of a grotesque description.

The rapid and successful movements of this museum will doubtless become an object to a numerous class of artists and amateurs, in whose minds it will facilitate the formation of new ideas, and to whom it will prove a store-house, from which the imaginative faculty will draw its materials

No VI.—LISTS.

NEW PUBLICATIONS FOR 1821

AGRICULTURE

A Treatise on Mildew and the Cultivation of Wheat, including Hints on the use of Lime, Chalk, Marl, Clay, Gypsum, &c By Francis Blaikie, Steward to T W Coke, Esq 1s 6d

A Description of a New Agricultural Implement, which, by the power of One Horse, performs a variety of operations in Cultivation, at the rate of three acres per day By Major-General Alexander Beatson 8vo

A View of the Agriculture, Manufactures, Statistics, and State of Society of Germany, and Parts of Holland and France By William Jacob, Esq, F R S 4to L 1, 15s

Grisenthwaite's New Theory of Agriculture, in which the Nature of Soils, Crops, and Manures, is explained, and the application of Bones, Gypsum, Lime, Chalk, &c. determined on Scientific Principles 5s

The Farmer's Memorandum Book for 1821 4to 10s 6d

A Guide to Farm Book-keeping, founded upon actual practice, and upon new and concise principles By Colonel Innes Munro, of Poyntzfield Royal 8vo 12s 6d boards

The Farmer and Grazier's Guide By L Towne Foolscap 8vo 10s

Essays on the Practical Husbandry, and Rural Economy By Edward Burroughs, Esq 8vo 3s. 6d sewed

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WITHIN THE YEAR 1821.

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3 At Upper Belgrave Place, London, Mrs Charles Graham, a daughter

— At Leith Mount, Mrs Glover, a daughter

— The lady of Robert Grant, Esq, 4th light dragoons, a daughter

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Tyrie, wife of Mr Tyrie, shoemaker, was safely delivered of a son, being her first child, in the 48th year of her age, and having been married upwards of 21 years

6 The lady of Major James Harvey, a son

7 Mrs Wishart, York Place, Edinburgh, a daughter

— The lady of William Baillie, Esq, of Polkemmet, a daughter

8 The lady of Woodbine Parish, Esq, jun, London, a son and heir

10 The lady of John Campbell, Esq, of Stonefield, a daughter

— The lady of Major Moodie, royal engineers, a son.

11 The lady of Captain Charles Menzies, R M Artillery, a son

12 At Maulesden, near Brechin, the lady of Colin Gib, Esq, a son

— The lady of J N M'Leod, Esq, a son

14 At Anack Cottage, Clapham, the lady of Alexander Grant, Esq, a son

15 Of a daughter, the lady of Captain Langslow, (Bengal Establishment,) her fifth child The eldest was born in Africa, the next in Asia, and the third in North America

18 Mrs Trotter, Abercromby Place, Edinburgh, a daughter

— At Schivas, the lady of Alexander Forbes Irvine, Esq, a daughter

19 Mrs Thomas Kinnear, Great King Street, Edinburgh, a son

— The lady of A Maitland Gibson, younger of Cliftonhall, a son

20 At Holland Lodge, Newington, Edinburgh, Mrs Colonel Walker, a son

21 At Lerwick, Shetland, Mrs James Yorkston, a daughter

25 In Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, the lady of the Lord Justice Clerk, a son

28 At Edinburgh, the lady of John Scott, Esq, a daughter

— At Baberton House, the lady of Archibald Christie, Esq, a son and heir

31 Mrs Macmicking, of Miltonis, a son

FEBRUARY 1 At Aberdour Manse, Mrs Dr Bryce, a daughter

2 The lady of Captain Robert Anderson, 91st regiment, a daughter

— The lady of Lieutenant-General Sir John Heron Maxwell, Bart, a son

3 The lady of Captain George Simpson, E I S, a son

— The lady of Wm Stothert, Esq of Cargen, a daughter

4 The lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Kennedy, a son

5 At Havre, the lady of Wm Davidson, Esq, a daughter

9 At Dundee, the lady of John Maxwell, Esq, a daughter

10 The lady of Anthony Maxtone, Esq, of Cultoquhey, a daughter

— The wife of Wm Crombie, cardingmaster, Mile End, was delivered of a son, and on Monday the 12th, of two daughters

11 The lady of Sir James Dalrymple Hay, Bart, of Park Place, a son and heir

— Mrs Mackintosh, of Raigmore, a daughter

— The lady of Major Ord, royal artillery, a daughter

— The lady of Captain Charles Hope Reid, Esq, of his Majesty's ship Driver, a son

12 The lady of Colonel Hay of Westerton, a son

14 At Edinburgh, the lady of J G Lockhart, Esq, a son

— In Gloucester Place, London, the lady of John Lawrie, Esq, a daughter

15 The lady of Major G Cunninghame, B S, a son

— Lady Harriet Drummond, a son

19 At South Richmond Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Begg was safely delivered of a boy and two girls

— The lady of Captain Robertson, 88th regiment, a daughter

20 Mrs Macalister, of Balinakill, a daughter

— Mrs Gordon Forbes, Towie, a daughter

21 The Right Hon Lady Harriet Paget, a daughter

— Mrs J S More, Great King Street, Edinburgh, a daughter

22 At Lockerby House, the lady of Henry Douglas, Esq, a son

23 Mrs Mackintosh, of Nairn Grove, a daughter

27 At Marygold, Mrs Murray, a son

— The lady of Major Menzies, 42d regiment, a daughter

Lately, A woman, in the neighbourhood of Modena, was delivered of five children, three boys and two girls, which survived the birth for several hours The same woman had four other deliveries of twins each time —*Gazette de France*

— Mrs Mackenzie, of Strathgarve, a daughter

MARCH 3 The Countess of Hopetoun,

3 Mrs W Buchanan, Duke Street, Edinburgh, a son

— Mrs Blackburn, of Killearn, a son

4 The Countess of Cavan, a daughter

6 Lady Compton, a son

— The lady of Major Alston, a daughter

— At London, the lady of David Charles Guthrie, Esq, a daughter

7 At Great King Street, Edinburgh, Mrs James Lang, a daughter

15 Mrs Miller, of Frankfield, a daughter

16 At Kingston, Jamaica, the lady of the Hon Wm Shand, a son

17 At Madras, the lady of Captain Macqueen, a son

18 The lady of John Anstruther Thomson, Esq, of Charleton, a daughter

19 The lady of W Macdonald, M D, of Ballyshear, a daughter

— Mrs Douglas, Drummond Place, Edinburgh, a son

20 The lady of Arnold Thompson, Esq, 81st regiment, a daughter

— The lady of John Watson, Esq, of Upper Bedford Place, London, a son

21 At St Andrews, Mrs Lee, a daughter

22 The Countess of Airly, a daughter

23 In Russell Square, London, the lady of Thomas Denman, Esq, M P, a son

25 Mrs Mowbray, Howe Street, Edinburgh, a son

— At Madeira, the lady of Robert Wallas, Esq, a son

26 The lady of John Mansfield, Esq, Edinburgh, a daughter

— At Rosefield, the lady of Peter Ewart, Esq, a son

30 At Bombay, Mrs Henry Oakes, a son

31 Mrs Macleod, jun of Cadboll, a son

Lately, The lady of Captain Alexander Scott, of the Lady Lushington Indiaman, a son

— The lady of Captain Archibald Buchanan, R N, a son

— Mrs M'Culloch, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh, a son

APRIL 1 The lady of Colin Campbell, Esq, surgeon of the horse brigade, on the Bengal Establishment, a daughter

3 The lady of George Sinclair, Esq., younger of Ulbster, a daughter

4 Mrs Hood, of Stoneridge, a son

5 The lady of Captain James Haldane Tait, royal navy, a daughter

7 At Broderа, in Guzarat, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Mackonochie, of the Hon East India Company's service, a son

10 At View Forth, Edinburgh, the lady of W C Learmonth, Esq, a daughter

— At Newbattle Manse, Mrs Thomson, a daughter

11 At Ruchlaw House, Mrs Hawthorn, a daughter

— At Balbegno Castle, the lady of Captain Ramsay, a son

13 The Hon Mrs Hore, a son

— The lady of C Lennox Cumming Bruce, of Roseisle and Kinnaird, a daughter

14 The lady of R Macdonald, Esq, of Staffa, a daughter

— At Kilgraston, the Hon Mrs Grant, a daughter

19 At Duddingston Manse, Mrs Thomson, a son

20 The lady of Captain Campbell, of the 9th lancers, a son

— The lady of Captain Fulton, R N, a son

21 At Rozelle, near Ayr, the lady of Alex W Hamilton, Esq, a daughter

— At St Petersburgh, Sultana Katte Gherry, a daughter

— The lady of the Rev George Burdon, rector of Falstone, Northumberland, a son

— The lady of Sir James C Anderson, Bart, a daughter

22 At Edinburgh, Mrs Walter Cook, a daughter

23 Mrs Robinson, No 70, Queen Street, Edinburgh, a son

— Lady Macdonald Lockhart, a daughter.

25 At Nenagh, Ireland, the lady of James Dempster, Esq, M D, a daughter

— The lady of Hugh Rose, Esq, of Kilravock, a daughter

26 At Vienna, Lady Stewart, the wife of the British ambassador, a son and heir

— At Nelson Street, Edinburgh, Mrs George Hogarth, a son

— At Houstoun, Mrs Sharp, a daughter

27 Mrs Dalrymple, Nelson Street, Edinburgh, a son

27 The lady of Captain Popplewell, R N, a son

28 The lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Wylly, royal fusileers, a son

— Mrs Cunningham Graham, a daughter

29 The lady of R W Brandling, Esq of Low Gosforth, a son

MAY 2 At Springfield, the lady of James Inverarity, Esq, a son

3 At Lochnaw Castle, the lady of Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart, a son

4 At Stirling, Mrs Robert Balfour, R N, a son

5 At the Grove, Edinburgh, Mrs Bonar, a daughter

6 At North Park, Mrs Campbell, a daughter

7 At Leith, Mrs Dr Macaulay, a son

— The lady of Robert Inglis, Esq, of Kirkmay, a son

— Mrs Forbes, of Culloden, a son

8 The lady of Henry St George Tucker, Esq, a daughter

10 At Craigleith House, Mrs William Fleming, a daughter

12 The lady of Duncan Campbell, Esq, of Barcaldine, a daughter

— The lady of Captain Robert Ramsay, a daughter

13 At Great King Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Craig, a son

— The lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, 78th Highlanders, a daughter

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18 At Bargaly, the lady of John Mackie, Esq, a son

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25 In Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, Mrs Alexander Wood, a son

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27 At Young Street, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh, Mrs John Brougham, a son
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29 The lady of the late Captain Coll Macdougall, 42d foot, a daughter
JUNE 2 At Camberwell, Surrey, Mrs Dudgeon, a daughter
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4 Mrs Miller, of Glenlee, a son
5 The lady of Captain Forbes Macbean, royal artillery, a son
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8 Mrs Lockhart, of Castle-Hill, a son
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14 The lady of James Cathcart, Esq, a son
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17 The lady of Colonel Renny, late of the 15th foot, a daughter
— At Pisa, in Italy, the Right Hon Lady Blantyre, a daughter
18 Mrs Bethune of Blebo, a daughter
19 Mrs Burn Murdoch, of Gartincaber, a son
— At Woodside, Mrs Richardson, a son
20 The lady of Major Younghusband, royal regiment of artillery, a son
— At Manar, Mrs Gordon, a daughter
21 The lady of G Macpherson Grant, Esq, of Ballindalloch, M P, a daughter
— At Edinburgh, Mrs Robertson, 75, Great King Street, a daughter
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22 Lady Buchan, a son
— The lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, 5th dragoon guards, a son
23 At Bonjedward House, Mrs Jerdon, a son
24 The lady of Captain M'Culloch, R N, a daughter
26 Mrs Gordon, of Cairnbulg, a son
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28 At Brompton, Mrs Mackenzie, lady of Thomas Mackenzie, Esq, a son
30 At Madras, the lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Foulis, Madras cavalry, a son

JULY 2 The Right Hon Lady Greenock, a daughter
6 The lady of Kenneth M'Leay, Esq, of Newmore, a son
7 At Millfield Hill, Mrs Grey, a daughter
— At Stenton Manse, Mrs Balfour Graham, a son
— The lady of Major-General Kenneth Mackenzie, a son
8 The lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Tyron, 88th regiment, a son
— Mrs Horsburgh, of Lochmalony, a son
9 Lady Frederick Bentinck, a son
10 At Warriston Crescent, Edinburgh, Mrs Barclay, a daughter
— The lady of Andrew Spottiswoode, Esq, Bedford Square, London, a daughter
14 At Fraserfield, Mrs Forbes, a son
— At Manse of Boharm, Mrs Forbes, a daughter
16 The lady of Major-General M'Nair, K C B, a daughter
17 The lady of Sir Alexander Leith, K C B, a daughter
— At Birkenbog, Mrs Marquis, a son
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19 The Marchioness of Lothian, a daughter
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30 Mrs M A. Fletcher, a son

— At Langton Manse, Mrs Brown, a daughter

31 At Culduthel House, the lady of John Windsor, Esq, a son

Lately, the lady of Earl Poulett, a son

AUGUST 3 At Hutton Hall, the lady of Colonel C Bruce, a son

4 At Bombay, the Hon Mrs Buchanan, a son

5 At Constantinople, Lady Strangford, a son

6 The Countess Brownlow, a daughter

7 At Stranraer, the lady of Captain John M'Kerlie, a son

8 At Aberdour House, Mrs Gordon, a daughter

9 Mrs Ballingall, Newton, Auchtermuchty, a son

— At Calais, the lady of Major-General Beatson, a son

— At Madras, the lady of Major George Cadell, Adjutant-General's Department, a daughter

11 Mrs Tod, Borrowstounness, a son

12 The lady of Warren Hastings Anderson, Esq, a son

13 In Brunswick Square, London, Mrs D Maclean, a son

— The Viscountess Duncannon, a son

15. Mrs Blackwell, York Place, Edinburgh, a daughter

— The lady of Captain George Edward Watts, R N, a son

17 At Lamington House, the lady of Peter Rose, Esq, a daughter

18 Mrs Hamilton Dundas, a son

— Mrs Major Campbell, a daughter

20 The lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Guy Campbell, Bart, a daughter

— Mrs Mitchell, Garnethill, a son

— The lady of Major L Stewart, 24th regiment, a son

24 The lady of Norman Macleod, Esq, of the Hon. Company's service, Bengal, a son

24 At Parkhouse, Mrs Gordon, a daughter

— The Hon Mrs Peter Ramsay, a son.

28 The lady of Gilbert Laing Meason, Esq, of Landertis, a son

— At Longniddry House, Mrs Drysdale, a son

30 At Durie, Fifeshire, Mrs Christie, a son

31 The Lady of Thomson Bonar, Esq, of Camden Place, Kent, a daughter

SEPTEMBER 3 The lady of James L'Amy, of Dunkenny, Esq, advocate, a son

— Mrs James Smith, of Craigend, a son

5 Mrs Duff, of Carnousie, a son

— The lady of Kenneth Bruce Stuart, Esq, of Annat, a daughter

— At Hopes, Mrs Hay, a son

— The lady of the Hon and Rev L Dundas, a son

6 Mrs Dennistoun, of Colgrain, a son

— At Inchdairnie, Mrs Aytoun, a daughter

— The lady of Captain Houston Stewart, R N, a son

9 At Edinburgh, Mrs Cathcart, a son

10 The lady of Captain A D M'Laren, Berwickshire militia, a son

— At Nagpore, the lady of John Sawry Impey, Esq, a son

11 The lady of James Greig, Esq, of Eccles, a daughter

13 The Right Hon Lady Eleanor Balfour, a daughter

15 The lady of Sir William Milliken Napier, Bart, a son

— At Warriston Place, Edinburgh, the lady of Captain Ross, a son

16 Lady Charlotte Seymour, a son and heir

20 Lady Mary Fitzroy, a son

22 The lady of M Stewart Nicholson, Esq, of Carnock, a daughter

27 Mrs George Robertson, 28, Albany Street, Edinburgh, a daughter

— At Kilbagie, Mrs Stein, a son

— Mrs Chancellor, of Shieldhill, a son

28 Mrs Burnett, Queen Street, Edinburgh, of twin daughters

29 At Tours the lady of William Gillon, yr of Wellhouse, Esq, a daughter

— The lady of Lieut William Cochrane Anderson, royal horse artillery, a son

OCTOBER 2 The Right Hon Lady Torphichen, a son

3 The lady of H Brougham, Esq a daughter

4 The lady of Stair Stewart, Esq of Physgill, a daughter

5 At Pittrichie House, Mrs M'Kenzie, a son

7 At Clark's Court, Grenada, the lady of John Ross, Esq a son

8 At Bengalore, the lady of Captain A. E Pattullo, 4th Native Cavalry, a son

17 The lady of George Mercer, Esq of Gorthy, a son

18 The Viscountess of Arbuthnot, a son

20 At Negapatam, the lady of Alex Fairlie Bruce, Esq, a son

22 The lady of Duncan Campbell, Esq of Maxwellhill, a son

24 The lady of Col Macdonald, a son

25 Lady M'Farlan, a daughter

27 Lady Emily Drummond, a daughter

29 The Viscountess Cranborne, a son and heir

— Mrs Ramage Liston, a son

— The lady of Alexander Norman Macleod, Esq of Harris, a son

30 The lady of Sir William Jardine, Bart of Applegarth, a daughter

— In St Andrew's Square, Edinburgh, Mrs Graham, a son

NOVEMBER 1 At Langley Park, the lady of Captain A Lindsay, a son

2 Her Grace the Duchess of Richmond, a son

4 The lady of William Wrixon Becher, Esq, M P (formerly Miss O'Neil,) a daughter

— Mrs Stanton, of Biggarshields, a daughter

5 At Netherley, Mrs Silver, a son

6 The lady of Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, of the 4th Dragoon Guards, a daughter.

11 Mrs Snodgrass Buchanan of Cunningham-head, a son

12 In India, the lady of Capt T Lumsden, of the Bengall Horse Artillery, a son

13 The lady of C. G Wynne, Esq, a daughter.

14 At Kelso, Mrs Dr Douglas, a daughter

— The lady of Joseph Hume, Esq, M P, a daughter

15 The lady of John Horrocks, Esq. a son

16 Mrs Hunt of Pittencrieff, a son

— The lady of Charles Adams, Esq, a daughter

19 The lady of Captain D Mackenzie, late of the 42d regiment, a son

20 The lady of G Scott Elliot, Esq, of Larriston, a son

21 The lady of John Robertson, Esq of Kovcran, Aberdeenshire, a son

— The lady of Major James Harvey of Castlesemple, a daughter

— The lady of William Plomer, Esq, a daughter

22 The lady of Major-General Sir Patrick Ross, K C M G, a son

23 The lady of Captain W Cunningham Dalyell, Royal Navy, a son

24 The lady of Sir T Lauder Dick, of Fountainhall and Grange, a daughter

— The lady of John Graham, Esq, younger of Feddal, a daughter

25 The Honourable Mrs Wardlaw, a daughter

27 The lady of Major Purvis, a daughter

— The lady of the Attorney-General, a son

29 The lady of Col O'Connel, of the 73d regiment, a son

31 Mrs Oliphant of Rossie, a daughter

Lately, The wife of a labouring man at Cladhich, near Inverary, was delivered of two fine boys and a girl

DECEMBER 1 At Kelso Manse, Mrs Lundie, a daughter

— Lady Campbell, a son

3 Lady Elizabeth Hope Vere, a daughter

— The lady of William Fullarton of Skeldon, Esq, advocate, a son

5 Mrs Ogilvy of Parconan, a son

6 At Kilderrie, Ross-shire, Mrs Gallie, a son

7 Lady Cochrane, a daughter.

8 The Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth Pack, a daughter

9 The lady of the Rev Samuel Roffey Maitland, a son

9. The Countess of Uxbridge, a son and heir.
10 Lady Berridale, a son and heir
11 Mrs Kirk of Craiglearn, a daughter.
12. At Orchard House, Mrs Kell, a son
14 Lady Lowther, a son
15 Mrs G Moncreiff, a daughter
16 Mrs Wedderburn, a son
— The Duchess of Bedford, a son
17 The lady of Major Mackenzie, of the Scots Greys, a son
18 The Countess of Athlone, a daughter
19 Mrs Crawford of Cartsburn, a daughter
21 The lady of Capt Geo Stirling, a daughter
22. The lady of the late J C M'Leod, Esq, younger of Geanies, a daughter
— Mrs Smart of Cononsyth, a son
24 The lady of William Dalgleish, Esq, of twin sons
26 The lady of Major Martin, a daughter
27 The lady of Sir George Clerk, Bart, M P, a son
28 Mrs Scott Moncrieff, a daughter
29 The Right Hon Lady Elinor Campbell, a son and heir
— Mrs Joseph Gordon, a daughter
30 Mrs Gloag of Greenhill, a daughter

Lately, in the parish of Linkinhorne, Cornwall, Mrs Elizabeth Pet, aged 43, of twin sons The honoured sire is upon the verge of 80!

MARRIAGES

JANUARY 1 Robert Kirk, Esq, of Craiglearen, to Miss Jean Farries, Closeburn
— At Edinburgh, David Hay, M D, to Miss B Augusta Walker
2. Joshua Henry Mackenzie, Esq, advocate, to the Hon. Helen Anne Mackenzie.
4 George Wilson, Esq, younger of Glasgowego, advocate, Aberdeen, to Miss Agnes Dyce
8 At Glasgow, William Wallace, Esq, to Miss Crawford, Ballindalloch
9. Major-General Robert Douglass, to Miss Packer.
10 Robert Haig, Esq., Dublin, to Miss Eliza Chalmer
11 Captain the Hon Edward Cust, M P, to Miss Boode
12 Neil Maclachlan, Esq, Mingary, Mull, to Mrs Campbell, widow of Malcolm Campbell, Barmalloch
17 At Dudwick, Stewart Heith, Esq, to Miss Mar
18 James Cruickshank, Esq, to the Right Hon Lady Ann Letitia Carnegie
19 At Dunkeld, William Ranken, Esq, Eskmount, to Miss Cargill
22 John Macmillan, Esq, surgeon, R N, to Miss Mary Ann Lamont
— At Wytham Abbey, Charles John Baillie Hamilton, Esq, to the Right Hon. Lady Caroline Bertie
24 Captain John Ross, of the Hon East India Company's Service, to Miss Rose
25 At Edinburgh, Robert Cadell, Esq, Bookseller, to Anne Fletcher, eldest daughter of George Mylne, Esq, Howe Street
30 Wm Moncrieff Taylor, Esq, of the 75th regiment, to Miss Armstrong
31 Colonel J F Burgoyne, Royal Engineers, to Miss Charlotte Rose

Lately, Wm Russell, Esq, advocate, Edinburgh, to Miss Du Fresne

FEBRUARY 1 Charles Charteris, Esq, of Cullhwait, to Miss Diana Reed
— John Marshall, Esq, merchant, Glasgow, to Miss Sanderson, Edinburgh
2 Lord Viscount Cranborne, to Miss Gascoigne
— George Mackenzie, Esq, Dingwall, to Miss M'Rae
6 The Rev John Bennet of Ettrick, to Miss Singer
— Captain Robert Deans, Royal Navy, to Miss Clay
— At Cawnpore Bengal, Lieut James Wright, 24th regiment, to Miss Campbell
8 Thomas Lumsden, Esq, of the East India Company's Military Service, to Miss Hay Burnet, Elrick
10 William Frederick Chambers, M D, to Miss Mary Fraser
12 Alexander Cruickshank, Esq, of Keithock, to Miss Mary Cruickshank, Langley Park
13 Capt Robert Cuthbertson, to Miss Agnes M'Kissock, Knockormal

19 At Prestonpans, Mr Robert Hislop, to Miss Ann Sydserff

20 At Edinburgh, the Rev James Walker, to Miss Madeline Erskine

21 At Aberdeen, P Macarthur, Esq, Delnies, to Miss Ann Galloway, Glasgow

24 William Lawson, Esq, of Langhirst, Brocks, Northumberland, to Miss Clark

26 Robert Ferrie, Esq, of Blairtummock, to Miss Cochran

— At Florence, Viscount Tullamore, to Miss Beaujolis Campbell, niece to the Duke of Argyle

— William Clerk, Esq, of Gaupy, to Miss Adamson

— Captain Alexander Renton Sharpe, R N, C B, to Miss Hay

Lately, George Drummond, Esq, of Duncryne, Dumbartonshire, to Miss Alfreda Louisa M'Lellan

MARCH 1 At Aberdeen, the Rev Patrick Cheyne, to Miss Eliza Annand

2 At Edinburgh, Andrew Lyte, M D, to Miss Charles

9 Lieutenant Grant, late 92d regiment, to Miss Watson

10 Lieutenant-Colonel James Johnstone Cochrane, 3d regiment of Guards, to Miss Wiltshire

17 At St Vincent's, Lieut Cox, of the 22d Light Dragoons, to Miss Magdalene Sutherland

19. At Edinburgh, George Augustus Borthwick, M D, to Miss Kinnear

— John Fraser, jun, Esq, of Achnagairn, to Miss Malton

20 The Hon Edward Perceval, to his cousin Miss Perceval

— At Guernsey, Fitzhubert Macqueen, Esq, to Mary Christina, relict of Captain James Dalrymple

21 The Rev John Geddes, Paisley, to Miss Thomson, Oatridge

23 Lieutenant-Colonel A Mackintosh, Hon East India Company's Service, to Miss Sheriff

24 Major William Power, of his Majesty's 7th Dragoon Guards, to Miss Anne Horner, Edinburgh

29. Gilbert Monro, Esq, of Brighton, St Vincent, to Miss Ludford

— At Edinburgh, William Young, M D, to Miss White

APRIL 4 At the Palace of Canino near Rome, T Wyse, Esq, Ireland, to Letitia, daughter of Lucien Buonaparte

5 The Earl of Dartmouth, to Lady Frances Charlotte Chetwynd Talbot

— His Excellency Colonel Maxwell, C B, to Miss Douglas, Green Croft

9 William Mackenzie, Esq, W S, to Miss Wauchope, Niddrie Marischall

— Captain Francis Stuart, of the Royal North British Dragoons, to Miss Jameson, Alloa

14 The Rev William Pegus, to the Countess of Lindsey

16 Adam Ferguson, Esq, late of 58th regiment of foot, to Mrs Margaret Stewart, widow of George Lyon, Esq, of Bucklersberry, London

— At Borrowstounness, James Cowan, Esq, M D, to Miss Margaret Todd

21 Maxwell Gordon, Esq to Miss Jane Steuart, Steuarthall

23 At Cowdenknows, Dr Ninian Hill, Greenock, to Miss Ramsay

— The Right Hon Heneage, Earl of Aylesford, to the Right Hon Lady Augusta Sophia Greville

— Christopher Capel, Esq, of Prestbury, to Miss Forbes, Craigievar

24 At Camphill, James Monteith, Esq, to Miss Thomson

25 At Everton, Liverpool the Rev Joseph Evans Beaumont, of Haddington, to Miss Susannah Morton

26 George Macneal of Ugadale, Esq, to Miss Loring

— Sir William Dick, Bart, to Caroline, relict of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Fraser, late of the 76th regiment of foot

27 James Hay, Esq, of Seggieden, to Miss Stewart, Urrard

— The Rev Thomas Dinma, Queensferry, to Miss Laura Grierson

— Arthur Nicolson, Esq, of Lochend, to Miss Tack

28. Dr George Macdonald, to Miss Margaret Crawford, Cromarty

30 The Rev James Traill, Haddington, to Miss Vetch, Hawthornbank

— The Rev Abraham Home, Greenlaw, to Miss Anderson

— The Rev Charles Ritchie, Kirkliston, to Miss Reid, Ratho Bank

— Joseph Philip Bartolini, Esq, to Miss Johnston, Lathrisk

— At Scarborough, Archibald Gibson,

Esq., Edinburgh, to Mrs Macghie, widow of the deceased Thomas Macghie

30 James Marjoribanks, Esq, Crosshall, to Miss Hunter, Glenormiston

— James Ralston, Esq, of Towerhill, to Miss Lilias Smith, of Bankend

— Peter Forbes, Esq, Lieutenant of the late 95th regiment, to Miss Philp, Dolls

Lately, At Beer Regis, Mr Robert Shepherd, Methodist preacher, aged 86, to Miss Catherine Singleton, aged 27

MAY 1 The Hon Charles Langdale, to Miss Maxwell, great-grand-daughter of the Earl of Nithsdale

2 At Edinburgh, Arthur Mower, Esq, M D, Cambridge, to Miss Steuart

— The Rev John Ramsay, Dukinfield, Cheshire, to Miss Lang, Linlithgow

4 William Murray, Esq, of Rosemount, banker in Tain, to Miss Esther Mackay, Torboll

7 William Hepburn Gordon, Esq, St Vincent, to Miss Macleod

8 Captain Frederick Maclean, of the 6th regiment, to Miss Amelia Harriet Benson

— Lieutenant Charles Douglas Clapperton, Royal Marines, to Miss Johnston, Dalton Hook, Dumfries-shire

10 Captain George Berkeley Maxwell, R N, to Miss Clerk, Bownham House, Gloucestershire

— George Rankine, Esq, younger, Whitehill, to Miss Hutchinson, Kelloside

12 James Fairlie, Esq of Bellfield and Holmes, Ayrshire, to Miss Fairlie

15 R A Chermside, Esq, M D, 10th Royal Hussars, to Miss Williams

18 Stewart Chisholm, Esq, surgeon, late of the Royal Artillery, to Miss MacCrae, Ardintoul

19 John Tidd Pratt, Esq, of the Inner Temple, to Miss Campbell

— Captain Frederick Fitzclarence, 11th regiment, to Lady Augusta Boyle, daughter of the Earl and Countess of Glasgow

21 At Dunse Manse, Lieut-Colonel James Johnston, of the Portuguese service, and Major in the British service, to Miss Trotter

— John Andrew Ormiston, Esq; of Glenburnhall, to Miss Marjory Maxwell Thomson

23 Patrick Robertson, Esq, of Trinfour, Perthshire, to Miss Eliza Walond.

28 Thomas Baldock, Esq, to Miss Charlotte Ross

— Captain Robson, of the 16th regiment, to Miss Knox

29 Dr Hugh Caldwell, 91st regiment, to Miss Newbigging, Kilmarnock

— Robert Douglas, Esq, of Strathendry, to the Hon Mary Sydney Douglas.

30 At Aberdeen, the Rev Wm Wilkinson, to Miss Margaret Annand

— Captain James Murray, of his Majesty's Ship Valorous, to Miss Tucker

— At Barking, John Campbell, Esq, to Miss Shuttleworth

JUNE 1 The Rev Charles Watson, Burntisland, to Miss Boog, Edinburgh

— Donald Horne, Esq, W S, to Miss Jane Ogilvie, Chesters

2 Sir Roger Gresley, Bart, to the Right Hon Lady Sophia Catherine Coventry

— In Trinidad, Herbert Mackworth, Esq, to Miss Anderson

10 The Rev Robert Smith of Dreghorn, to Miss Moleson, Brechin

11 Dr William Cumin, physician, Glasgow, to Miss Ann Johnston Ker, Kerfield

12 Robert Montgomery, Esq, of Craighouse, to Miss Hildane

14 The Lady Catherine Harris, to Lieutenant-Colonel Bell, Deputy Quarter-Master-General at the Cape of Good Hope

16 Captain W E Grant, Military Secretary to the Forces, Barbadoes, to Miss Hanson

18 Major Hugh Stewart, 75th regiment, to Miss Ann M'Coll

19 The Rev Benjamin Maidon, Glasgow, to Miss Isabella Cairns, Peebles

— Thomas Gifford, Esq, late of the Hon East India Company's Service, to Miss Scott

— Alexander Allan Mackenzie, Hilton, to Miss Downie

— William Waring Hay, Esq, W S, to Miss Jane Frances Gregson of Blackburn

24 At the Island of St Christopher's, John Wilson, Esq Captain of his Ma-

jesty's Ship Salisbury, to Miss Caroline Constance Fahie

26 At Montrose, Captain William Hunter, of the Hon East India Company's Naval Service, to Miss Knox

28 At Bath, John Maxwell Logan, Esq, of Fingalton, Renfrew, to Mrs Cathcart, widow of the late Hugh Cathcart, Esq

JULY 2 At Madras, Lieut-Colonel Marshall, to Miss Gascoigne

3 Wm Macdowall, Esq, advocate, to Miss Elizabeth Christian Dundas

— John Harding Walker, Esq, M D, to Miss Duncan

— Colonel Hugh Baillie, of Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, London, to Miss Smith, Castleton Hall, Lancaster

— Spencer Perceval, Esq, to Miss Anna Eliza Macleod

8 George Taylor, Esq, of Dublin, to Miss Thomson, Barnby

10 John Kirkpatrick, Esq, advocate, to Miss Glas

— John Sinclair, Esq, of Barroch, to Miss Margaret Lairmonth

12 Andrew Scott, Esq, of Larchgrove, to Miss Celia King

— At St Helena, George Watson, Esq, surgeon, to Miss O'Connor

13 Carlyle Bell, Esq, W S, Edinburgh, to Miss Cunningham

— Hugh Montgomery Campbell, Esq, to Miss Hale

16 At Durham, Robert Rattray, Esq, W S, to Miss Digma

— At Cannanore, Capt W Hardy, of the 7th regiment, M N I, to Miss Hunter

17 Captain Hyde Parker, R N, to Miss Caroline Evan

— James Playfair, Esq, merchant in Glasgow, to Miss Jane Spiers, Greenock

22 Captain J Robertson, 14th regiment, to Miss Steele

24 Alexander Paterson, Esq, of Smithfield, to Miss Agnes Wallace

25 James Head, Esq, of the Hon East India Company's Service, to Miss Cecilia Lindsay of Balcarras

27 Lieutenant-Colonel Sir T Noel Hill, Bart, K C B, to the Hon Anna Maria Shore

30 Henry William Stephen, Esq, to Lady Frances Bentinck

30 Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Watson, Bengal Light Cavalry, to Miss Scott.

— James Graham, Esq, of Richardby House, Cumberland, Captain in the Scots Greys, to Miss Elizabeth Jane Saurin

AUGUST 1 In the Island of St Vincent, Pemberton Hobson, Esq, to Miss Margaretta Jane Carmichael

— The Hon Edward Hervey Hawke, to Miss Elizabeth Ramsden, niece to the Marchioness of Hertford

2 Captain Spear, Royal Navy, to Miss Grant

4 The Right Hon the Viscount Kelburne, to Miss Hay Mackenzie

5 Capt J G Cowell, of the Royals, to Miss Ormsby

6 At Glasgow, M S Pinkerton, Esq, to Miss Lang

8 Dr Lushington, to Miss Carr

— Sir Francis Sykes, Bart, to Miss Villebois

9 Evan Baillie, Esq, jun, of Dochfour, to Miss Charlotte Augusta Baillie Hamilton

— Lord Charles Somerset, to Lady Mary Poulett

— William Stuart, Esq, M P, to Miss Pole

10 Lieutenant-Colonel Charlewood, of the Grenadier Guards, to Agnes Margaretta Lady Campbell, widow of Lieutenant-General Sir James Campbell

11 Captain Gair of Fortrose, to Miss Barbara M'Iver

13 Captain Arch Fullarton, late of the 38th regiment of foot, to Miss Janet Robertson

— At Kilmarnock, Capt John White, of the 3d Ceylon regiment, to Miss Janet Begbie

14 C Bannerman, Esq, of Kirkhill, to Miss Anne Bannerman

15 The Rev David Wauchope, to Miss Anne Wauchope of Niddrie Marischal

— T Buller, Esq, to the Right Hon. Lady Agnes Percy

— The Baron Stanislaus Chandoir, of the Empire of Russia, to Miss Lucy Crichton

— Captain Baird, 3d regiment of Guards, to Lady Anne Kennedy

16 James Auchinleck Cheyne, Esq, of Oxendean, W S, to Miss Margaret Blair.

16 Alexander Robertson, Esq, W S, to Miss Katharine Alison

17 Mr James Ballantyne, Whitehope, to Miss Anne Henderson

20 William Arrot, Esq, of Manchester, to Miss Isabella Joanna Gardiner, Edinburgh

— John Brown, Esq, of Netherwood, to Miss Anderson

— Thomas Alston, Esq, merchant, Glasgow, to Miss Thomson

— P J Macdonald, Esq, apothecary to his Majesty's Forces, to Miss Eliza Overton

— R H Reardon, Esq, 66th foot, to Miss Cunningham

— William H Kerr, Esq, accountant in Edinburgh, to Miss Ivory, Dundee

21 Arthur Robertson, Esq, distiller, Ormiston, to Miss M'Robin

27 At Glasgow, Lieut J Pollock, of the 5th regiment, to Miss Clelland

— At Seton House, Dr John Fletcher, Edinburgh, to Miss Agnes Seton

— The Right Honourable the Earl of Kintore, to Miss Louisa Hawkins

— Sir David Erskine of Cambo, Bart, to Miss Williams

SEPTEMBER 4 Captain James Paterson, to Miss Davie Erskine

— Henry Meredith Warter, Esq, of Sibberscript, Salop, to Elizabeth, only daughter of the celebrated Mr Mungo Park

— Thomas Dunmore, Esq, commissary-general, to Mrs Stirling, widow of the late Robert Stirling, Esq

6 The Rev Mr Anderson, minister of Dunbarny, to Miss Thomson

7 At Vogrie, John Cockburn, Esq, to Miss Eliza Dewar

8 John Campbell, Esq, of Lincoln's Inn, to Miss Scarlett

— At the Residency, Nagpore, Capt H A Montgomerie, 27th regiment Bengal Native infantry, to Miss Duncan

10 At Leghorn, the Hon Arthur Hill Trevor, to Miss Irving

12 Colin Campbell, Esq, of Demerara, to Miss Rose

15 William Stewart, Esq, Royal Artillery, to Miss Bendyshe

17 At Kilmarnock, James Finnie, Esq, of Lisbon, to Miss Mary Anne Brown

— Wm. Knight, LL D, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Institution at Belfast, to Miss Glennie, Aberdeen

18 Charles Doyle Straker, Esq, to Miss Catherine Cornelia Story

24 In the British Chapel at Leghorn, John Christie, Esq, of Hoddesdon, in the County of Hertford, to Miss Falconer

— James H Markland, Esq, of the Inner Temple, to Miss Freeling

Lately, Capt George Digby, R N, to Miss Walsh

— The Rev Hector Allen, minister of Kincardine, Ross-shire, to Miss Stewart

OCTOBER 1 Alfred Harvey, Esq, of Bristol, to Miss Innes, Pitmedden

2 Major James Hackett, of the Hon East India Company's Service, to Miss Gledsdale

3 Henry Sibbald, Esq, W S, to Miss Edmund

4 Robert Renton, M D, to Miss Christina Adam

6 John Hay, Esq, younger of Smithfield and Hayston, to Miss Anne Preston

8 Alex Mackenzie, Esq at Kinnahaird, to Miss Macdonald, Urray

— Alexander Murchison, Esq, M D, of Jamaica, to Miss Copland, Aberdeen

10 Charles Stuart, Esq, of Rothsay, to Miss Leake of Barnes, Surrey

11 Duncan Campbell, Esq, Kilchoman, to Miss M'Neill

15 Captain George Thomas Gordon, of the Hon East India Company's light cavalry, upon the Bombay Establishment, to Miss Margaret Catherine Macleod, Aberdeen

16 John Hyndman, Esq, advocate, to Miss Macrae

17 The Rev Dr Dewar, Glasgow, to Miss Susan Place

22 William Mercer, Esq, W S, to Miss Maxwell, Paisley

23 Captain J Thornton, half-pay 78th regiment, to Miss Helen Small

24 W Robert Keith Douglas, Esq, M P, to Miss Irving

— Edward Cromwell Disbrowe, Esq, to Miss Kennedy

25 William Herries Ker, Esq, to Miss Hepburn

— Captain Donald, late Royal West India Rangers, to Miss Jemima Baxter

— At Edinburgh, William Johnston, Esq, to Mrs Reidie, widow of Dr Reidie, physician, Brechin

26 The Rev John Glegg, Inverbervie, to Miss Ann Scott, Benholm

— At the British Ambassador's house in Brussels, Colonel Berington, to Mrs Dickinson

29 The Rev David Wilson, Stranraer, to Miss Stewart, Cairnsmore

30 At Arbroath, William Kidd, Esq, to Miss Ouchterlony

— James Walker, Esq, of Dover, to Miss Grant

— Sir William Johnstone Hope, M P, to the Right Honourable Maria, Countess of Athlone

Lately, William Fraser, Esq, of Madras, to Mrs Mary Turner

NOVEMBER 3 Alexander Dudgeon, Esq, brewer, Leith, to Miss Park, Newcastle

5 In Westphalia, his Serene Highness the Duke De Croy, Prince of the Empire, Peer of France, and Grandee of Spain, to Miss Maria Dillon

6 Major William Steuart, 91st regiment, to Miss Kennedy

— Captain Alexander Gordon, R N, to Miss Gordon of Park

12 The Rev John Eadie, minister of Dun, to Miss Helen Scott of Newton

15 Lieutenant-Colonel Chisholm, R A, to Miss Chisholm, Fasnakyle

— Lieutenant-Colonel A Hogg, of the Hon East India Company's Service, to Miss Dinwiddie

— David S Napier, Esq, to Miss Dixon, Knightswood

16 George Russell, Esq, younger of Hayston, to Miss Mary Walker, Collesie

19 The Rev Archibald Bruce, Stirling, to Miss Banks, of Craighead

20 Captain John Hobbs, of the Royal Engineers, to Miss Maitland of Fangirth

— Alexander Hutchison, Esq, of Peterhead, to Miss Hutchison

— Mark Sprot of Garnkirk, Esq, advocate, to Miss Harriet Hill

22 At Arbroath, Alexander Hutchinson, Esq, of the Customs, to Miss Mudie

— Major James Dennistoun Brown, of the Madras artillery, to Miss Noble

23 John Viscount Glenorchy, to Miss Baillie of Jerriswood

26 Robert Baine, Esq, Greenock, to Mrs Morris, widow of the late Hugh Morris, Esq, Glasgow.

26 Andrew Sims, Esq, Lieutenant R N, to Miss Mary Anne Torry, Peterhead

27 John Eaton, jun, Esq, banker, Shrewsbury, to Miss Mary M'Lean

29 The Earl of Wilton, to Lady Mary Stanley

30 The Rev George Dickson, North Sunderland, to Miss Stark

DECEMBER 1 John Staig, Esq, of Dumfries, to Mrs Salkeld, Carlisle

3 Mr A Henderson, bookseller, Glasgow, to Miss Hutcheson

4 Edward Stanley, Esq, of Ponsonby Hall, Cumberland, to Miss Mary Douglas

10 Henry Salmon, Esq, banker, Falkirk, to Miss Christiana Morgan, Kirkcaldy

— Capt James Arthur Murray, R N, to Miss Harriet Coupland

— Col Sir Henry Hardinge, K C B, to Lady Emily James, widow of the late J James, Esq

— The Rev James Brown, Kilrenny, to Miss Ann Ranken

14 David Scott, Esq, W S, to Miss Theodosia Anderson

17 Captain James Pearson, of the East India Company's service, to Miss Agnes Richardson.

— At Aberdeen, the Rev Patrick Forbes, D D, to Miss Mary Glennie

— At Peterhead, William Bruce, Esq, surgeon, R N, to Miss Jane Hutchison

— At Lyndhurst, the Rev C W Wodehouse, to Lady Jane Hay, sister to the Earl of Errol

18 At Elmg, Hants, Captain Aitchison, R N, to Miss Munro

— At Parkley, Robert Welsh, Esq, writer, Edinburgh, to Miss Mary May

— The Rev Alexander Wood, minister of Rosemarkie, to Miss Agnes Walker, Muirhouselaw

20 At Sulhamstead, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Watson, C T S, to Miss Anna Rosetta Thoyts

23 At Rome, Capt Robert Manners Lockwood, to the Right Hon Lady Julia Gore

— John Lucius Charles Van Baerle, Esq, to Miss Caroline Hislop

28 At Glasgow, Wm. Colquhoun Stirling, Esq, of Law, to Miss Helen Calder

29 At London, A R Irvine, Esq, to Miss Margaret Farquharson

Lately, at Glynet, near Lewes, a man of the name of Taylor, upwards of 70 years of age, to a woman between 80 and 90 years old! The happy couple were attended to church by a male and female friend about their own age The united ages of the four amounted to upwards of 300 years

— Mr George Clerk, bookseller, Aberdeen, to Miss Helen Thomson, Dundas Street, Edinburgh

DEATHS

JANUARY 1 At Pittenweem, Robert Edie, Esq, late paymaster of the 2d battalion 63d regiment

— At Sanquhar, in the 88th year of her age, Mrs Nicholas Murray, relict of Mr James Leslie

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Catherine Rannie, wife of John Swinton, Esq, of Broadmeadows

— At Edinburgh, Mr William White, Solicitor, Supreme Courts

2 At Edinburgh, in the 87th year of her age, Miss Grizel Gray, second daughter of the late William Gray, Esq, of Newholm

— At Montrose, in the 76th year of her age, Mrs Mary Gairdner, relict of William Douglas, Esq, merchant, Leith

— In Rose Street, Edinburgh, Mr Alex Wallace, in the 80th year of his age

— At Hamburgh, Mrs Ross, widow of Dr Colin Ross

— At Castle Howard, William Parnell, Esq, M P

3 At Bath, General Wm Monro, of Ansham House

— At Glasgow, John Falconer, Esq, late merchant in Hamburgh

— In Hanover Street, Edinburgh, Dr Peter Fair, of the Hon East India Company's Service

— At Sundrum, John Hamilton, Esq, of Sundrum, in the 82d year of his age

— At Crayford, Kent, Wm Thomson, M D, aged 42

— At Madras, James Chalmers, Esq, of the Hon East India Company's Service, and civil surgeon at Palamcattah

4 At Bath, Mrs Maria Maxwell, widow of Adam Gordon, Esq, formerly Collector of the Customs, Portpatrick

5 At Madras, Miss B Hunter, daughter of the late Mr James Hunter, merchant, Edinburgh

6 At his house, Pimlico, the Rev David Love, aged 85

— At Naples, after a long illness, Mrs John Cumming, eldest daughter of William Magee, Esq, of Belfast

7 At Limerick, in consequence of her head-dress taking fire from a candle which she held in her hand, the widow of Dr Kelly

— At Ayr, Robert Davidson, Esq, of Drumlay

8 At Guynd, aged 77, Ann Ochterlony, relict of the deceased William Milne, Esq, late of Fullarton and Bonnyton

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Jane Boston, relict of the late Rev Robert Paterson, Biggar

— At Bath, Captain Robert Cuthbert, R N

— At London, Lieutenant-Colonel John Handfield, of the royal engineers

— At Clerk's Bridge, Cork, Mrs Mary Shinnick, aged 104 years

— At Lunenburgh, Nova Scotia, at the age of 72, Miss Cheyne, eldest daughter of Charles Cheyne, Esq, formerly merchant in Edinburgh

11 At Thurso, Alexander Sutherland of Wester

12 At Edinburgh, Mr Peter Megget, late Lieutenant of the 4th, or King's Own

— At his house in Brompton Grove, at an advanced age, Sir John Macpherson, Bart

— At Edinburgh, Mr Robert Dick, writer

— James Topping, Esq, of Whatcroft Hall, in the county of Chester

— At Aberdeen, Mrs William Rannie, aged 90

— At Inverness, Miss Margaret Warrand, daughter of the late Robert Warrand, Esq

13 In his 11th year, George, son of Mr G Asten, farmer, of Martlesham, near Ipswich He was the youngest of

twenty-eight children by the same parents, and it is a remarkable coincidence, that the youngest daughter died last year on the same day of the same month, and at the same hour

— General Gwynn, Colonel of the King's Dragoon Guards, and Governor of Sheerness

— At Dundonald Manse, Mrs M'Leod, wife of the Reverend Dr M'Leod, minister of the parish

14 At Edinburgh, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Hill, of the Bengal Artillery

— At Bellshill, the Reverend John Brown, minister of the Relief Congregation in Falkirk, in the 41st year of his ministry

— In Dublin, A A Hely Hutchinson, youngest son of the Honourable A A Hely Hutchinson

— At Boulogne, Lady Ann Digby, sister to the Earl of Cassilis

— At Craigflower, Mrs Isabella Colville of Ochiltree, relict of James Wedderburn Colville, Esq

— At Leghorn, George Oswald Sym, in the 29th year of his age

15 At London, Lewis Fraser, Esq, youngest son of the late Simon Fraser, Esq, of Ford, W S

— At Hamilton, the Rev Dr Alexander Hutchison

16 At Tullymet House, Dr William Dick, of Tullymet

17 At Trinchinopoly, William Campbell Scott, Esq, of the honourable East India Company's service

18 At West Grange, near Edinburgh, Charlotte, only surviving daughter of David Millar, Esq, of Ballumbie

— At Dublin, Lady Castlecoote

— At the Manse of Abercorn, Mrs Meiklejohn, senior

19 At Hamburgh, Mrs Klopstock, widow of the illustrious author of the Messiah, in the 74th year of her age

— At Fareham, aged 89, Joseph Gilbert, Esq, who, in the year 1772, accompanied Captain Cook in his second voyage round the world

— At Hasling House, Buxton, John Gillies, Esq

20 At Davis's Cove, Jamaica, Richard Dickson, Esq

21. At Newtonstewart, William Dill, senior, Esq, writer

21. At Bellericay, in the county of Essex, Mrs Douglas, after a very lingering and painful illness

— At his house, St John's Hill, Mr William Bruce, late banker in Edinburgh.

— At Edinburgh, Mr Pietro Lottini

22 At Aberdeen, aged 68, William Copland, Esq, Advocate

— At Edinburgh, aged 85, Mr John Ferguson, late merchant, Dalkeith

— In Bath, Mrs Wilson, relict of George Wilson, Esq

— At Banff, at a very advanced age, John Russell, Esq, of Balmade

— At Hooley House, Surrey, Thomas Byron, late Lieutenant-Colonel in the 3d regiment of Guards

23 At Portsmouth, suddenly, Sir George Campbell, G C B, Admiral of that port

24 At Grangemouth, Mr John Lorn, ship-owner

— At Arbroath, Mr David Kirkland, Rector of the Grammar School of that place, in the 83d year of his age

— At Aberdeen, John Urquhart, Esq, of Craigston

— At Fort Augustus, Arthur Buchanan, Esq, Barrack-master of that place.

25 At Watterstein, Mrs Bethune, widow of the late Reverend Wm Bethune, minister of Durinish, Isle of Skye

— At Warrieston Crescent, Edinburgh, James Rose, Esq Depute-Clerk of Session

26 Mrs Stephens, mother of Miss Stephens, of Covent Garden Theatre

— At Carlisle, aged 40, David Carrick, junior, only son and partner of D Carrick, Esq, banker in that city

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Elizabeth Bell, wife of Nicol Milne, Esq, of Faldonside

— At Claremont Park, Esher, Colonel the Baron de Hardenbrock, Equerry to his Royal Highness Prince Leopold

28 At Campbelton, Captain Donald Campbell, Paymaster Argyllshire militia

29 At Edinburgh, Miss Jane Myrtle

— At Cheltenham, Patrick Maitland, Esq, late of Calcutta

— At Glasgow, James Marquis, Esq, late merchant there

— In Morton Street, Leith, Mr John Anderson, shipmaster

30 Mrs Brand, wife of James Brand, Esq, Cashier of the Banking Company Aberdeen

31 At the Manse of Kiltarlity, the Reverend Ranald Bain, D D, minister of that parish

Lately, The Countess Dowager of Lincoln

— The Countess of Clermont

— The Right Honourable Archibald Colquhoun, Lord Clerk Register of Scotland

FEBRUARY 1 At Panmure House, Canongate, Mrs Margaret Geddes, wife of Mr John Geddes

2 At Greenock, Mr William Cameron, surgeon

— At the Manse of Smizart, Mrs Mary M'Leod, spouse of the minister of that parish

3 In the Island of St Lucie, John M'Call, Esq, of Cocoa Nut Point

— At London, John Dunmore Napier, Esq of Balkillrain, Stirlingshire

— At the Manse of Gifford, East Lothian, the Reverend James Innes, in the 88th year of his age, and 61st of his ministry

— At London, Mrs Millar, wife of William Millar, Esq, of Star, Fifeshire

— The Princess Caroline of Bavaria

— At Edinburgh, in the 92d year of her age, Mrs Margaret Mary Nimmo, relict of the Reverend John Gibson

4 At their house, near Pinkie, Miss Jean, and, on the 28th, Miss Ann, her sister, daughters of the deceased Mr Francis Main

5 At Kinell House, Perthshire, the Right Hon Lady Ann Place, daughter of the late Earl of Aberdeen, and wife of Edward Place, Esq, of Skelton Grange, Yorkshire

— At Murton, Miss Louisa Watson, daughter of James Watson, Esq

— At Grange Toll, near Edinburgh, within a few weeks of 100 years old, Duncan Cummin, superannuated officer of Excise, grandson of George Grant, Esq, of Tullochgorum

— At Leith, Mrs Jane Stewart, wife of Mr Robert Liddell

6 At Lanark, Bailie Alexander Blair, merchant, in the 86th year of his age

— At Sandygate, near Mid-Calder, Adam Turnbull, Esq, M D

— At Hingolee, Lieutenant Thomas Fleming, Adjutant 1st battalion Berar regular infantry

6 At Dalvey, Alexander Macleod, Esq, of Dalvey.

— At Edinburgh, John Stenhouse, Esq, writer to the signet

— At Tranent, Mr Andrew Blair, corn-merchant, in the 72d year of his age

— At Logiegreen, Charles Steuart, Esq, writer to the Signet

— At Rockdale Cottage, near Perth, Mr William Hthind, factor to the Right Honourable Lord Gray, Kinfauns Castle

— Near Falmouth, Jamaica, James Fraser, son of Mr Fraser, St James's Square, Edinburgh

7 At Quebec, Mrs Kerr, wife of James Kerr, Esq, Judge of the Court of King's Bench, Vice Admiralty, &c, Province of Lower Canada

— At Colombo, Alexander Cadell, Esq, Paymaster-General at Ceylon

— At Konnigale, Ceylon, of the jungle fever, Captain Alexander Macbean, of the 2d Ceylon regiment

— At Stirling, Mrs Alexander Murray, in her 81st year

8 At Greenock, John Laird, Esq, in the 70th year of his age

9 At Stewartfield, Cornelius Elliot, Esq of Woollie

— In London, the Reverend Dr Nicol, minister of the Scotch Church, Swallow Street

— At Blackford, Miss Jane Trotter of Mortonhall

10 Major James T Cowper, of the royal artillery

— In attack, at night, on the British camp at Zoor, on the coast of Arabia, whilst gallantly defending himself against seven men in front of the lines, and after receiving thirty-five wounds, Captain Charles Parr, of the Bombay European regiment of infantry

— At Dr Langworthy's Asylum, Kingsdown House, Box, in Somersetshire, John Randall, aged 104 years, upwards of 69 of which he had been a patient in that institution, enjoying good bodily health, and working regularly in the garden, until a few weeks prior to his death

— At Edinburgh, Mary Crichton Kyle, wife of Hugh Watson, W S

— At Govan, Mrs Pollock, aged 95, mother of the late Rev Dr Pollock

11 At Edinburgh, the Right Honourable Lady Abercromby.

11 At Richmond, aged 90, Dr Adam Walker, the celebrated Lecturer on Experimental Philosophy

12 At Inverco, Captain Donald Macdonald

13 At Lisbon, Mr George Anslie, Assistant Commissary-General

— At London, Frederick, the youngest son of Sir George Clerk

14 At Hamilton, Mrs Hume, wife of Joseph Hume, M D

— In the parish of Blantyre, Wm Coots, of Woodhouse, Esq, in the 83d year of his age

— At Edinburgh, John Campbell, Esq, Receiver-General of his Majesty's Customs for Scotland

— At Billesden, in Leicestershire, Hugh Phipps, aged 103 years

— At Aberdeen, George Gordon, Esq, of Spenziedale, Sutherlandshire

— At Dalreoch, the Reverend James Clark, about the 60th year of his age, and the 26th of his ministry

15 At Calcutta, of the cholera morbus, in the honourable East India Company s civil service, Edward, youngest son of the late George Millett, Esq, East India Director

— At Milnfield, near Colmsburgh, Thomas Fowlis, Esq, aged 82

16 At Balcarry, Mrs Irving, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel George Irving

— At Edinburgh, Lady Dalrymple Hay, younger of Park Place

— At London, aged 73, the Reverend Joseph Benson, formerly of St Edmund Hall, Oxford

— At Brompton, at the extreme age of 101, Mr John Howard, carpenter This venerable man worked 60 years in the employment of the Earl of Carlisle, and daily walked to his labour, a distance of three miles, till he was 96, and was generally the first on the spot

17 At Zoare, in Arabia, while on duty with the 2d regiment, Lieutenant James Paoli Boswell, of the Honourable East India Company's 10th regiment of native infantry, second son of William Boswell, Esq Advocate

— At Nether Currie, in the parish of Currie, where he was born, and spent most of his days, John Dawson, gardener, aged 100 years, all but a few weeks, being born 14th March 1721.

18 At Manse of Dyce, the Reverend Mr William Wilson, minister of that parish.

— At Glasgow, Miss Ferrier, eldest daughter of the late Archibald Ferrier, Esq, W S, Edinburgh

20 In London, Lieutenant-General William Popham, many years in the East India Company's service

— At Bath, Thomas Macdonald, Esq, formerly of Hind Street, London

— At her house, in the Schoolhill, Aberdeen, the Dowager Mrs Russel of Moncoffer

21 At Sidmouth, Captain Andrew Leitch

22 At Maxwelltown, Mrs Margaret Wood, relict of Mr Robert Richardson, late farmer in the Moss Side of Dumfries, aged 81.

23 At Simon s Square, Edinburgh, Mr John Brown, genealogist to the King

— In George Square, Edinburgh, Mrs Small

— At Perth, Mr George Clark, writer, in the 42d year of his age

— At Rockingham, county of Roscommon, in the 88th year of his age, the right honourable Colonel King, of Ballina, brother of Edward, Earl of Kingston, and uncle of the present Earl, of Viscount Lorton, Lord Howth, &c His charitable donations in the town of Ballina alone, for many years, and at the period of his lamented death, amounted to L 2000 a-year

— At Aberdeen, Mrs Blackie, wife of Alexander Blackie, Esq, banker.

84 At Forres, in the 27th year of her age, Mrs Elizabeth Macdonald, wife of John Lillie, Esq, merchant there

— At the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, Lieutenant-General George Rochefort, Chief Fire-Master to the Royal Laboratory, in the 83d year of his age

— At Madeira, Thomas Litt, Esq, of Glasgow

26 At Auchmdinny, Mrs Crawford of Overton, the Lady of Captain James Coutts Crawford, R N

— At Lunan, after a short illness, Mr Robert Huddlestone, many years schoolmaster and session-clerk of that parish

— At Glasgow, Christian, aged 16 months, and Jean, aged three years and two months, and on the 27th, John,

aged five years and three months, children of Mr John Speirs, merchant, Glasgow

27. At Glasgow, Miss Colquhoun, of Garscadden

— At Markinch, Fifeshire, Mr Malcolm Gray, (late of the 22d regiment,) in his 84th year, one of the followers of the immortal Wolfe

— At London, Viscount Chetwynd, aged 84

— At Tunbridge Wells, the Right Honourable Theodosia, Dowager Lady Monson, in the 86th year of her age

— Of apoplexy, the Elector of Hesse There being no longer any German Empire, the title of Elector falls to the ground

— At Kingston, Jamaica, William Gardner, Esq, aged 79

— At Paisley, George Hogg, Esq, merchant, Antigua

— Mr Robert Callender, accountant in Edinburgh

— Killed in a duel with Mr Christie, Mr John Scott, editor of the London Magazine

28 At Bellabeg, Mrs Stuart, daughter of James Gordon, Esq, late of Croughly

— At Edinburgh, in the 12th year of his age, Ilay Campbell Tait, son of Crauford Tait, of Harviestoun, Esq, W S

Lately, At Stenhouse, Margaret Clark, in the 108th year of her age

— At his seat in the county of Roscommon, Arthur French, Esq, M P

— John Cranmer, of Much Park Street, Coventry, aged 107

— In one of Dovy's alms-houses, Exeter, Mary Heath, aged 100 years, six months after the death of her sister, Elizabeth Heath, in the same house, at the age of 103 years

— At Paris, aged 60, M Maricin, Ex-Conventionalist, who voted for the imprisonment of Louis XVI

— In America, whither he proceeded about two years ago, Abraham Thornton, whose trial for the murder of Mary Ashford, and the singular circumstances arising from the appeal of murder, are well known to our readers

— At London, the Right Honourable the Earl of Malmesbury, in the 75th year of his age

— At Exeter, George Gifford, Esq, eldest brother of his Majesty's Attorney-General

28 At Cowbridge, Glamorganshire, aged 37, Alexander Jaffray, Esq, of Kingswells, Aberdeen

— At his house at Charlton, Thomas Longlands, Esq, in his 79th year

— At Bombay, Colonel John Griffith, Commandant of the 2d battalion of artillery at that Presidency

— Thomas Jones, Esq, of Llandysilio Hall, near Llangollen, Denbighshire Mr Jones was a great admirer of the arts, and some of the most eminent artists of the day always met with a hearty welcome at Llandysilio Hall, whenever they visited the romantic vale of Llangollen

— At Guntoor, in the East Indies, William Adamson, Esq, of the Civil Service, Madras

— At Paris, Mr Naldi of the Italian Theatre Royal

— At his house, near Edinburgh, the celebrated Herin in Boaz, in the 84th year of his age Mr Boaz, by universal consent, had long worn the chief laurels of legerdemain, being at once the most expert, most various, and most graceful in the performance of his tricks

March 2 At Florence, Wm Robert Broughton, Esq, Post Captain in the royal navy, and Colonel of marines

— On his passage home, in the 27th year of his age, James Carnegy, Esq, late merchant in Malacca, and third son of the late Patrick Carnegy, Esq, of Lower

— At Kandy, in the island of Ceylon, Ensign Archibald Montgomerie, of the 45th regiment of foot

3 Drowned in the ship Guadaloupe, on his passage from Jamaica, Ensign Alexander Amsinck, 92d regiment, or Gordon Highlanders, in the 19th year of his age

— At Moor Park, Richard Alexander Oswald, Esq, aged 36

— At Madeira, Captain John Murray, R N, second son of the late William Murray, Esq, of Polmaise

— At Glasgow, aged 58, James Watt, M D

— At Montrose, Mrs Major Gardyne

4 At Linlithgow, Mary Martin, relict of Alexander Jamieson, in the 99th year of her age

4 At Edinburgh, David Pringle, son of the late James Pringle, Esq, Lampikewells.

— At Coldrain, Robert Greig, Esq, of Coldrain

5 At his house, Broughton Street, Edinburgh, Mr Thomas Goodsir

— At Bellfield, in the 86th year of his age, Mr James Stalker, long a teacher of English in the city of Edinburgh

6 At Crossmount, Mrs Janet Butter, spouse of Captain John Campbell of Boreland

7 Mrs Euphemia Clerk, relict of the late Thomas Dallas, Esq, surgeon in Musselburgh

— At Monaghan, the Reverend Matthew Trumble, for above 40 years Presbyterian minister of that congregation

— At Haddington, Mrs William Veitch, in the 87th year of her age

— At Moffat, Mrs Alison Tod, relict of the deceased William Ewart, Esq, of Aldershaw

8 At Camlarg Lodge, Ayrshire, David Woodburn, Esq

9 At his seat at Ham House, near Richmond, the right honourable Wilbraham Tollemache, Earl of Dysart, Viscount Huntingtower, &c

— At Paris, Major-General Randolph Marlott

— At Far, Inverness-shire, James M'Intosh, Esq, of Far, in the 89th year of his age

— John Hillman, Esq, of Leitrim, in the county of Londonderry, at the age of 115 years

10 At Orleans, Captain Coll Macdougall, late of the 42d regiment

11 Mrs Janet Macdonald, widow of the late Captain John Murchison, of the North Carolina Highlanders

— At Madras, of the cholera morbus, Mr Robert Stevenson, a native of Kilmarnock Mr Stevenson was resident at Mahilla when the late shocking massacre took place, and escaped the poniard of the assassin only by flying to a convent.

— At his house, Manchester Square, London, Robert Dalrymple, Esq

12 At London, the Countess Dowager of Essex, in her 87th year

— At Spring Garden, Alicia Sophia Baird, youngest daughter of Sir James G Baird, of Saughtonhall, Bart

12. In Frederick Street, Edinburgh, Agnes, only daughter of the late Dr Alexander Murray, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Edinburgh

— At Banff, the Reverend A Gordon, in the 63d year of his age

13 John Hunter, Esq, Vice-Admiral of the Red, in the 83d year of his age

— Miss Anne Cramond Boswell, youngest daughter of the late Dr Boswell, physician in Edinburgh

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Christian Baird, relict of Mr George Callender, surveyor

14 At Johnshaven, Mrs Isabella Milne, in her 91st year

— At Gilmore Hill, Robert Bogle, Esq

— At Earlstoun, Mrs Johnston, widow of the Reverend Laurence Johnston

— At Edinburgh, the Honourable Mary Duncan, youngest daughter of Viscount Duncan

16 At Belmont Place, Kelso, John Broomfield, Esq, of Belmont Farm, Berwickshire

— At Stratford Place, London, Lieutenant-Colonel P Douglas, late of the Honourable East India Company's service on the Bengal Establishment

17 At Elm House, Haddington, of apoplexy, James Cockburn, Esq, in his 68th year

— At Wynberg, Cape of Good Hope, Colonel John Graham of Fintry, late of the Cape regiment, Commandant of Simon's Town

— At Boulogne-sur-Mer, Duncan Monro, Esq, of Culcairn

— At Edinburgh, Miss Jane Charters Hardie, second daughter of the late Dr Hardie, minister of Ashkirk

— George Tate, Admiral in the Russian service, Senator, and Knight of St Alexander Nevskoy, &c &c in the 76th year of his age

— At Paris, that distinguished ornament of French literature, M de Fontanes He was born at Niort, 1761

18 At Meiklewood, Mrs Graham of Meiklewood

— Mr Andrew Laurie, late upholsterer in Edinburgh

— At Quebec, Benjamin Joseph Frobisher, Esq, Provincial Lieutenant, and Aid-de-Camp to his Excellency the Earl

of Dalhousie, Governor-General of the Canadas

19 At Chowringhee, in India, Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell of the 26th regiment of native infantry

— At Edinburgh, Mr Peter Ross, writer

— At Tingwick, in Shetland, James Cheyne, Esq

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Jean Gray Gloag, wife of Mr John Gloag, late merchant, Edinburgh

20 At Torbreck, Alexander Fraser, Esq

— At Leith Links, Mr Robert Dudgeon, merchant

— Colonel Sandieman of Denfield, near Arbroath

— At Haddington, Lieutenant John Henning, Adjutant of the East Lothian yeomanry cavalry

— At Wigton, Cumberland, Sarah Johnstone, at the advanced age of 110 She was a native of Scotland

21 In Portman Place, London, Michael Bryan, Esq, author of the Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers

23 At South Shields, Mrs Hannah Marshall, aged 101

— At Edinburgh, Miss Isabella Webster, third daughter of the late Reverend John Webster

24 At Shrub Place, Edinburgh, Miss Janet Wood

— At Cairnie, Fifeshire, Mrs Dalyell, of Lingo

25 At London, Mrs Wylie, mother of Dr Wylie, of the Madras artillery

— At Paisley, the Reverend Dr John Lindsay, of the High Church, Paisley, in the 41st year of his ministry

— At Stephen's Green, Dublin, Mrs Plunkett, wife of the Right Honourable W C Plunkett

— At Johnstonbank, near Lockerbie, Mrs Sunderland

— At Edinburgh, James Bonar, Esq, Solicitor of Excise

26 At Ranby Hall, near Retford, General Crawford, by whose death the Dowager Duchess of Newcastle becomes again a widow

— At Merstham House, Surrey, the Right Honourable Lady Ann Simpson, relict of John Simpson, Esq., of Bradley Hall, Durham

27 At Gatehouse, Alexander Brown, Esq, of Drumshangan, aged 58

— At Woolwich, Davidona Frances Stuart, youngest daughter of Major John Sutherland Sinclair, royal artillery

— At Edinburgh, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Inglis

— At his house, in Craig's Close, Edinburgh, Mr David Wilkson, printer

— At Edinburgh, Mr William Masson, writer

— At Montrose, Mrs Catherine Jean Trail, spouse of Alexander Airth, Esq, of Craigs

28 At London, Miss Beatson of Pitteddie

— At Meadow Place, Edinburgh, Lieutenant Donald Grant, of the Inverness-shire militia

— At Slateford, Mrs Janet Cox, wife of the Reverend Dr Belfrage

— At Glasgow, Mrs Jane Melville, spouse of James Sym, Esq

— At Whitburn Inn, Berwickshire, after a few hours' illness, Samuel Anderson, Esq, of Rowchester and Moredun, banker in Edinburgh

29 At Dumpoore, in India, Colonel Alexander M'Leod, C B commanding his Majesty's 59th regiment

— In the 66th year of his age, after a lingering illness, Wm Allan, Esq, of Newlands

30 At Edinburgh, Mrs Joanna Pringle, relict of Alexander Hay, Esq, late of Mordington

31 At Loanside, Andrew Stein, Esq

— Suddenly, at her residence in Stratford Place, London, Mrs Elliston, the wife of Mr Elliston, lessee of Drury-lane Theatre

— At his house in Pall Mall, London, in the 82d year of his age, Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, Bart

April 1 At St Ann's Jamaica, Thomas, younger son of Mr William Armstrong, Edinburgh

— At Elchipore, in India, Mrs Ogilvie, wife of Captain Duncan Ogilvie, 2d regiment Madras native infantry, and daughter of the Reverend Dr Duncan, Rathor

— At Brighton, Sir Charles Edmon-

stone of Duntreath, Bart, M P for the county of Stirling

2 At Edinburgh, James Gregory, M D Professor of the Practice of Physic in the University there

3 At Drummin House, Argyleshire, John Maclean, Esq, of Boreray

— At Banff, Mr John Massie, merchant there, aged 60

— At Dundee, Mr Thomas Maxwell

— At London, Charlotte, second daughter of the Right Honourable Sir James Mansfield, knight

4 At Stratyrum, Fifeshire, Mr John Falconer, a corresponding member of the Caledonian Horticultural Society, and next upon the list of that Institution, for obtaining the medal for long service, having been gardener to the present proprietor for 38 years This is the first death that has happened at Stratyrum in the course of nearly 39 years, the family consisting of ten persons, besides five servants, in the farm and garden, with their families, in which there have been fifteen children, thirteen of whom have arrived at the age of majority

— In her 89th year, Viscountess Pery

5 At Dumbarton, John Gray, Esq, Sheriff-Substitute

— At Gallmuch, in Argyleshire, John Macdougall, Esq, surgeon in the Honourable East India Company's service, son of the late Patrick Macdougall, Esq, of Gallmach

6 At Coats Crescent, Edinburgh, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Swinton

— At Parsley, Wm Pinkerton, Esq

— At Mount Stewart, the most noble Robert, Marquis of Londonderry

— At Dalkeith, Mr John Dalziel, son of the late Alexander Dalziel, of Skedsbush

— At Fellowshiphall, in St David's, Jamaica, Margaret Darby, a free black woman, at the advanced age of 130 years

— On board the Walsingham packet, on his passage from Jamaica to this country, Alexander M'Larty, M D, Director of the Vaccine Establishment of that Island

7 At Applegirth, Sir Alexander Jardine, Bart

— At Edinburgh, Miss Barbara Bradfute, aged 78 years

8 At Dumfries, Mrs Margaret Colson, wife of the Reverend Andrew Fyfe, minister of the Relief Congregation there

— At Schwerin, Duke Adolphus Frederick, of Mecklenburg, after a short illness

9 At Aberdeen, in the 32d year of his age, Mr John Waddel, of the Academy, Elgin

— At her seat in Hampshire, in her 52d year, the Right Honourable the Dowager Viscountess Gage

10 At Cochin, East Indies, George Brown, son of the late Reverend John Brown, Falkirk

— At Canannore, East Indies, Captain Gilbert James Blair, of the 25th native infantry

12 Sir John Charles Richardson, Bart, Commander in the royal navy

— At Bath, Alexander Oswald, Esq

13 Suddenly, at Greenock, the Reverend Kenneth Bayne, minister of the Gaelic Chapel there

— At Bogner, Mrs Troubridge, sister of the late Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge, Bart

— Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Walter Gifford, Commandant of the garrison of Bombay

— At Nailore, Dr Cordiner, surgeon in the Madras Establishment

14 At Dumfries, Mrs Johnston, widow of the late John Johnstone, Esq, of Violet Bank

— At Edinburgh, Miss Marion Hunter of Hunterston

— At Charleton, near Montrose, Mrs Susan Scott, relict of the late George Carnegie, Esq, of Pittarow, in the 78th year of her age

— At New York, James Thomson, Esq, merchant there, late of Glasgow

— At London James Bartleman, Esq, in the 54th year of his age

— At Dalkeith, Mrs Ann M'Allum, wife of the Reverend D. M'Allum, M D

16 At the College of Arms, London, in the 81st year of his age, George Harrison, Esq, late Clarenceux King of Arms

— At Aston, Sandford, the Reverend Thomas Scott, author of the Commentary on the Bible, the Force of Truth, and other valuable works

— In camp, at Sevendroog, in India,

Major James Balfour Watson, then in the command of the 1st battalion 4th regiment native infantry, Bombay Establishment

19 At Balgone Cottage, James, the youngest son of Lieutenant-Colonel D Forbes

— At Rio Janeiro, in his 77th year, Field-Marshal John Shadwell Connel, Councillor of War, and Knight of the Order of the Tower and Sword

21 At Edinburgh, in the 96th year of her age, Mrs Violet Pringle, daughter of the late Lord Haining

23 At Prestonpans, Francis Buchan Sydserf, Esq, Collector of the Customs there

— At Tweedhill, Mrs Mary Richardson, relict of the late George Logan, Esq, of Edrom

— At Kilgraston House, the Hon Mrs Grant of Kilgraston

— At Stirling, Miss Elizabeth Tovey, daughter of John Tovey, Esq

24 At Roseau, in the island of Dominica, John Reay, Esq, a native of Dalmellington

— At Glasgow, Miss Janet Baird, daughter of the late William Baird, Esq

— At Edinburgh, James Easton, Esq, W S

— At his Villa, near Chelsea, Alexander Stephens, Esq

25 At South Coats, near Edinburgh, Mrs Jean Stewart

— At Aberdeen, Mrs Anderson of Deebank

26 At Ambleside, in Westmoreland, David Erskine Dewar, Esq, of Gilston House, Fifeshire

— At London, Henry Hope, Esq, late of Harley Street, in his 36th year

— At Kippax, Yorkshire, the Hon Mrs Cathcart

— At Bellevue, near Southampton, aged 88, Admiral Sir Richard Rodney Bligh, G C B

— At Belfast, in the 46th year of his age, the Rev William Neilson, D D, M R I A, &c

27 At the Manse of Kilchoman, the Rev John M'Leish, minister of that parish

— At Old Melrose, Mrs Legge, wife of Lever Legge, Esq

27 At Edinburgh, James Harrowar, Esq, of Inzievar, advocate

— At Sheal House, in Kintail, at the advanced age of 112 years, Ann M'Rae, widow of Mr M'Rae, farmer This remarkable old woman never was 10 miles distant from the place of her birth

28 At Crieff, after a short illness, Mr John Tainsh, writer

— At Maybole, Mr Adam Niven, lately one of the magistrates of that place

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Euphemia Clark, spouse of Mr Bremner, Solicitor of Stamps

— At Lochbank, after a short but severe illness, Mrs Hannay, relict of the deceased James Hannay, Esq, of Blairinnie

30 At Mauchline, Mr J C Macdonald, writer

— At Raddery House, aged 18, Miss Sophia Fowler, eldest surviving daughter of James Fowler, Esq, of Grange and Raddery

Lately, at London, Viscount Chetwynd

MAY 1 At London, Mr John Grant, eldest son of the late Mr John Grant, of Polmicol, Ross-shire,—and, on the 28th ultimo, at London, Mrs Grant, his spouse

— At Clifton, the celebrated Mrs Piozzi, formerly Mrs Thrale, in the 82d year of her age

— At Leith, in the 75th year of his age, Mr Robert Liddell

— At Brechin, in the 88th year of his age, Mr George Fotheringham

— At Stockton-on-Tees, Charlotte, the infant daughter of Colonel and Lady Charlotte Macgregor Murray

— At Edinburgh, at the premature age of 32 years, Major John Farquharson, of the 26th regiment of foot

2 At London, the Hon Charles Stuart, brother of the late, and uncle to the present Lord Blantyre, in the 78th year of his age

— At Dumfine, parish of Luss, Patrick M'Auslan, in the 105th year of his age

3 At Florence, James Wentworth Murray, Esq, in the 25th year of his age

4 At Leven, in Fife, Mr John Mackay, surgeon, Edinburgh

4 At his seat at Newbrook, in the county of Mayo, aged 56, the Right Hon. Lord Baron Clanmorris

5 At the Manse of Grange, the Rev Francis Forbes

6 At Aberdeen, Captain Wm Gordon, late of the 1st regiment of foot, or Royal Scots

— In the Colony of Demerara, Thomas Duncan, Esq, Coxton

— At Belhaven, Mrs Christiana Wilson, wife of Thomas Haig, Esq

— At Ayr, John Wilson, Esq, for many years publisher of the Ayr Advertiser.

— Arch Smith, Esq, of Jordonhill, in his 72d year

7 At Coldstream, aged 63, Mrs Turnbull, relict of Mr Turnbull, Leehouses

— At Sandbed of Dalswinton, William Howatson, Esq, of Hazlebrae, W S

8 At Edinburgh, Mr Andrew Wood, Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, in the 80th year of his age

— Near Calcutta, aged 68, Colonel Colin Mackenzie, C B, of the Madras engineers, Surveyor-General of India

9 At Atherb, John Bruce, weaver, aged 113 He never slept a night out of his native parish of Old Deer till aged 102, and was never but once more than 10 miles from his place of nativity He wrought regularly at his business till upwards of 100 years of age

11 The Hon Mrs Maule of Panmure, at Jenny Mount, near Belfast.

— At Apsley House, the Marchioness of Worcester

— At Eyemouth, James Todd Home of Wedderburn, Esq

12 At Madras, Lieut-Colonel Samuel Dalrymple, C B. of the Madras artillery

— At Marshall Place, Perth, Mrs Ann Macvicar, in her 78th year

13 At Younston, in the 80th year of his age, Wm Stewart, Esq, of Grains.

— At the Manse of Mid-Calder, Mrs Sommers, wife of the Rev Dr John Sommers

— Laurence Dalgleish, Esq, of West Grange

— At Edinburgh, Miss Mary Ballantine, eldest daughter of the late Patrick Ballantine, Esq, of Orchard

— At Prestongrange House, Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir James Grant Suttie, Bart, of Prestongrange and Balgone, M P

13 At Edinburgh, Frederick L. Maitland, younger of Rankeilour

— At New York, the Rev David Williamson aged 58 years, a native of Fifeshire, Scotland

14 At Resolis, the Rev Robert Arthur, minister of the united parish of Kirkmichael and Cullicudden, in the 78th year of his age, and 47th of his ministry

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Barbara Dun, in her 90th year

15 In the neighbourhood of Bristol, Dr Callcott, the celebrated Musical Composer

— John Bonnycastle, Esq, Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich

— At Lisnagregan, near Randalstown, in the 119th year of her age, Prudence Hare

— At Cumberwell, Surrey, in full possession of all her faculties, Elizabeth Horser, widow, aged 105 years, 56 of which she had been maintained in the work-house

16 At Bodnod, Denbighshire, John Forbes, Esq, of Bodnod, formerly Captain in the 40th regiment of foot.

— At Plymouth, Lieut Cosmo Cameron, of the 11th regiment

— At Edinburgh, Lieutenant Lockhart Gillespie, of the Royal Artillery

17 At Dunfermline, the Rev James Husband, D D, in the 70th year of his age, and the 46th of his ministry

— In Campbell County, Virginia, aged 121, Mr Charles Layne, sen He was born in Albemarle, near Buckingham county, in the year 1700 He has left a widow aged 110 years

18 At Loodeanah, Captain George Rodney Blane, of the Bengal engineers, aged 30

20 At Glasgow, in the 81st year of his age, William Wardlaw, Esq

— At Inverness, after a short illness, the Rev Alexander Fraser, senior minister of that place, in the 70th year of his age, and 43d of his ministry

21 At London, the Right Hon. the Countess of Chatham

— At St Kitts, Mr Samuel Steel, As-

sistant Surgeon of his Majesty's Ship Salisbury

21 At Hallam, near Sheffield, Mr Wm Woodhouse, aged 95, 66 of which he was a steady member of the Wesleyan Methodist Society

— At Manse of Insch, the Rev George Dunn, in the 71st year of his age, and 31st of his ministry

22 Mr Patrick Dallaway, ironmonger, Edinburgh

— At Houghton-le-Spring, Michael Patrick Russell, youngest son of Patrick Russell, Esq, W S

— At Greenock, Mr John M'Kinnon, writer

— At Glasgow, Mrs Catherine Gordon, relict of the late Mr John Buchanan, merchant

23 Thomas Birch, Esq, of Bond Street, London, banker, aged 78

— At his house, London, Dr Robert Willis

24 At the Manse of Old Monkland, the Rev John Bower

— At the Manse of Luss, the Rev Dr John Stuart

— At Elgin, Patrick Duff, Esq, Town Clerk

— At Glasgow, Mr George Buchanan

— The Rev Mr Brownlie, minister of the second Associate Congregation, Falkirk

— At Hawick, Mr William Freeman, surgeon

25 At Nicolaef, Captain Samuel Moffat, Imperial Russian Navy

— At Dundee, Miss Christian Sandieman, and on Saturday the 26th ult Mrs Elizabeth Sandieman, relict of the late David Ramsay, merchant in Dundee, both daughters of the late David Sandieman, also merchant in Dundee—the former aged 74, the latter 76 years

— At Dunfermline, Dr Stenhouse of Comely Park

— John Campbell, Esq, of Conduit Vale, Blackheath

26 At Park, Robert Govane, Esq, of Drumquhassle, in the 72d year of his age

— At Whitehouse, Isle of Man, Daniel M'Queen, Esq, of Netherwoodbank

28 At Portsmouth, Lord F Thynne, son of the Marquis of Bath

— Mrs Hamilton of Mavis Bank

29 At Edinburgh, Mrs Erskine of Dun

— At Edinburgh, the Rev Alexander Stewart, D D, one of the ministers of Canongate, in the 57th year of his age, and 35th of his ministry

— At Portland Place, London, Lord Sheffield, in the 86th year of his age

— Francis James Douglas, Esq, Lieut Coldstream Guards, second son of the late George Douglas of Cavers, Esq

— At Serampore, near Calcutta, Mrs Carey, wife of the Rev Dr Carey

30 The Hon Morton Eden, brother to Lord Auckland, in the 27th year of his age

31 At Aberdeen, Miss Ann Caroline Brands, of Ferryhill

— Mrs Mary Lion Dennistoun, wife of John Alston, Esq, of Westertown

— At Glasgow, John Buchanan, Esq, late of Ladrichmore

Lately, In the West Indies, Colonel Clarke, of the 5th regiment of foot

— At Caerwent, near Chepstow, Monmouthshire, at the age of 107 years, Charles King, a labourer

— At Nelson's Gardens, Bedminster, near Bristol, at the advanced age of 105 years, Mr Giles Vickery

— At her house, in the Crescent, Bath, Lady Dunalley, mother of the Earl of Charleville, Lord Dunalley, and the Hon F Prittie

— At Exeter, aged 82, Lady Mary Hamilton, great-aunt to the Earl of Leven and Melville, and aunt to the Earl of Northesk

— At Paddleton, Mrs Stanley, the Dowager Queen of the Gipsies of the Counties of Wilts, Hants, and Dorset Her Vagrant Majesty was in her 101st year

— At London, Viscountess Pery, aged 89

— At Brussels, aged 86 years, Randal, thirteenth Lord Dunsany, Second Baron of Ireland

JUNE 1 At Perth, Alex Greig, sen, manufacturer

— At London, the Right Hon the Earl of Stair He was the sixth Earl, and succeeded his father, John, in 1789. His Lordship's titles were, Earl and Viscount of Stair, Viscount Dalrymple, Baron of Newliston, Glenluce, and Stran-

racr, and a Baronet His Lordship dying without issue, is succeeded by his nephew, J W H Dalrymple, now Earl of Stair

— At London, the Right Hon John Baker Holroyd, Earl of Sheffield, in the 86th year of his age

— At Bath, the Right Hon John Campbell, Lord Cawdor, Baron Cawdor, of Castlemartin, county of Pembroke

— At Dumfries, Capt Hugh Patrickson, of the 4th dragoons

— At Newington, Edinburgh, Mrs Janet Dickson, wife of the Rev Dr M'Crie

2 At Glasgow, Mr John Cross, teacher of mathematics, Superintendent of the Glasgow Observatory, and Member of the London Astronomical Society, &c

— Robert Innes, Esq , of Henley-upon-Thames, formerly of Gottenburgh

3 At Auchrossan, Argyleshire, Jane Campbell, spouse of Andrew M'Farlane, Esq , of Ormidale

4 At Stranraer, John Fergusson, Esq

— In Edward Street, Portman Square, London, Sir George Douglas, Bart , of Springwoodpark, Roxburghshire

— At Stifford Street, Henrietta, wife of Robert Boog, Esq

— At Edinburgh, James Jackson, Esq , one of the Honourable Commissioners of Excise for Scotland

— At Penzance, Cornwall, Miss Agnes Colquhoun, eldest daughter of the late Lord Clerk Register

5. At Cullintra, James Maxwell, Esq , surgeon, formerly of the 27th regiment

— At Inglismaldie, the Hon Alexander Keith, son of the late Earl of Kintore

— At Edinburgh, Miss Margaret Knox Beveridge, relict of Mr James Beveridge, writer in Dunfermline, in the 83d year of her age

— At his house, Beverley Lodge, near Colchester, Lachlan Robert Mackintosh, Esq , of Dalmunzie, Perthshire, in the 60th year of his age

— At St Helena, Napoleon Buonaparte, Ex-Emperor of France, after an illness of six weeks

6 At Port-Glasgow, Hugh Milliken, Esq , aged 83

7 At London, the Countess of Mexborough

— At Mullingaum, in the Presidency of Madras, of spasmodic cholera, Assistant-Surgeon James Stewart, aged 22 years

— At Calcutta, Alexander Campbell, Esq , of the firm of Goold and Campbell, son of the late John Campbell, Esq. cashier of the Royal Bank

8 At Banks of Troqueer, Robert Halliday, Esq , of Banks, aged 68

— At Hawick, aged 86, Mrs Agnes Hardie, relict of the deceased William Moncrieff, late minister of Annan

— Mrs Cunninghame, relict of the deceased John Cunninghame, Esq , of Port Glasgow

— At Tain, Mrs Mackenzie Ross of Aldie

9 At Alloa, James Lawrie, Esq , brewer

10 At Calcutta, in his 30th year, Peter Suter, Esq , Assistant-Surgeon in the service of the Hon East India Company.

— At his mother's house, at Southgate, Middlesex, in the 40th year of his age, Charles Pasley, Esq., late Major in the Hon East India Company's service, and Charge d'Affaires at the Court of Persia

— At Rosehall, William Munro, gardener there ever since 1747 As he was a married man with a large family when he first came there, and had been employed as a gardener elsewhere for several years, his age at that time could scarcely be less than 30, and he must therefore have attained at least the age of 104

— At West Wemyss, Fifeshire, Robert Fenning Barker, Esq , of Nantwich

11 At his house in Newington, Edinburgh, Captain Robert Stuart

— At his father's house, No 20, George Street, Charles Hope Stewart, aged 16 years

12 At Fife House, Whitehall, London, the Right Hon the Countess of Liverpool

— At Glasgow, Thomas Arnot, Esq.

— At Dunfermline, Mrs Anna Ged, aged 93, the last of the ancient family of Ged of Ged and Balbridge, and relict of Mr John Buntine

12 At Kirkaldy, James Swayne, Esq, writer there, and agent for the Fife Banking Company.

— At Poonah, in the East Indies, Mrs Keith, lady of Captain James Keith, Assistant Commissary-General

13. At Ivy Lodge, Alexander Dalyell, Esq, aged 36

14 Mr George Hadaway, of the island of St Vincent's, second son of the late Patrick Hadaway, Esq

15 At Castlelacken, in the county of Mayo, in the 71th year of his age, the Right Hon James, Lord Baron Tyrawly

16 At Edinburgh, Mr John Ballantyne, bookseller to the King for Scotland

— At Bonhill, John Todd, sen, Esq, late of Levenfield

— At Hermitage, Leith Links, Miss Eleanor Primrose, daughter of the deceased Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunipace, Bart

— In Kendal, in York, Marion Christina, wife of George Lloyd, Esq, of Hutton Lodge, and daughter of Alexander Maclean, Esq, of Coll

17 At Greenock, in the 27th year of his age, Walter Ewing, Esq, M D

— At Malta, Mr John Monro, of his Majesty's ship Cambrian, of Glasgow

18 At Shawfield, Robert Cleghorn, Esq, M D, physician in Glasgow

— In his 80th year, Dr James Carmichael Smyth

19 At Craigie House, Mrs Campbell, wife of James Campbell, Esq, advocate

— At Edinburgh, John Syme of Cartmore, Esq, W S

— At Dunfermline, Helen Anderson Spence, daughter of Mr George Spence

— At Abingdon, Janet, third daughter of the late Gilbert Gordon, Esq, of Halbeaths, Dumfries-shire, and wife of Mr West, surgeon, of Abingdon

—At Madras, Mrs Bruce, wife of Dr William Bruce

20 At London, in the 78th year of his age, John Forbes, Esq, of New, in Strathdon, Aberdeenshire, and formerly of Bombay

22 In North Richmond Street, Mr James Cunningham, merchant, Edinburgh

24 Captain James Scott, of the British Legion in the Columbian service, and youngest son of the late Rev. John Scott, of Kinclaven, Perthshire, killed in the decisive battle of Carabobo, in South America

25 At the manse of Dunscore, the Rev Cunningham Burnside

— At Montreal, after a very short illness, Mr James Gillespie, aged about 34, a native of Aberdeen

Lately, on board the Duke of Kent packet, on his passage from Lisbon to Falmouth, the Right Hon Lord Clifford

At Highbury Place, London, aged 69, James Stuart, Esq

Lieut Andrew Smith Shortt, of the 11th regiment native infantry, aged 20 years

At Stephen's Green, Dublin, in the 88th year of his age, Mr William Gilbert, late of Dame Street, bookseller

— Joseph Austin, Esq, aged 86, many years proprietor of the Chester and Newcastle Theatres, &c, and the last remaining actor mentioned in Churchill's Rosciad

— At Buenos Ayres, Archibald Primrose, aged 26, and on the 10th of July last, at Cape Henry, St Domingo, George, aged 24, and at the same place, on the 28th January, Allan, aged 22, sons of the late Allan Fowlis, wood-merchant, Glasgow

— At Hanover, A Herschell, Esq, well known in the musical world as a profound and elegant musician, and brother to Sir W Herschell, the celebrated astronomer

— At Fosterhill, in the parish of Kilmarnock, Mrs Janet Fleming, relict of Mr Robert Nelson, at the very advanced age of 93 years

— At Montrose, in the 78th year of his age, Captain Robert Graham, late of the Excise, after a long illness

— At his seat, near Clonmell, in Ireland, Sir Thomas Osborne, Bart

— In London, Captain William Hadden, of the 6th, or Enniskillen regiment of dragoons

— At Brussels, the Right Hon Randall Plunkett, thirteenth Lord Dunsary, third Baron of Ireland

— At her father's house, Granby Row, Dublin, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Duncan, Esq, merchant, and at

her residence in Beresford Street, Miss Elizabeth Duncan, daughter of the late William Duncan, Esq

JULY 1 At Edinburgh, Miss Moore Grant, youngest daughter of the late Rev James Grant, minister of Laggan

2 At Perth, Mrs Jean Stewart, relict of the deceased Lieut Robert Menzies, of the late Ross-shire Highlanders

3 At Kilbryde Castle, on the 21st ult, Susan Jane, the only daughter, and on this date, Colin, the infant son of Sir Alexander Campbell, Bart

4 At Baltimore, America, Mr James Neilson, son of the late Mr Gilbert Neilson, merchant, Edinburgh

— At Touch House, after a short illness, the lady of Sir Henry Steuart, Bart, of Allanton

5 At Canaan, William Wilson, Esq, W S

6 At Biggar, James Wyld, Esq

— At Gloucester, Miss Helen Colquhoun, fifth daughter of the late Right Hon Arch Colquhoun, Lord Clerk Register of Scotland

7 At Kingston, Upper Canada, in the 26th year of his age, Claude Scott Browne, Esq, Assistant-Commissary-General

8 At Havre de Grace, in France, Rear-Admiral the Hon Francis Farington Gardner, aged 49

— At Kingston, in Jamaica, John Napier, second son of Macvey Napier, W S

9 At Stepends of Urr, in the 77th year of his age, Joseph Gass, Esq, late provost of Dumfries

— At London, William Douglas, of Orchardton, Esq

10 At Carlogie Cottage, Aberdeenshire, Mrs Garden Campbell, of Troup and Glenlyon

— At Thurso, James Anderson, Esq, Collector of Excise

11. At Mountgerald, Miss Mary Fraser Mackenzie, daughter of Colin Mackenzie, Esq, of Mountgerald

— At London, Captain Robert Boyle, of the 42d (Royal Highland) regiment of foot

— At Rothsay, in the 83d year of his age, James Anderson, Esq

— At Brighton, William Grant, Esq, of Congalton

— At Barnhill, Thomas Dunlop, Esq

12 At Edinburgh, Patrick M'Dougall, Esq, of Soroba

— Mrs Elizabeth, relict of the late John M'Aulay, Esq, of Leven Grove, Dumbarton

— At St Ann's, Barbadoes, Mrs Cumming, relict of Captain Cumming, Deputy Assistant Quartermaster-General of that island

— At Glasgow, Thomas Arnot, Esq.

13 In London, Sir Watkin Lewis, aged 85, the father of the Court of Aldermen

— At Kelso, Robert Nichol, Esq, of Edenbank, late merchant in Kelso.

15 At his house in Stromness, John Loutit, Esq, of Banks, merchant in Stromness

— On his way from Penang to Madras, Captain Lumley, R N, of his Majesty's ship Topaz

16 At Newton, Roxburghshire, Mr Andrew Hunter, late merchant in Leith.

17 At Blackburn, near Ayr, Captain William Robb, of Blackburn

— At Chelsea, Captain Duncan Macbean, late 7th veteran battalion, in the 53d year of his age

18 Dr Hague, professor of music in the University of Cambridge

— At Glasgow, Mrs Marshall, of Archonnell, relict of Wm Marshall, Esq, writer

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Susan Hamilton, relict of Patrick Anderson, W S

— At Longtown, Cumberland, on his way to his residence, Bellinter, (Meath,) Ireland, aged 56, the Right Hon John Preston, Baron Tara, one of his Majesty's Privy Council

19 At Peterhead, Mrs Milne, relict of Mr George Milne, Mains of Elsemount.

— At Surat, John Morison, Esq, Collector of the Hon East India Company's revenues at that place

— In Spanish Town, Jamaica, a negro woman, named Mary Goodsall, aged 120 years

— At Dublin, Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell, of the 2d royal veteran battalion

— At Barnhill, parish of Terregles, Mr William M'Kenzie, senior, in the 73d year of his age

— At Bowershall, Leith, Mr William Brown, nurseryman

19 At Murraythwaite, Dumfries-shire, Mrs Murray, relict of the late William Murray, Esq, of Murrayfield, aged 75

— At Bertram House, Hampstead, in his 84th year, George Gibson, Esq, formerly of Rotterdam

— At Gosport, in the 38th year of his age, Major W Bennett, royal engineers

20 At Cromarty, the Rev Alexander Macleod, minister of the Gaelic church there

— At Negapatam, East Indies, Alex Arthur Duff, Esq, younger of Muirtown, of the royal regiment of foot

— At Geanies House, in Ross-shire, James Crawfurd M'Leod, younger of Geanies

— At Paris, Prince Maurice de Broglie, Bishop of Ghent

21 At Bervie, aged 80, Mr Alexander Thom, manufacturer

22 At Broughty-Ferry, Mrs Ann Maxwell, relict of Captain Charles Bell, Pitbladdo

23 At Como, Mrs Oliphant, of Condie

— At Lausanne, in Switzerland, Mrs Kelso, the lady of Arch Kelso, of Sauchrie, Esq, county of Ayr

— At St Martin's Cottage, near Montrose, in the 54th year of her age, Susanna, wife of George Farquharson, Esq

— At Seasyde Cottage, near Aberdour, Mrs Moubray, widow of Robt Moubray, Esq, of Cockairny, M D

24 At Rutherglen, Lieutenant-General John Spens, of Stonelaw

— At Trichinopoly, Madras Establishment, of the cholera morbus, Lieut William Innes Orrok, of his Majesty's Royal Scots

25 At Springhin, Douglas, James Hamilton, Esq

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Graham, relict of Alex Bower, Esq, of Kincaldrum, in the 83d year of her age

— At Viewfield Cottage, near Inverness, John Noble, Esq, of the India House, London

— At Mousewald Manse, Mrs Janet Richardson, wife of the Rev Jacob Dickson

26 At Hamilton, after a long and lingering illness, Mrs Sarah Henry, wife of James Pindar, Esq, of Townhead

— At Castletown House, county of Kildare, aged 77, Lady Louisa Conolly, sister of the late Duke of Richmond, and relict of the late Right Hon Thomas Conolly

26 At Forfar, after a few days' illness, Peter Ranken, Esq, Sheriff-substitute of Forfarshire

27 At Valencia, in South America, of the wounds received on the 24th June, in the battle of Caribobo, Thomas Ilderton Ferriar, Esq, eldest son of the late Dr Ferriar, of Manchester, colonel in the Columbian service, and Adjutant-General of the army of the Apure

— At Corfu, Wm Hamilton Campbell, of Winton, Esq

— At Frriboll parish of Durness, Captain Alexander Clarke

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Smith widow of Thomas Smith, Esq, one of the Principal Clerks to the Bills

28 At Edinburgh, Mrs Craik, of Arbigland

29 At New Galloway, James Murray, Esq, late of Manchester

— At Berwick-upon-Tweed, Mrs Ogle, of Gunslaw, widow of Robert Ogle, Esq, of Eglingham, aged 62 years

— At Mold, at the advanced age of 86, Captain Jeremiah Martin

30 At Greenhaugh, Govan, Alexander, eldest son of the late Alexander Wallace, Esq, of Auchinvole

— James Hamilton, Esq, senior, of Mavisbank, in the 78th year of his age

— At Portobello, William Maxwell Morison, Esq, advocate

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Catherine Grindlay, relict of Mr William Burnside, of Flask

31 At Aberdeen, the Rev John Ramsay, formerly minister of the Gospel at Strachan, in the 90th year of his age

Lately, at his seat, Piner-Grove, Middlesex, Sir F Milman, Bart, M D, F R S, in the 75th year of his age

— At Musselburgh, Mrs Allan, widow of David Allan, Esq, historical painter, Edinburgh

— At his apartments in Chelsea Hospital, aged 76, Thomas Keate, Esq, surgeon to that establishment for upwards of thirty years, surgeon to the King, and late surgeon-general to the army

— At Bath, the Right Hon John Campbell, Lord Cawdor, of Castle Martin, Pembrokeshire.

Lately, the Right Hon John Lord Baron Clanmorris

— At Cheshunt, Herts, aged 79, Oliver Cromwell, Esq, a descendant of the Protector

AUGUST 1 At the Boarding-house, Kensington, the celebrated Mrs Inchbald

— At Bonhill Place, Mrs Robertson, aged 85, widow of the late Captain S Robertson

— At his house, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, the Right Hon Lord Suffield

— At Inverury, Mr James Anderson, late merchant in Banff, aged 82

2 At Glasgow, David Stirling, Esq, accountant of the Royal Bank

— At Aberdeen, Robert Gibson, Esq, at the advanced age of 83

— At her house in London, Mrs Margaret Alison, widow of Captain Robert Turnbull

3 At Edinburgh, Matthew Sandilands, Esq, of Couston, W S

4 At her house, Hanover Street, Mrs Janet Christie, widow of John Weir, Esq, writer in Edinburgh

— At 24, London Street, Agnes Primrose, wife of Mr Peter Macdowall, accountant

— On the coast of Africa, Hospital Assistant R S Gillespie, Esq

5 At Lochbank, near Dumfries, Robert Haining, Esq

— At his residence, Leeds Castle, in the county of Kent, General Philip Martin, in the 80th year of his age

— At Glenogle, near Lochearn-head, Mr Samuel Lindsay, in his 82d year

6 At Laurencekirk, Mr Charles Stiven, snuff-box-maker, aged 68

— In the island of Jamaica, Mr Thos Ker, youngest son of Gilbert Ker, Esq, late of Gateshaw

— At Dumfries, Mrs Colonel Pleydell

— At Newliston House, Mrs Hog, of Newliston

— At Edinburgh, Hugh Bethune, Esq, of Queenslie, late merchant in London

— At Petersham, the Hon Clementina Elphinstone, daughter of John, the eleventh Lord Elphinstone

— At Glasgow, Mrs Mary Robertson, wife of Francis Garden, Esq

7 At Brandenburgh-House, London, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, Queen of Britain, and consort of his present Majesty, King George the Fourth

7 At Lisbon, Lady Maria J Macdonell, widow of Lieutenant-General Alexander Macdonell, of Lochgarry

— In consequence of the loss of the Lady Lushington, Indiaman, wrecked near Corunga, Mr Henry Lister, son of the Rev James Lister, minister of Auchtermuchty

— At Arcot, W Cairo Lockhart, Lieutenant 8th Madras cavalry, son of the deceased Major-General W Lockhart, of his Majesty's service

8 In Thames Street, Limerick, Lieutenant-General Daniel O'Meara

— At her house in Lower Grosvenor Street, London, after a short but severe illness, in the 41st year of her age, the Hon Mrs Ryder, Lady of the Right Hon Richard Ryder, brother to the Earl of Harrowby

9 In Dover Street, London, the Dowager Countess of Mexborough

— At Rome, in the 80th year of his age, Sir Walter Symot, Knight of Ballymoyer, in the county of Armagh

10 At his seat, Ashley Park, Surrey, Sir Henry Fletcher, Bart

11 At Peterhead, William Wallace, Esq

12 At Demerara, Patrick Macintyre, Esq

14 At her house in Grosvenor Street, London, the Dowager Countess of Ely

— At Maybole, Wm Adair Goudie, Esq, surgeon there

15 At the Manse of Fovcran, Mrs Gordon, widow of the Rev Dr Gordon, one of the ministers of Aberdeen

16 At Banff, Major John Cameron, of his Majesty's late Scots Brigade

— At Edinburgh, Mr Benjamin Hall Cooper, merchant, Drummond Street

17 At Redside, near Carrington, Mr James Abernethie, farmer, aged 81

— William J Waldie, Esq, of Queen Street, Cheapside, youngest son of George Waldie, Esq, of Hendersyde Park, Roxburghshire

18 At Granite Place, near Aberdeen, William Dugud, Esq, formerly of Baltimore, North America

— At Camden Town, Lieutenant Samuel Smith Ramsay, R N.

19 Margaret, daughter of the late James Henderson, Esq, of Enoch Bank

— At Bangadore, in the East Indies, Lieutenant Ernest Hepburn Leith, third son of Alex Leith, Esq, of Freefield

— At his brother's house of Whitehill, Roxburghshire, Thomas Milne, Esq., Dryhope

20 At Peterculter, the Rev David Gillatly, minister of the Shiprow chapel, Aberdeen

— At Paisley, James Weir, 17 months old, known by the name of the "Wonderful Gigantic Child" When 13 months old, and he continued to increase ever since, he weighed five stones, his girth round the neck was 14 inches, the breast, 31 inches, the belly, 39 inches, the thigh, 20½ inches, and round the arm, 11½ inches He was born in the parish of Cambusnethan, county of Lanark

21 At Peterhead, Jane, eldest daughter of the Right Rev Bishop Torry, in the 29th year of her age

22 At Gayfield Square, Edinburgh, Miss Jean Brodie

23 At Demerara, of the yellow fever, Lieutenant-Colonel Nooth, C B, of the 21st Royal Scots Fusileers, eldest son of Dr Nooth, of Bath

24 At Edinburgh, Jane, eldest daughter of the late Thomas Wharton, Esq, and of Lady Sophia Wharton

25 Mr Bartolozzi, (son of the celebrated engraver,) himself in great estimation in the same line as his father, aged 64

26 At Barrowmuirhead, near Edinburgh, Anne Fraser, wife of Major A Rose

27 At Viewfield House, near Dunbar, Mrs Burnet, spouse of Mr Burnet, of Viewfield House, and, on the 13th, at the same place, Miss Henrietta Lawson, her sister

— At Baccagunge, Bengal, Charles Chapman, Esq, Judge and Magistrate

28 At Madras, Lieut James Hamilton Wardrop, son of John Wardrop, surgeon, Falkirk

— At Ormiston, Mrs Jane Ferguson, daughter of the Hon James Ferguson, Lord Pitfour

29 At her house in Warriston Crescent, Mrs Ann Margaret M'Konochie, widow of the late Alexander M'Konochie, Esq, one of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs in Scotland

29 In Portland Place, London, Anne, the wife of Sir James Graham, Bart, M P for Carlisle

— At Kinchurdy, Mrs Grant, relict of the late J Grant, Esq, Kinchurdy

30 At London, James Robinson Scott, F R S E, F L S, late Senior President of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, Lecturer on Botany, &c

31 At Bourdeaux, Madame Moreau, widow of General Moreau

— At Perth, after a long and painful illness, Captain Duncan Dewar, late of the 21st regiment

— At Portobello, Mrs Wardrobe, of Charlotte Place, Edinburgh

— At Kingston, Jamaica, Mrs Mary Mackie, widow of the late Robert Mackie, Esq

Lately, at his house in Cecil Street, Limerick, David Stevenson, Esq

— At Copenhagen, at a very advanced age, Admiral Winterfeldt, the senior of the Danish Navy

— At Bath, in the 75th year of her age, Lady A'Court, relict of Sir P A'Court

— At her house, Shrubb-hill, near Worcester, Lady Tempest, relict of Sir Henry Tempest, Bart

— At Southampton, Sir Henry William Carr, K C B, Lieut-Colonel of the 3d regiment of Guards

SEPTEMBER 1 At London, Wm Kinnaird, Esq, senior Magistrate of the Thames Police

2 At Cooty, Chittore, Peter Bruce, Esq, First Circuit Judge on the Madras Establishment, second son of the late James Bruce Carstairs, Esq, of Kinross and Tilliecoultry

4 At Edinburgh, the Hon Margaret Drummond, relict of George Haldane, Esq, of Glencagles

5 At Dum Dum, near Calcutta, John Forrest Tod, M D, Assistant-Surgeon in the Hon the East India Company's service

— At Haverfordwest, aged 92, Mr Robert Rees This veteran served in the fleet under Admiral Hawke, and after being engaged in the reduction of Belle-

isle, Manilla, Martinico, St Lucie, &c lost an arm at the taking of Havannah, on board the Dragon

5 At Edinburgh, John Hercy, Esq, of Hawthorn, Berkshire, Master of Arts of St John's College, Cambridge, a Member of the Royal Medical, and one of the Presidents of the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh, and assistant to Dr Hamilton, physician of the Royal Infirmary His death was occasioned by a puncture which he received when examining the morbid appearances of a dead body

8 At Stirling, Mrs Chisholm, widow of Captain Chisholm, 42d regiment

— At Aberdeen, Miss Perry, aged 75

9 At Valleyfield, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Miss Maitland, eldest daughter and co-heiress of the late Alexander Maitland, Esq, of Valleyfield

10 At Great Malvern, Worcestershire, Captain Samuel Mansfield, of the retired invalids, and late of the 59th regiment

— At Versailles, in the 69th year of his age, of an aneurism of the heart, after a few hours' illness, John Peter Addenbrooke, Esq, formerly Major in the 54th regiment of foot, Gentleman Usher to her late Majesty Queen Charlotte, &c

11 In her house, North Frederick Street, Edinburgh, Mrs General George Cunninghame

12 At Dumfries, Mr John Turner, surgeon, in the 23d year of his age

— At Drummuir, in the prime of life, Francis Reid Affleck, assistant-surgeon in the 1st battalion 24th regiment N I Madras establishment

— At Edinburgh, Mr John Forman, junior, W S

13. At Nagpore, East Indies, Captain William Hunter, of the 8th regiment of native infantry, son of Dr Hunter, Professor of Humanity in the University of St Andrews

— At Balfron, the Rev John Cooper, minister of the United Associate Congregation in that place

16 At the Manse of Ratho, Mrs Margaret Bethune, wife of the Rev Dr Duncan

— At Dalkeith, of a lingering illness, Captain Hector M'Lean, late of the 4th, formerly of the 10th royal veteran battalion

17 At Kirkaldy, Mrs Janet Brown, wife of Mr Richard Tosh, writer there

— At Airdrie, after a few days' illness, Mr John Cleland, surgeon

— At Stockbridge, near Edinburgh, Mrs Lockart, widow of the Rev Dr Wm Lockart, late minister of St Andrew's Church, Glasgow

— At Fraserburgh, in the 32d year of his age, Lieutenant William Alex Green, R N

19 At Ely, Isabella, daughter of Mr Spied, W S

— In her 76th year, the Dowager Landgravine Caroline of Hesse Homburg Her Highness was daughter to the Landgrave Lewis IX of Hesse Cassel, born March 2, 1746 She married, on the 27th of September, 1768, the late Landgrave Frederick Lewis of Hesse Homburg

20 At Glasgow, Captain Andrew Fraser, late of the 92d regiment.

— At Waterford, Virginia, James Muir Scott, M D, grandson of the late Rev Mr Scott, one of the ministers of Perth

— At Naples, the lady of James Dupre, of Wilton Park, Esq, and second daughter of the late Sir William Maxwell of Monteith, Bart

21 At Guernsey, John Condamine, Esq, late his Majesty's Comptroller, or Advocate-General of the Royal Court in that island

— Of the liver complaint, Major John Stewart, aged 43 years, and on the 14th Oct following, of a wound received in the head the 2d March preceding, Capt Thos Guise Stewart, aged 38 years, both of the Hon East India Company's service, Bombay, and sons of the late Thos Stewart, Esq, many years Town Clerk of Montrose

— In the island of Jamaica, Alex Farquharson, Esq, of Jobshill

— At Montrose, Bailie Andrew Milne, in the 88th year of his age

22 In camp, near Baroda, East Indies, Lieut-Colonel Ludlow, C B

— At Aberdeen, Captain Alex Stuart, late of Leslie House, in the 84th year of his age

24 At Paris, Alexander Govan, Esq, late surgeon, Dalkeith

— At Garlieston, James Nish, Esq, of Balsarroch

25 At Glasgow, in the 90th year of his age, Robert Geddes, Esq

26 In India, Lieutenant John Hay, of his Majesty's 34th regiment, Aide-de-Camp to his Excellency Sir Thos Monro, Governor of Madras

— At Ross, John Forbes Aikman, Esq, of Ross and Bromelton, in the 86th year of his age

27. At Peebles, the Rev Thos Leckie, 27 years minister of the Associate Congregation there

— At Greenwich, Lieutenant-Colonel William Frederick Macbean, formerly of the 6th regiment of foot, youngest son of the late General Forbes Macbean, of the royal artillery

28 At Cray, Catharine Anabella, eldest daughter of Major James Robertson of Cray

— At Mhow, in the East Indies, Allan Cameron, Esq, of the Bengal horse artillery, eldest son of Alex Cameron, Esq, of Culcraigie, Ross-shire

29 At Cuttack, East Indies, Alexander Maclean, Esq, youngest son of the late Mr John Maclean, Langamull, Mull, Argyleshire, surgeon to the Commissioner, and civil surgeon of that station, aged about 37 years

— At Calder Bank, Alex Drummond, Esq, late of Jamaica

30 At Frankfort, Lady Charlotte Hill, eldest daughter of the Marchioness of Downshire, Baroness Sandys

Lately, Killed, in the engagement with the Arabs, at the capture of Bem Bocah, in the Persian Gulf, John Gordon, assistant-surgeon in the service of the Hon East India Company, son of the Rev W Gordon, minister of Elgin

— At Tunbridge, the Rev Vicesimus Knox, D D

— At London, the Dowager Countess of Ely

— At London, the Dowager Countess of Winterton

— The Countess Dowager of Jersey

OCTOBER 1 Suddenly, Mr Moncrieff Blair, of the Montreal Bank, son of the late Rev John Blair, Colmoncll

— At Williamsfield Estate, Jamaica, of the yellow fever, John Boyd, Esq, second son of the late Spencer Boyd, Esq. of Penhill, Ayrshire

1. At Tobago, Alex Macgregor, Esq., of Raheldies His infant child died near the same time

— At East Dalry, Richard Shirreff, Esq

— At Noranside, John Mill, Esq, of Noranside

2 At Greenlaw House, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, Lady Gordon.

— In the south of France, after a painful illness, George Maxwell, Esq, younger of Carruchan, and Lieut-Col of the Galloway Militia

3 At Cromarty, Mrs Hugh Tulloch, in the 83d year of her age

— At Pilrig Avenue, Leith Walk, James Allison, sen, in his 102d year

— At Thornhill, Perthshire, William M'Ewan, Esq, W S

— At Trincomalee, island of Ceylon, Lieutenant-Colonel William Geddes, of the 83d regiment of foot

4 At Dunkeld, Mrs D Landale of Kirkaldy

— At his house in Stamford Street, London, in the 64th year of his age, John Rennie, Esq, the celebrated engineer

5 At Shiraz, in Persia, aged 35, Claudius John Rich, Esq, author of the Memoirs of Ancient Babylon, formerly of Bristol, and late Resident of the East India Company at Bagdad, to which station he was raised before the age of 17, in consequence of his great literary attainments and distinguished merit He was at Shiraz on his way to Bombay, when he was carried off by that fatal disease, the cholera morbus, the ravages of which, in that city, swept off, in the short space of five days, sixteen thousand persons

6 At Cunninghamhead, Neil Snodgrass, Esq, of Cunninghamhead, in the 82d year of his age

7 At Whitehaugh, John Scott, Esq., of that place

9 At Manse of Deer, the Rev John Craigie, in the 81st year of his age.

10 At Edinburgh, Mr Gifford Cuming, surgeon, R N

— At Greenock, John Holmes, Esq., merchant

— Near Kedgaree, in India, Captain George Lindesay, of the corps of engi-

neers in the service of the Hon the East India Company on the Bengal establishment

— At St Helena, of apoplexy, Matthew Livingstone, Esq , surgeon

11. At Wellhall, Thomas Boyes, Esq

13. At Ormly, Caithness, Capt Donald Sinclair, late of the 30th regiment of foot.

14 At Cult Manse, Elizabeth Hunter, wife of the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, minister of Cult

15 At Reidside, near Carrington, Mrs Jean Wilson, aged 70, relict of Mr James Abernethie

— At Edinburgh, Miss Grace Suttie, eldest daughter of the late Sir George Suttie, Bart , of Balgone

— At Edinburgh, James Hay, Esq , W S

— At the Manse of Kilcarn, the Rev James Graham, minister of that parish, in the 86th year of his age, and 54th of his ministry

16 At Wakefield, Mrs Cleghorn of Stravithy

18. At Belfast, Major Andrew Patison, late of the 29th regiment, in which he bravely served nearly 24 years, with much credit to himself, in many of the engagements of the late eventful war—latterly of the 8th Royal Veteran Battalion

19 At Graysmill, Slateford, Mr William Belfrage, aged 72

— At Paris, John Astley, Esq , proprietor of the Royal Amphitheatre, Westminster Bridge, aged 54

20 In his 85th year, Henry Burt, Esq , of Barns, Kinross-shire

— At George's Square, Edinburgh, Miss Eleanor Rutherfurd, daughter of the late John Rutherfurd, Esq., of Edston

At Paris, aged 85, the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Talleyrand de Perigord.

— At Drylaw, Mrs Ramsay, widow of the late William Ramsay, Esq , of Barnton, in the 77th year of her age

21 At Craigrothie, in Fife, Mr David Martin, road-surveyor

— Miss Isabella Helen Sangster, only daughter of the late Mr John Sangster, Widewall, Orkney

21 At Aberdeen, in the 80th year of his age, John Ewen, Esq , who was one of the most respectable public characters of that place for more than half a century With the exception of various sums left to the public charities of Aberdeen, he has bequeathed the bulk of his property, perhaps 15,000l, or 16,000l , to the magistrates and clergy of Montrose, for the purpose of founding an hospital, similar to Gordon's Hospital of Aberdeen, for the maintenance and education of boys

24 At Knowhead, Mrs Isabella Tod, relict of the late John Whittet, Esq , of Potterhill

25 In Bridge-road, Lambeth, Sophia, wife of David Allan, Esq , Deputy Commissary-General to his Majesty's forces, and of Portobello, near Edinburgh

— At Berhampore, Bengal, David Morrieson, Esq , third Appeal and Circuit Judge at Moorshedab d

27 At Dalguish House, Perthshire, Charles Steuart, of Dalguish, Esq

— At sea, off Corsica, on his passage to Italy, for the benefit of his health, Henry Davidson, Esq , advocate, second son of H Davidson, Esq , W S

28 At Millbank, Edinburgh, James Neilson, Esq , of Millbank, in the 69th year of his age

29 At Auchintroig, Stirlingshire, in the 88th year of his age, William MacLauchlan, Esq , Lieutenant on the half-pay of the 25th regiment He served as a gentleman cadet in the Scotch Greys at the battle of Minden, and is believed to have outlived almost all his fellow-soldiers who were engaged on that memorable day

— At her house in Weymouth Street, London, Cassander Agnes Lady Hamilton, widow of Sir J Hamilton, Bart , and mother of Sir C Hamilton, Bart , Vice-Admiral and Governor of Newfoundland, and Sir E Hamilton, Bart , Rear-Admiral, and Knight Commander of the Bath

— Miss Colquhoun, of Camstradden

31 At Groom's-hill, Blackheath, Mrs Campbell, wife of Colonel Campbell

— At his house in Castle Street, Robert Boyd, Esq , of Drum

— At Eatington Park, Warwickshire,

Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, sister of the Earl of Chesterfield

31 At London, Major-General Sir Augustus Homstedt, K C B, aged 68

NOVEMBER 1 At Antigua, Wm Cathcart, Esq, fourth son of the late James Cathcart of Carbiston, Esq

— At Surinam, W A Carstairs, Esq., member of the Supreme Court there

— At the Leys, near Dollar, James Brown, late of Killin, surgeon, R N

2 At Bellfield, Miss St Leger Duncan

3 At his house, No 11, Bank Street, aged 65, Mr Daniel Forrest, sen, merchant, Edinburgh

4 By Shipwreck, near Eyemouth, on his passage to London, aged 31, Captain William Grant, of the Perseverance packet of Banff, second son of the late Lieutenant Francis Grant of the 55th regiment of foot

— At Baroda Camp, Captain Robert Macfarlane, 4th regiment grenadier battalion, a native of Monteith, Perthshire

5 At Bombay, aged 49, P C Baird, Esq, M D, Superintending Surgeon in the Hon East India Company's service on the Bombay establishment

— At Lochee, near Dundee, the Rev James Keyden, minister of Fettercairn

— At Baronald, William Flockhart, Esq, of Baronald

7 At Weymouth, Charles Kerr, Esq, late of Abbotrule

— At Lindhorn, aged 64 years, Mrs Isabella Davidson, wife of Robert Davidson, Esq

8 At Ayr, Robert Robertson, Esq, of Duncanziemer

9 At Elgin, in the 79th year of her age, Mrs Helen Anderson, relict of the Rev James Thomson, late minister of Aberdour

— At Madras, P Crawford, Esq, M D, son of the late Major Crawford of Newfield, Ayrshire

— At Pootookghur, in Bengal, Ensign James Campbell, 4th regiment of native infantry

— At Madras, Peter Scott, M D, surgeon of the Male Asylum there, and assistant-surgeon in the Hon East India Company's service

10 Mrs Margaret Parlane, spouse of Dr Chas Stuart, of Dunearn

— At her house in Belfast, Mrs Macilroth, aged 95 years, relict of the late Colonel Macilroth

10 At Restalrig, Alexander Duncan, Esq, W S

11 In the island of St Lucia, Mr Alex Houston, jun, son of Mr Alex. Houston, manufacturer, Glasgow

— In Newhall Street, Liverpool, Edward Simon, aged 104 years and 22 days. He had been employed as a labourer in the docks near 70 years His mother died aged 103 years, his father 104 years, and his brother 104 years

12 At the Manse of Ruthven, the Rev George Donaldson, minister of that parish, in the 79th year of his age, and 42d of his ministry

— At Cannanore, East Indies, James Johnston Duncan, surgeon, Madras establishment, son of the late Rev Dr Duncan, rector of Whalton, Northumberland.

— At Edinburgh, Miss Mary Graham Bogle, daughter of the late John Bogle, Esq, of Kirkcudbright

— At Pintalich, Thomas Kerr, Esq.

— In Cumberland Place, New Road, London, aged 70, the Honourable Mrs Mill, widow of the late John Mill, Esq., of Noranside, Forfarshire

13 James Dunlop, of Househill, Colonel of the Renfrewshire Militia.

— At Chester le Street, in the county of Durham, in her 80th year, Mrs Weatherley, relict of the late Mr Edward Weatherley of Garden House

— At Edinburgh, Christopher Moubray, Esq, late cashier of the Edinburgh Friendly Insurance Office

— At Greenock, John Lamont, Esq., surgeon, R N

14 At Edinburgh, Robert Bruce, Esq., of Pitteadie

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Mary Hutter, in the 78th year of her age

15 At Dublin, at an advanced period of life, Dr John Barret, Vice Provost of Trinity College in that city

— At Aberdeen, Lieutenant William Bothwell, R N

— At Annan, Miss Dalgleish, eldest daughter of John Dalgleish, Esq, of Prestonfield, and late Provost of Annan.

— At Jamaica, Brevet-Major Masson, of the 50th regiment

16 At Ennis, in Ireland, Lieut. John Crabb, 40th regiment

16 At Longforgan, the Rev Adam Cairns, minister of that parish, in the 64th year of his age, and 28th of his ministry.

17 At Ormsary, Alexander Campbell, Esq, of Ormsary

18 At London, Rear-Admiral Burney, F R S, in his 72d year

20 At Newton-upon-Ayr, in the 87th year of her age, Mrs Janet Alexander, widow of the late Bailie James Reid, Newton

— Miss Ann Coats, of Blantyrefarm, in the 74th year of her age

21 At Castlecraig, Joanna Charlotte, daughter of Sir Thos Gibson Carmichael, of Skirling, Bart

— At his seat, Thortonhill, Bucks, Sir Thomas Sheppard, Bart, aged 76

— At Muttra, in Bengal, Capt Andrew Christie, of the 6th native infantry, eldest son of Andrew Christie, Esq, of Ferrybank

22. At London, James Wilson, Esq, F.R.S, Professor of Anatomy to the Royal College of Surgeons

— At Mary's Place, Stockbridge, Edinburgh, in the 87th year of her age, Mrs Susan Steuart, relict of the Rev Alexander Davidson, late minister of Stenton

23 At his house in Russell-Square, London, in the 88th year of his age, the Right Honourable Sir James Mansfield, late Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

24. At Pennyland, by Thurso, Alexander Paterson, Esq

— At New Rattray, Robert Birrell, Esq, late Provost of Kirkcaldy

25 The Rev William Dunlop, late pastor of the Presbyterian Congregation of Strabane

— At Aberdeen, Miss Jane Ogilvie, in her 90th year

— At Dundee, in the 67th year of her age, Miss Catherine Sandieman, youngest daughter of Mr David Sandieman, late merchant there

26 At West Wells, near Corsham, Wilts, aged 71, Lieutenant-General Kerr, formerly of the Hon East India Company's service

— At Berhampore, in the East Indies, of a bilious fever, Capt Thomas Binny, of the 11th dragoons, aged 30, son of Thomas Binny, Esq, of Maulesden

26 At Glasgow, in her 96th year, Mrs Mary Graham, relict of Mr John Graham of Kilbowie, Dumbartonshire

27 At Edinburgh, Mr Luke Fraser, late one of the Masters of the High School, aged 85 years

— At Dover, on her way from Canada to France, for the benefit of her health, Euphemie Ladin, wife of Deputy Assistant Commissary-General Maclean

— At Glasgow, William Ferguson, M D

28 At Gavin, Lochwinnoch, aged 67, Mrs Margaret Jamieson, relict of the late Mr James Fyfe, merchant, Port-Glasgow

— At Woolwich, Lieut-Col James West, R A

— Mrs Fraser, wife of Thomas Fraser, Esq, of Woodcott House, near Reading, and of Bannisknk, in the county of Caithness, who served, during last year, as High Sheriff for Oxfordshire

— At Meerut, Major-General F R Hardyman, C B, Colonel of his Majesty's 17th regiment of foot, and Commander of the 2d division of the field army in Bengal

29 At her house, Leith Walk, Mrs Jean Ritchie, relict of Capt John Roberts of Carronflats

30 At Dysart, the Rev William Billerwell, minister of the Relief Congregation there, in the 66th year of his age, and the 42d of his ministry

— At Dalyell Lodge, John Dalyell, Esq, of Lingo

— At Craighouse, Miss Colquhoun, eldest daughter of the late Humphrey Colquhoun, Esq

— At Bankfoot, Mrs Jean Hay, relict of Alexander Robertson, Esq, one of the Principal Clerks of Session

Lately, at Harwood Lee, near Bolton, Mr Peter Crook, aged 79 It is remarkable, that he was born and lived all his life in the house in which he died, the family of Crook having rented the farm he occupied from the Rev —— Formby, of Formby, and his ancestors, for upwards of 100 years —At the age of 71, Peter and his seven sons afforded an interesting spectacle to their neighbours, they were all employed in mowing the grass of his farm, the venerable father leading, and followed through the sward

by his eldest son, the second following him, and the others in regular rotation as to age, the youngest, aged 22 years, closing They all survive their patriarchal father, and are all stout robust men

Lately, At Nancy, in Lorraine, aged 87, Miss Jean Rollo, daughter of the deceased James Rollo, Esq of Powhouse

DECEMBER 1 At her house, 60, Queen-Street, Edinburgh, Mrs Ann Dunlop

2 At Edinburgh, Charles Hamilton, of Fairholm, Esq, aged 55 years

— At Douglas, Mrs Hawthorn Thomson, relict of the Rev William M'Cubbin, minister there

3 At Rutherglen, Mr William Dickieson, late Provost of that burgh

— At London, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Hamilton, aged 33 years, 18 of which had been devoted to the service of the army, most of them in foreign climates, and scarcely one in his native country

— At London, Mrs Fitzgerald, widow of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzgerald of the Life Guards, who fell at Waterloo

4 At Edinburgh, Adam Scot Elliot of Arkelton

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Margaret Alston, wife of Mr Dissauville, surgeon

— At Stratford, the Right Hon Lord Henniker, LL D F R S, &c

— Mrs Dickson, wife of James Dickson, Esq, of Antonshill

— At Greenhill, the Hon Sir John Stuart of Fettercairn, Baronet, one of the Barons of his Majesty's Court of Exchequer

— At Ayr, Miss Mary Elizabeth M'Ewan, daughter of George M'Ewan, Esq Grenada

5 At Brighton, James Perry, Esq, proprietor and editor of the Morning Chronicle, in the 65th year of his age

— At Ayr, William Allison, Esq, of Whitehill

— At Bowerhouse, near Dunbar, Margaret Carfrae, daughter of the Rev Dr Carfrae

— At Hillhouse, Berwickshire, Archibald Somnerville, Esq

6 At his brother's house, Edinburgh, Charles Berry, Esq, of Spring Gardens, in the 46th year of his age

7 At St John's, Newfoundland, Mr Cross

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Stewart Cunninghame, wife of Captain James Haldane Tait, R N

8 At London, of apoplexy, John Ring, Esq, surgeon

— In the Manse of Halkirk, in Caithness, the Reverend George Cameron, minister of that parish, in the 88th year of his age, and the 53d of his ministry

9 At Portobello, Mrs Rhoda Mudie, wife of Dr J Mudie, late of Alford, Lincolnshire

— At Gallowhill, near Stranraer, Patrick M'Kinnel, Esq

— At Edinburgh, Mr Thomas Ferguson, aged 78 This gentleman has bequeathed the sum of £ 100 to each of the four following institutions The Magdalen Chapel, the Royal Infirmary, the Trades Maiden Hospital, and the Charity Work-house

11 At Edinburgh, Miss Barbara Moir, eldest daughter of Andrew Moir, Esq, late of Otterburn

— In Moray Street, Leith Walk, Mr Knox, late of Firth

— At Arbroath, Miss Gleig, daughter of the Reverend George Gleig, minister there

12 At Burntisland, Mrs Helen Simpson, wife of William Young, Esq, distiller

— At Graycraig, Fifeshire, Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Bethune, of the Honourable East India Company's service.

— At Brighton, Phœbe Hassel, aged 111 years His Majesty had for the last seven or eight years allowed the deceased 10s 6d a-week

— At Montrose, Mr Edward Greene, merchant, in the 61st year of his age.

— At Hermitage Place, Leith, Lieutenant-Colonel Lauriston, of the Honourable East India Company's service.

— At Palermo, Captain James Anderson, of Glasgow, Paymaster in the late King's 3d German Legion

— At Barbadoes, after an illness of three days, Lieutenant-Colonel John Piper, C B, of the 4th or King's Own regiment.

13 At Lisbon, Dr Wynne, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, and formerly surgeon to the Chester Infirmary

14 At Edinburgh, Miss Margaret Maxwell, daughter of the late Sir W Maxwell, of Calderwood Bart

14. At Wellhouse, aged 64 years, William Millar, Esq, of Wellhouse

— At Down, near Dunbar, Mr John Skirving, late farmer, Westfield, at the advanced age of 90 years

— At Penrith, R Story, Esq, M D, in the 83d year of his age

— At Brawlbin, near Thurso, Mr Sinclair Sutherland, distiller

— At Edinburgh, Mrs Carruthers, relict of the late John Carruthers, Esq, of Holmains, and daughter of Sir Robert Laurie, Bart, of Maxwelton

15 At Edinburgh, Isabella, wife of John S Ramsay, M D

— At Yardheads, Leith, Matthew Comb, Esq, brewer

— At Kirriemuir, Capt Charles Farquharson, aged 78, eldest son of James Farquharson, Esq, late of Coldrach

— At Feht House, Sir Harry Niven Lumsden, of Auchindor, Bart, aged 37

— At Glasgow, Mrs Brown, relict of the late John Brown, Esq, merchant in Glasgow

— At Jamaica, James Portcous, Esq, of Bonhill

16 At Castlemilk, Lady Stuart, widow of Sir John Stuart, of Castlemilk, Bart

— At Lessendrum, Maurice George Bisset, Esq, of Knighton, Isle of Wight and Lessendrum, Aberdeenshire

— At Woodside, near Hamilton, Mrs Isabella Miller, relict of the late John Dykes, Esq, of Woodside

— At Broughty Ferry, Frances Emma, wife of the Reverend H Horsley, Prebendary of St Asaph, and daughter of the late John Bourke, Esq, of Ballygley, county of Limerick, and Balycck, county of Tipperary, Ireland

— At the Chateau of Epine, near Paris, the Countess of Lisburne

— At Daly's Town, county of Galway, the Right Hon Dennis Bowes Daly, after a fortnight's illness For upwards of forty years Mr Daly represented the county of Galway, in successive Parliaments.

— At his house, Musselburgh, William Scott, Esq, aged 70

— At Glasgow, Miss Catherine M'Neilledge, daughter of the late James M'Neilledge, Esq, island of St Croix

18 At Mount Lodge, Portobello, Col Francis James Scott

20. At St Andrews, in the 57th year of her age, Miss Elizabeth Stevenson, sister of David Stevenson, Esq, formerly of London

— In Jamaica, Mrs Elizabeth D Chrichton, wife of William Lambie, Esq

— At Whitehill, New Deer, the Reverend John Bunyan, minister of the United Associate congregation there

21 At Stirling, Mrs Mary Muschet, wife of Mr Forman, bookseller

22 Mr William Graham of Lambhill

— At the manse of Crieff, Mr John Gregory, late of Edinburgh, in his 85th year

— At Glasgow, Mr James Greenlees, long known as a bookseller in that city, and who was afterwards induced, by circumstances, to make a temporary appearance on the stage, in several first-rate characters

— At Edinburgh, in the 62d year of his age, Thomas Henderson, Esq, the City Chamberlain

— Mrs Gordon, wife of Captain J M Gordon, R N

— At Greenock, Mr Wm Watson, bookseller, in the 77th year of his age

— At Tullialan manse, the Reverend David Simpson, in the 82d year of his age

23 At St Andrew's, New Brunswick, Robert Pagan, Esq, in the 72d year of his age

21 At Hastings, Mrs James Elphinstone, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Elphinstone

— At New Galloway, Mrs Agnes Manson, wife of John Murray, Esq, of Troquhain

— At Tophill, in St Elizabeth's, Jamaica, at the advanced age of 124 years, Ann Rochester, a woman of colour She enjoyed her health until the week preceding her death, leaving a family consisting of 153, being five sons and two daughters, 58 grandchildren, 66 great grandchildren, and two great-great-grandchildren

— At London, Mr Henry Beaumont, aged 35

25 At Bonnington, Mrs Margaret Lauder, relict of the late Bailie Lauder, Lauder, Berwickshire

26 At Allanquhoich, near Mar Lodge, James Harden, Esq, of Knock Inch.

26. At Glasgow, Alexander Miller, Esq.

27 At Slatefield, Mrs Charles Campbell, at the advanced age of 102.

28 At Aberdeen, William Davidson, Esq, Advocate, son of Robert Davidson, Esq, of Balnagask

— At Witham, after an illness of a few hours, the very Reverend J Jefferson, Archdeacon of Colchester, Rector of Weeley, and Vicar of Witham, in the county of Essex

— At Tobago Street, near Edinburgh, Mr James Dewar, builder, aged 70

30 At Ballewn, Strathblane, Archibald Edmonstone, Esq, of Spittal

— At Kensington Gore, Barbara, eldest daughter of William Wilberforce, Esq, M P

— At her house in Berkeley Square, London, Maria, Countess of Guilford, widow of Francis, late Earl of Guilford

31 At his house, Bonnington Brae, John Cheyne, Esq, surgeon in Leith

Lately, In French Street, Southampton, Mr F Guion He was, at an early part of his life, in the Edinburgh Theatre, and played the same characters as Mr Garrick was then performing in London, and with nearly as much eclat

Lately, At Paris, after a few days' illness, the celebrated Colonel Thornton, late of Thornville Royal, in the county of York

— At Greenock, of the small pox, in the 76th year of his age, Mr Wm Macleod of Stornaway, but for the greater part of his long life a planter in Jamaica.

— At Holloway Head, near Northwich, at the extraordinary age of 121 years, Mr John Maddock He retained his faculties to the last

— At Markethill, aged 104 years, Mr Matthew Macparland, a respectable and worthy man, who retained the use of his faculties till the latest period of his life

— On his voyage home from India, Captain Robert Sanderson, of his Majesty's 98th regiment

— At his house, in Queen Ann Street, London, in his 71st year, Sir Wm Young, G C B, Admiral of the Red, and Vice-Admiral of Great Britain

At Bath, Viscountess Mountearl,

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